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The History of Archaeology in the Western Balkans

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The History of Archaeology in the Western Balkans

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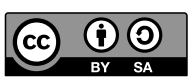

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FOREWORD TO ENGLISH EDITION

This book is a revised and updated version of the monograph 'Historija arheologije u novim zemljama Jugoistočne Evrope', *originally published in Sarajevo in the Bosnian language. The groundwork for the original book was laid by a longer article entitled* 'Archaeology in the New Countries of Southeastern Europe: A Historical Perspective', *which appeared in 2011 in the monograph* 'Comparative Archaeologies: A Sociological View of the Science of the Past', *published by Springer and edited by the American archaeologist Ludomir Lozny (2011).*

Ludomir Lozny asked me to contribute a text on 'Balkan Archaeology' to complete the section on the history of less-known national and regional archaeologies in Europe. Less known, that is, from the Anglo-American viewpoint. The editor explicitly stated that one of his book's aims was, by using multiple perspectives, to critically reflect on the globally dominant Anglo-American discourse in archaeology. Another apparent reason for including 'Balkan archaeology' was the political turmoil and civil wars in the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia. In the correspondence that followed, I tried to explain that it would be impossible to present such complex issues within such modest and limited space (20 to 25 pages) without resorting to large generalisations and simplifications. If Lozny's collection of papers was conceived mainly as a means of presenting 'other' archaeologies to an Anglo-American audience, then such a short text on Balkan archaeology would be understood only by readers already familiar with the many cultural and political contexts of this region within which it is necessary to observe the development of a humanistic discipline such as archaeology.

I have long been aware of how little is known about the history of archaeology in the Balkan region beyond its borders. Only a few scholars outside this region have been familiar with the exceptional heterogeneity of its cultural and historical development. I thus tried to explain this problem to the editor by sending him a draft of chapters on archaeology in Slovenia and Croatia. The beginnings of archaeology in these two countries date back to the Renaissance, a fact known only to those with the most extensive knowledge of the history of archaeology in Europe. In the draft text, it was also clearly shown that, despite the more than seventy-year long period of federal state unity, which included the critical period in the formation of contemporary archaeological discipline, the two national archaeologies were founded on different traditions and achievements and, during the Yugoslav period (1918–1991), they preserved their own character even though Slovene and Croatian national archaeologies have the largest number of common elements in their culture-historical and epistemological evolution among all Western Balkan archaeologies.

To my astonishment, the editor agreed with my suggestions and in practice gave me a free hand on the project. My insistence on presenting the history of archaeology in the Western Balkan region in a more comprehensive and contextualised way was based on my experiences in preparing a proposal for a large research project in 2008. Together with colleagues from nine Southeast European countries, I coordinated an application for a very ambitious and financially demanding project entitled Culture and Politics of Sciences of Antiquity in Southeast Europe (CULPA EST). *The main goal was a detailed reflection on and analysis of the development of several disciplines dealing with the archaeology and early history of Southeast Europe and, in parallel, the creation of a new regional perspective on these disciplines in modern European society. Though the reviewers gave us very high scores, the project was ultimately not accepted for funding. Nonetheless, the intensive discussions that occurred with fellow archaeologists, historians, philologists, sociologists and other scholars from Slovenia, Austria, Croatia, Italy, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, North Macedonia, Greece and Bulgaria revealed a great need for a fresh critical assessment of the cultural history of humanities in this region.*

For a year, I thoroughly studied the relatively rare and hard-to-access texts on the early days of the national archaeologies of former Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Moldova. The more effort and attention I was paying to these countries, the more I realised how difficult it was to present them in as much detail and as accurately as I could effectively describe archaeology in the states of the former Yugoslavia. Until the last moment, I had hoped to be able also to complete this part of the paper, but the limited time and the broad scope of the topic represented too large an obstacle. The information that I was able to find in the literature was simply not sufficient to build a coherent picture of all national archaeologies in these areas. The history of institutions, the professional and personal biographies, the circumstances that greatly influenced the discovery of important sites and their subsequent investigation, the social, economic and political environment within which certain ideas were expressed, and practices carried out – these and many other aspects represent important sources for understanding the development and fate of archaeology. However, not much can be found concerning this in standard archaeological publications such as the catalogues of sites and discoveries, excavation reports or interpretations of the evidence, not even in monographs. This knowledge is buried deep in the archives, and we still know very little of it. It is also questionable just how much of the data has been preserved and systematically archived. Much of the information extracted from the published papers had to be discussed with several colleagues who were personally involved in the processes or events that produced the data, or had a more comprehensive knowledge of the broader context within which certain archaeological activities took place.

To my great regret, I had to limit my scope to the seven new countries created after the break-up of Yugoslavia: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, N. Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo. Nonetheless, by confining the study to the Western Balkans, I could not escape or reduce the complexity and diversity of the development of archaeological discipline over the last two centuries. Indeed, it is precisely in this region that the complexity may be the greatest. These seven countries, none of which has a population of more than seven million, encompass three main religions (Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christianity, as well as Islam) along with the Jewish and Protestant populations; they represent the zone of influence of three great cultural traditions of powers which dominated this region for several centuries (Italian/Venetian, central European/Austrian and Hungarian, and Ottoman), and numerous local Slavic cultures. Ten major languages are in use here – besides the dominant Slavic languages, Albanian, Vlach, Romanian, Hungarian, Turkish, Italian and Romani are the mother tongues of the non-Slavic populations and ethnic groups living in this region. The area has a rich history in terms of the major political and demographic shifts in the last two centuries, unparalleled by any other part of Europe. The archaeologies of these countries bear traces of all these factors, circumstances and historical trajectories.

This English edition is intended for a 'foreign audience', and thus, a certain number of additional explanations are required for issues already familiar to local archaeologists and others with a good knowledge of Southeast Europe's history. The most important thing is to understand the political and cultural contexts. The political, social and cultural settings of the last two centuries were not only changing rapidly, but these changes were also of a magnitude rarely seen outside central and Southeastern Europe. However, since the whole region was not always similarly affected by these changes, I found it better to present these contexts for each country individually rather than in one more extensive chapter.

The book is divided into chapters dedicated to the individual modern countries and their archaeologies, with the final chapter reflecting the concept of 'Yugoslav' archaeology. Each chapter starts with a brief geographical and archaeological and historical introduction of the country in question. In the English edition, these parts are somewhat enlarged to help readers who are not well acquainted with the geography, archaeology and history of the region to contextualise the subject of study better.

This book is not a simple reworking of the original paper from 2011, and not just the translation of the

consequent monograph published in Sarajevo. Working on the English edition allowed me to revise and add some new aspects and topics not included in the original two texts. I also had a chance to include some contents that appeared after 2015, when the original monograph was published, which significantly complemented the latest developments. To my great satisfaction, in the English translation I was also able to include some photographs, which enrich both archaeology and archaeologists' historical image.

The context in which the 2017 book was published is also of significance. I was involved in the project entitled Curricular Reform of Heritage Sciences in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BIHERIT) *in the EU TEMPUS programme frame. The project's principal goal was to design and implement a sustainable infrastructural base to renew archaeology and other heritage-related disciplines in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the last war. As the Secretary of the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA), I had an opportunity to visit colleagues in Sarajevo in 2006, 20 years after my previous visit to this country. I saw the catastrophic consequences of the war on the cultural heritage and the archaeological discipline itself. As a student at the University of Ljubljana, I would listen to my professors who spoke with great professional respect about their colleagues from the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo and the impressive achievements of Bosnian-Herzegovinian archaeology since its beginnings over 120 years ago. Few institutions enjoyed such a reputation as their Provincial Museum, and the publications of the Centre for Balkanological Research of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina were compulsory for degree examinations. The short, two-day meeting with my colleagues in Sarajevo in 2006 remained in my memory as a very painful experience. It was not just the immense damage to Bosnia and Herzegovina's cultural heritage monuments that struck me, but also the realisation of the almost complete helplessness of archaeology deprived of funding, people and institutions. The question was whether there was any immediate prospect of its revival. A major advantage of the secretarial position in the EAA has been the access to well-developed professional networks in Europe, the chance to communicate effectively with many colleagues across Europe and the experience in preparing proposals for EU funding. Thus in 2011, with the great help and efforts of the colleague Adnan Kaljanc of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, we succeeded in winning significant funding from the TEMPUS programme, which has enabled the building of the much-needed research infrastructure for archaeological education and practice in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Writing the present book was one of my tasks on the project.*

The original paper and the book would not have been possible without the help of numerous colleagues who shared their knowledge and experience with me. I am particularly thankful to Božidar Slapšak, my professor and later a colleague at the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. The discussions we had on Slovene and other archaeologies of the former Yugoslavia were most satisfying, and I genuinely admire his extremely insightful intellect. Staša Babić and Aleksandar Palavestra, my long-term 'Gesprächspartners' *from the University of Belgrade, significantly helped me enlarge my knowledge of Serbian archaeology and also shared their views on numerous 'Yugoslav' issues in archaeology. Their comments on some of my previous texts were invaluable for improving the quality of the present study. The data on the latest developments in archaeology in Kosovo would have been mostly incomplete without the exhaustive information and recent literature on Kosovan archaeology regularly supplied by Kemal Luci of the Museum of Kosovo. Nade Proeva, Nikos Čausidis and Goce Naumov, my colleagues from the University of Skopje, and Irena Koliš̌trkoska Nasteva from the Archaeological Museum in Skopje, provided much important information on Macedonian archaeology on whose development, unfortunately, not much has been published. During my frequent visits to the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo I talked to Enver Imamović, Salmedin Mesihović and Adnan Kaljanc about archaeology's progress in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its fate in the course of the recent war. Reading Dubravko Lovrenović's works revealed to me some new views of this country and its fascinating history. His recent passing robbed Bosnia and Herzegovina of one of the most brilliant historians and critical minds. I have also learned a great*

deal about Croatian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian archaeology in conversations with Darko Periša from the Catholic University in Zagreb, who has, through his meticulous works, contributed significantly to revealing lesser-known aspects of Croatian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian archaeologies.

I am also very grateful to Dragana Filipović, who translated the 2015 book into English, and especially Charles French and Paul Steed, who checked the English edition. Without their assistance, this volume would not be possible. I am also very glad that I have completed this book with photographic materials. I could not have done this without the help of many people from numerous institutions from all the countries I am dealing with in my study: Arsen Duplančič, Naser Fereri, Ana Solter, Aleksandar Bandović, Bernarda Županek, Adnan Kaljanac, Miloš Petričević, Pere Ardžanliev, Ivana Pandžić, Vladimir Milanovski, Dušica Nikolić, Tomislav Kajfež, Toni Čerškov, Darko Periša, Milutin Garašanin jr., Katarina Dobrić, Biljana Temelkovska, Smiljan Gluščević, Črtomir Lorber, Jure Krajšek, Nenad Tasić and Milan Milovanović.

Finally, I would also like to thank my wife, Olivera. Without her support in private life, my prolonged travels across the Balkans (metaphorically and literally) would not have been made.

I. INTRODUCTION

Historical and social dynamics of the last two centuries and the large cultural diversity of Southeast Europe, and the Western Balkans in particular, make the study of the history of archaeology of this region very challenging. To many archaeologists who do not live and work in this region, the task may, at first sight, seem not too different from similar studies in other European regions or countries. However, to those more familiar with the political and social context in Southeast Europe, this enterprise would appear much more difficult. The fact that until my book from 2014 there were no comprehensive studies on the history of archaeology in Yugoslavia (and on other countries in the Balkans) speaks for itself. The awareness of the exceptional complexity of the history of this region, which requires one to possess detailed knowledge of several linguistic, cultural, religious and political aspects and contexts to understand the historical, cultural and other routes of development, calls for caution and careful critical consideration to avoid simplifications and superficial inferences.

It could be argued that the 'Western' perspective, which dominates in the principal studies of the history of world archaeology (e.g. Daniel 1967; 1975; Trigger 1989; Murray 1999; Murray and Evans 2008), very rarely considered the archaeological discipline in Southeast Europe. While some great sites and discoveries from this region may have found their way to the works of the principal international texts on the history of the discipline, this was rarely the case with scholars or 'schools' of archaeology. Was this because it was considered that archaeological schools and archaeologists from Southeast Europe perhaps did not carry such a significant weight in the development of world archaeology in the last century, that archaeology in this region of Europe was more at the 'receiving' end in terms of knowledge transfer, and that in the past did not produce some key contributions to a broader knowledge of archaeology other than 'supplying' the 'raw materials'? Was the archaeological discipline in the Balkan countries less known because of greater difficulties in accessing adequate literature and archive records from Southeastern Europe, mostly written in local languages? Or was it because the Balkan scholars did not invest more efforts to inform the international archaeological community about their works and achievements? A bit of all these, I would say.

To enter into the written history of any scientific discipline is a matter of the author's perspective and selection. Good histories pay great attention to the context, magnitude or weight of events and processes and their effects and eventually reveal a certain logic behind them. Having said this, it is common knowledge that traditional works on the history of archaeology were written mostly as a history of ideas and intellectual achievements (and their authors). Priority was given to places, objects, events and processes for which greater weight in the development of the discipline was assumed and argued. With time such narratives and places eventually became canonical, in many ways freed from their original contexts and conditions of knowledge, reaching the status of 'classical' cases. The truth is that until the mid-20th century, the centres of production of archaeological knowledge, and particularly the knowledge of archaeology, were all in the most developed Western countries. And it is the perspective of these centres within which the relevance and weight of archaeological developmental trajectories and achievements were reflected and eventually inserted in the history of the discipline.

Nowadays, critics consider this perspective, common in earlier histories of archaeology, as stemming from a colonial discourse that survived

even after the break-up of the colonial world. It was not until the end of the 1980s when works on the history of archaeology attempted to be more inclusive and address the defects of this 'colonial' approach. The first such effort was certainly the book by Bruce Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought* (1989; 2006). While he did not explicitly address the 'colonial' perspective, he did pay significant attention to other, little-known regional archaeological traditions. This was followed by the highly influential study by M. Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology* (2007), which not only opened the door to many regional and cultural traditions, but was also written from a clear post-colonial view. Nonetheless, even her remarkable historiographical work on modern archaeology left archaeology in Southeast Europe mostly underrepresented and poorly discussed. I agree that local archaeology in most countries of 19th century Southeast Europe was still largely underdeveloped and poorly institutionalised, still the book misses an opportunity to at least briefly reflect the peculiar 'pseudo-colonial' attitude towards this region.

Maria Todorova (1997; 2006, 793) demonstrated very clearly the circumstances of how the term 'Balkans' entered into the European geopolitical discourse relatively late, at the end of the 18th century, and how this area became a metaphor for the 'other', 'distinct', non-European, Oriental, etc., a sort of binary opposition to the values of the West.[1] There are a myriad of reasons for such a perception of the Balkans: increased anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim propaganda in the West during the 19th century; insufficient knowledge of cultural, historical and social life of the 'indigenous', non-Turkish population; the perception of Orthodox Christianity as alien to the Catholicism and Protestantism; an opposition between advanced industrialisation and capitalism, and the non-industrialised, post-feudal societies; language barriers, and so on.

This attitude continued well into the 20th century. In the current political discourse, the term 'Balkan' is often replaced with 'Southeast Europe' to avoid disrespectful connotations. However, this label is also not entirely 'neutral' and free of contentious historical contents. '*Südost Europa*' was coined by Johan Georg von Hahn (1811–1869), an Austrian consul in Janjina and Athens. Initially, the term was, perhaps, entirely appropriate but was later compromised when the German expansionist politics, especially during the period of Nazism, included *Südost* in its geopolitical agenda (Todorova 2006, 88–89). Clearly, the present-day re-introduction of 'Southeast Europe' is distanced from any references to the previous meanings, butIwonder whether the 'Eurocratic' proposers of the term have thought through in detail the history of this term and all the implications it had in different historical contexts.

However, my intention is not to delve into the 'phenomenology' of the Balkans. For this study, it is sufficient to point to some key aspects of the Western 'construction' of the Balkans that served over many decades as a general matrix through which the images and ideas about the Balkans and its past and cultures spread across Europe.[2] No study of the Balkan

1 In this context emerged the term 'balkanisation', used to describe the division of multi-national countries into smaller, ethnically more homogeneous units; it is also used in reference to ethnic conflicts in multi-ethnic states. Balkanisation, however, is a somewhat later term, which was coined as part of the geopolitical discourse after the First World War when it was used to describe the fragmentation following the breakdown of Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires in Southeast Europe.

2 Some influential scholars (such as Bakić-Hayden 1995) believe that this view is similar to, if not the same as, the concept of Orientalism put forward by Edward Said (1979). Analogous to Said's view, the West 'invented' the Balkans and their 'content' to adapt them to its viewpoints, ideology, and politics in relation to the East. In this context, Balkan studies emerged as a separate scientific field within the tradition of regional studies at the beginning of the 20th century. One should not forget that this was the period when the leading national schools of geography embraced anthropogeography as the main paradigm of regional studies, and when the most prominent national geographers (for instance, F. Ratzel in Germany,

historical and cultural phenomena can ignore the effects of such impressions and views, which, to a significant degree, were reflected in the shaping of the archaeological discipline and its practice in this region in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Unfortunately, the wars that marked Yugoslavia's disintegration aided in the revival of old stereotypes (see, for example, Allcock (2000, 1–3)).

It should be kept in mind that Southeastern Europe is an area of highly contrasting paths of development, and perhaps the most controversial ones from the European perspective. It is true that, during some periods, large parts of the region did indeed represent the remote outskirts of the dominant political and economic powers.

Since medieval times, large parts of Southern Europe were governed by powers with their centres outside the region (e.g. the Byzantine Empire, Venice,[3] Hungary, the Holy Empire, Austria). This 'marginal' position was further cemented with the Ottoman rule from the 15th century onwards. However, this position did not necessarily mean the completely 'inactive' and marginal status of the local population. Bosnia and Herzegovina was, for example, one of the most developed Ottoman provinces in the whole Empire, and from Istria and Dalmatia came some of the finest scholars in the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods. Throughout this time and across this region, one could find people and achievements that far exceeded its peripheral status.

But merely criticising the 'colonial' views would not contribute much to a better grasp of the origins and development of archaeology and associated disciplines in the region. First, what is needed is to understand how the image of the Balkans (and its past) was created, what and which pasts were selected and built into 'Western' thought, and ultimately appropriated, and what was left marginalised and outside. Ancient Greece is undoubtedly the most famous case of 'extraction' of a phenomenon from its regional historical and cultural context and its promotion to the European rank. The Antiquity of the southern Balkans (i.e. Greece) has still to be examined more

H. Mackinder in the UK, P. Vidal de la Blache in France, and in the Balkans certainly Jovan Cvijić and his school) very seriously investigated political and geographical aspects of the main strategic issues in modern European politics. Before the conceptualisation of Balkan studies, the most popular source of information on this region was travel journals written by travellers and visitors to this area, especially to the countries under Ottoman rule. Systematic research into Balkan phenomena within the framework akin to the Orientalism of Said is more recent, and originates from the early 1990s. A much more detailed introduction to this topic is offered by Maria Todorova (1997), which provides a basis for understanding the historical and cultural concomitances that led to the 'discovery' of the Balkans. Vesna Goldsworthy in *3,. The Imperialism of the Imagination* (Yale University Press 1998) explores how the Balkans gave motives, metaphors, landscapes, heroic characters, etc., to the British literary production and entertainment industry. Goldsworthy label this as metaphorical colonialism. Milica Bakić-Hayden (1995) produced important work on the Balkan version of Orientalism. The oriental frame of analysis is also the topic of the oft-quoted paper by Milic Bakić-Hayden and Robert Hayden (1992), which examines the power of symbols and signs in the cultural geography of former Yugoslavia. In a book edited by Andrew Hammond (2004), several papers discuss modern cases of 'underestimating' the Balkans. Much of the recent works on the Balkans were driven by the wars and ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. The choice of bibliography on this subject is certainly much greater than for the other topics, and an overview cannot be provided here. For a more insightful presentation, we strongly recommend the bibliographies listed in the publications mentioned above.

3 In the discussions of the major political and cultural divisions of the Balkans (e.g. Allcock (2000); Todorova (2006)), foreign scholars somehow tend to ignore Venice, which controlled large territories in the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland from the 12*th* to the end of the 18th century. After a short period under Napoleon's rule (1806–1813), these areas were allocated to the Austrian Empire. The influence of Venetian and, in general, Italian culture was crucial in the cultural development of modern Croatia and Montenegro, and also had a great significance for the political development of the Western Balkans. Concerning the history of archaeology, the Venetian period and culture left a strong imprint in the traditions that shaped modern archaeology in parts of Slovenia, Croatia and Montenegro.

closely from a regional perspective.[4] It is here where Western academic circles played a double and even a paradoxical role. They used to anticipate the prehistoric and ancient southeastern Europe as the region of exceptional cultural achievements in the distant European past; as a bridge towards the advanced civilisations of Egypt and the Near East; and the classical Antiquity of the Aegean as an inspiration for the creation of modern European cultures. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Western academic circles cherished the notion that they, that is – their societies and states – were the symbolic successors of the most significant accomplishments of classical Antiquity. Doing this also legitimised their 'right' to produce the 'correct' interpretation of the past. Many relevant examples could be listed here, but I will remind readers of Susan Marchand's (1997) excellent study of German Philhellenism. She persuasively demonstrated how the symbols, contents, and narratives of the ancient 'virtues' were strategically manipulated in creating the new German citizen (the so-called *Bildungsburger* process) and how archaeological practice contributed to this process. It was not just about replacing diverse (German) regional identities and values with the 'universal' virtues of Classical Greece to create the all-German middle class or legitimate German imperialism. It was also about what was left outside (e.g. the Byzantine, Orthodox Christian, 'Eastern' component of Greece) as 'non-European'.

Another example from the traditional 'Western' model of progress in archaeology is the separate consideration of prehistoric and classical archaeology. This dichotomy was put in place at the beginning of the 19th century, and for a long time divided archaeology into two almost entirely separate sciences, especially regarding methods and epistemology. But, as was the case with southern Italy, large parts of the Balkans were also integrated into the Greek world centuries before the Romans' arrival. One cannot apply, for example, the standard 'continental' periodisation for the 1st millennium BC in northern Macedonia or southern Bulgaria or southern Albania. And yet this was frequently attempted in the past, and thus Greece was exempted from the Balkans while the 'barbaric' neighbours remained there.

The different treatment of prehistoric and classical archaeology can be best observed in the countries that held a prominent place in European archaeology at the start of the 20th century. For example, in Great Britain before the Second World war, the archaeology of the British Isles (i.e. the national region) was mainly taught at geography departments (Wilson 1986, 7). In Germany, university departments of prehistoric archaeology were established several decades later than the classical departments. In France, prehistoric archaeology, except for the Palaeolithic studies, advanced significantly only after the Second World War. A similar situation can also be seen in Italy and Greece. In Southeast Europe, such disassociation of the two archaeological disciplines could not entirely follow the same path as in the West. Firstly, all the countries in this region were once part of the Roman Empire, and large swathes of them also represented the margins of the ancient Greek world. There was an abundance of remains of the Greek and Roman presence, embedded in narratives of the local pasts, and they were not equally perceived as 'foreign' or 'exotic' or 'imported', as was the case in the archaeology of Europe north of the Rhine and Danube. The earliest antiquarian traditions in

4 The fact that Ciriaco de Pizzicoli (Cyriacus of Ancona 1391–1453/55), one of the pioneers of the new antiquarian science, was able to present numerous ancient monuments from Egypt, Anatolia, Constantinople, and many other Ottoman lands was also possible because of his service at the court of Sultan Murad II. What we would like to point here are two things: Cyriac also developed his idea about the importance of antiquities in contact with Late Byzantine scholars (e.g. Georgius Gemisthus Plethon) and brought their knowledge to Italy; and that Murad II found his work instrumental for interpreting the Ottomans as descendants of ancient Troyans and the siege of Constantinople as an act of revenge for Greek, Macedonian, Thessalian and Peloponnesian (i.e. Western) destruction of Troy (as reported by the Chrytoboulos from Imbros describing the Murad II visit to Troy). Both episodes speak of views of antiquities different from the standard 'Renaissance' model and bring new regional perspectives.

Southeast Europe formed part of a broader intellectual movement initiated in the Italian Renaissance. To no small extent, they studied the local Greek and Roman past for which there existed a plethora of epigraphic, architectural and other forms of archaeological evidence. Over time, these local traditions were able to include later prehistory as well, through the concept of 'regional antiquities'. The ancient Greek and Roman texts contain relatively frequent references to the local 'prehistoric' communities and polities. The periods of later prehistory were, in a way, approached as 'extensions' of the Roman or Greek Antiquity studies a few centuries back in time. As such, the local population's political and cultural history, especially in areas of direct contact with the Greeks and Romans, was also explored in an archaeological way.

One paradoxical characteristic of the Western perspective reflects in the fact that though Southeastern Europe is considered ethnically, religiously, linguistically and culturally perhaps the most complex region in the whole of Europe, this complexity is rarely adequately taken into account when portraying the region and its history, and when comparing it with other parts of Europe. On the contrary, the Balkans is often restrictively conceptualised as a single entity. But much of the development of the archaeological discipline in Southeast Europe can, instead, be much better described using the model of interactions between the centre and periphery as initially proposed by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974). In contrast to the 'colonial' model, which, in principle, distinguishes between the two opposing sides (the colonist versus the colonised), the centre-periphery model allows, or better to say demands, much greater variability in the relationships between the sides involved. Not all 'Western' archaeological schools and archaeologists treated the Balkan past in the same way and from a single perspective, nor can the Balkans (or Southeast Europe) be considered as generalised into a single uniform entity.

Take, for example, the eastern Adriatic coast, known as the historical region of Dalmatia. Since the early days of the Roman Empire, a highly developed urban culture emerged there and continued to exist without interruption through the Middle Ages into modern times. Between the 12th and 18th centuries, much of the Dalmatian and Istrian territory was well integrated into or connected to the Venetian state. Its long-lasting political dominance also had a strong cultural impact. Many Dalmatian writers, scholars and clerics of local Slavic origin cultivated both Italian and authentic 'Slavic Renaissance cultures (as seen in language, poetry, theatre plays, philosophical and theological texts, etc.). In addition to this, cultural elements coming from the neighbouring Ottoman Empire also permeated Dalmatia. This testifies that there was no simple 'transplantation' of the Italian Renaissance to the eastern Adriatic coast, but a highly hybrid regional Dalmatian cultural expression. Such a cultural and social milieu produced some of the earliest antiquarians of Europe. As a matter of fact, it can be easily argued that Dalmatia was one of the centres of antiquarian practice in Europe and not the periphery. Still, in the overviews of the history of European archaeology, it is mostly forgotten.

The Western 'colonial' attitudes towards the Balkans were, obviously, not the same. To a great extent, they depended on the politics of different states, their competition, and conflicting interests. Habsburg Austria (later Austria-Hungary), which for several centuries ruled the Balkans' western parts, intended not only to annex most of these lands after the Ottomans' retreat after the Congress of Berlin in 1878, but also to strongly 'Europeanise' these territories. This was an enormous political and cultural project which, among other things, also brought archaeology to Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this context were also established the first institutes specialised for the Balkans, such as the Commission for Historical-archaeological and Philological-ethnographic Research of the Balkan Peninsula (*Kommission für historisch-archäologische und*

phillologisch-ethnographische Durchforschung der Balkanhalbinsel) established already in 1897 at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and which effectively launched the concept of Balkan Studies in Central and Southeast Europe, with archaeology very high on the agenda of several institutes of 'Balkanology'.

From the text that follows, it can be discerned that I strongly emphasise regional differences and specificities whilst, perhaps, in some respects neglecting certain common characteristics. I do not deny this, but the position of an 'insider' offers me the privilege of a particular view that, I hope, brings new insights in the discussion on the history of archaeological discipline in this region. The fact is that more shared features can be found in the historical, conceptual and infrastructural development within other 'regional' archaeologies in Europe, for instance, of Scandinavian, Baltic, or even Iberian archaeology. Compared to the Balkans, these regions are less heterogenous in the cultural and historical sense. In other words, if we are to seek more homogeneous regional archaeological groupings and associated research traditions in the Balkans, this would require the introduction of many new terms or categories, such as the Aegean, eastern Adriatic, Alpine, Pannonian, Danubian, Balkan (*sensu stricto*) and even Black Sea archaeology. Moreover, if we observe the development of archaeology from the perspective of cultural history a set of additional categories would be needed, such as Austrian imperial archaeology, Venetian-style archaeology, or the different national archaeologies of the Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, etc. And even by doing this, we still will not have exhausted all the possibilities in framing the perspective.

Such an outlook could lead to even greater fragmentation of the units under observation, which would be at the expense of coherence. This is an important reason why I have decided to present Balkan archaeology as individual national schools of archaeology. Still, the nation-state concept played a key role in this context, perhaps not so much in the formation of epistemological and conceptual views of the archaeological discipline as in the building of infrastructure and thematic priorities in its development. All over Europe, but especially in Central and Southeast Europe, archaeology is considered a national discipline, closely linked with national history and culture. But, then again, to what sort of national frameworks am I referring to here? To address this question adequately, one must briefly consider the nature and history of the formation of states in the region, which had a significant impact on the foundation and development of the national archaeological schools.

As an illustration of this argument, it is sufficient to observe this region's political maps from the last hundred and fifty years. From the Congress of Berlin in 1878 onwards, radical political transformations took place at more or less regular intervals of a single generation time span. They were of such a magnitude and had repercussions that not much time was left for their thorough reflection, as only a few decades later another change was under way.

At the end of the 19th century, the largest part of the region was ruled by two empires, the Ottoman and Habsburg. At the Congress of Berlin, the independence of four new states was confirmed: Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania and Montenegro.

Following the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) and First World War (Figs. 2, 3), not only did these two empires withdrew from the region, but they ceased to exist, giving way to the newly created states of the South Slavs (Yugoslavia) and Albania, while Bulgaria and Greece considerably expanded their territories. The Slovene Littoral (Primorska) and Istria were merged with Italy (together with the southern Tirol).

The political map did not change much after the Second World War, except for Italy, which had to hand over to Yugoslavia the territories annexed in 1918. However, this time the most significant historical shift was of a different, ideological nature – the rule of the Communist

Fig. 1 Political map of the Balkans after the Congress of Berlin (1878).

regimes in Eastern Europe, polarisation into two political blocs and the antagonism of the Cold War . Finally, in 1991 the Communist regimes fell, and after the wars in Yugoslavia seven new, independent countries emerged here in the period between 1991 and 2006 (Fig 4).[5]

5 And also Moldova at the far east end of southeastern Europe.

Fig. 2 Political map after the Balkan Wars (1912–1913).

Fig. 3 Political map of the Balkans after the First World War (1918) with the borders of the former Austro-Hungary (red line).

Fig. 4 Political map of the region today.

Due to such political dynamics and ethnic and religious diversity, it is not always easy to identify long-lasting national frameworks that could be used for framing the perspective for the observation of the history of national archaeologies in the newly established countries. This is easier when countries have a somewhat longer history (such as Greece, Romania and Bulgaria). Moreover, it is even more difficult for the multi-ethnic countries that included multiple ethnic and national groups possessing various degrees of political rights. Complicating this still further is the fact that large sections of some ethnic groups lived outside their national states in the region (e.g. Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Serbs, and Croats).

To illustrate this problem, I will turn briefly to Montenegro. This country first occurred as a sovereign political entity after the Congress of Berlin in 1878. It lasted until 1918, when it was united with the Kingdom of Serbia and subsequently included in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after 1929). Within the Yugoslav monarchy, Montenegro retained some administrative integrity as the Banate of Zeta (*Zetska banovina*), which also included parts of today's Croatia, Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. After the Second World War, it re-appeared in today's territorial extent as one of the six constituent Yugoslav republics and preserved this status until Yugoslavia's dissolution (1945–1991), still with a considerable number of Serbians and Albanians within the population. Afterwards, Montenegro stayed in a federation with Serbia (the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 1991–2006, which at one point changed its name to Serbia and Montenegro, 2003–2006). In 2006, Montenegro became an independent country again. During this whole period, five to six generations long (130 years), the territory of Montenegro was fully or partially integrated into six different states. It is hard to imagine what imprints these changes had on people in Montenegro and their views of the past.

In the present book, I have tried to build a somewhat different perspective from traditional texts on discipline history, which regularly put to the

forefront some extraordinary scholars and their ideas that determined future trajectories in archaeological thought. The present study is not focused on epistemological questions and neither on an extensive presentation of the region's main sites and discoveries. Instead, I have focused primarily on the history of the 'infrastructure' of archaeology which, in my opinion, represents an indispensable tool for a better understanding of the regional and local developmental trajectories. Constructing the infrastructure, i.e. forming institutions, publications, scholarly societies, legislation, staffing the institutions, etc., is the other side of the history of archaeology, which may frequently speak of a history different to those of the ideas which drove intellectual progress in the discipline. Both histories, however, are necessary for understanding our discipline. While the history of ideas primarily speaks of the advancement of knowledge, the history of 'infrastructure' addresses the discipline's social and cultural history. An unavoidable aspect when analysing archaeology and its practice in the region in question is politics. All major changes in both conceptual development and practice were, to a significant degree, directly spurred by the major political transformations of the last two centuries. Over the last few decades, the issue of nationalism has been intensively investigated in the European archaeological literature. Although this topic is of great importance, it will not be fully discussed here. Instead, the reader will be referred to some works that consider this phenomenon more profoundly.

At the end of this introductory reflection, it is necessary to note that despite seventy years of archaeology in Yugoslavia, there has not been a single attempt to compile a history of the discipline in the common state. In popular science literature, one can frequently find works presenting the archaeological discoveries or heritage of Yugoslavia, but no texts discussing the 'Yugoslav' school of archaeology. More on this topic will be disclosed in the final chapter of this book. Here it suffices to say that the post-1945 'Yugoslav' archaeology appeared far more unified and homogeneous to the outside viewers than internally, where it was continuously enacted as a mosaic of national/republican archaeologies encompassing their own histories, traditions and paths of development. This mosaic structure is, most probably, the main reason for the lack of studies similar to this one. An important, but not exclusive, prerequisite for a high-quality consideration of any issue is a reasonable distance in time. In our case, this distance may not be so great, but it is how this distance was abruptly enforced – with the collapse of a shared country – that significantly catalysed the reflections presented here.

Finally, one could legitimately address the ambiguous use of the terms Southeast Europe, Balkans, new countries of Southeast Europe, Western Balkans, and, in this context, also Yugoslavia. I must admit that I had great problems finding the appropriate terms from the very beginning. Though the book speaks of national archaeologies of the countries which formed Yugoslavia, I have found the term Yugoslav archaeology inappropriate for several reasons. It was not only because archaeological practices in Slovenia and Croatia existed centuries before the actual establishment of Yugoslavia or the emergence of the Yugoslav idea, but there was simply nothing Yugoslav in these early traditions, and also not much genuinely national before the mid-19th century. On the other hand, the term 'Yugoslav archaeology' can be legitimately used for what can be termed as the 'Yugoslav school' of archaeology, which marks the attempts in the 1950s and 1960s to create a more centralised disciplinary system in the institutional and conceptual senses in the whole country.

Moreover, the term Balkans was not entirely appropriate for general geographical designation. First of all, it is not about the whole Balkan Peninsula, but its central and western parts. Moreover, if we look at the last 500 years through the lens of historical geography, some parts (e.g. Slovenia, Istria, Dalmatia, and the Pannonian areas) could not be easily considered Balkan regions.

The '19th-century' Western perception of what the Balkans are and where to put them on the map is simply false. As was said at the beginning of this introduction, the borders of the 'Balkans' are elusive and have shifted over time. The term Southeast Europe may seem more appropriate, but, then again, the book generally does not deal with the whole of Southeast Europe, but its parts that belonged to the former Yugoslavia. In my book from 2014 I introduced the syntagm 'new countries of Southeast Europe' to avoid confusion. I admit in that text, however, that it is a rather complicated term and cannot be elegantly used. Now, after seven years, I find it even more awkward, and have returned to '*Western Balkans*', and language can withstand only a limited amount of inelegance, and I hope readers would be able to understand this.

II. SLOVENIA

With a population of two million and a territory of a little over 20,000 km2, Slovenia is one of the smallest countries in the region. Its geographical position between the northern Adriatic, east Alps, southwest Pannonian Plain and northwestern section of the Dinaric mountain chain makes this country one of the geo-ecologically most diverse in Europe, especially when considering its small size. Slovenia's identity and history have also been conditioned by the fact that it lies at the contact point of the German, Italian, Hungarian and Slavic peoples.

Slovenia is composed of several historical provinces from the period of the Holy Roman Empire. Except for the province of Carniola, all other provinces (Littoral, Styria, Carinthia) extended into neighbouring countries. For this reason, large parts of today's borders with Austria, Italy and Hungary did not follow some prominent terrain features but were established by other factors (e.g. ethnicity, historical administrative borders, political agreements, etc.). The western and central part of the Slovene northern border with Austria runs along the Karavanke

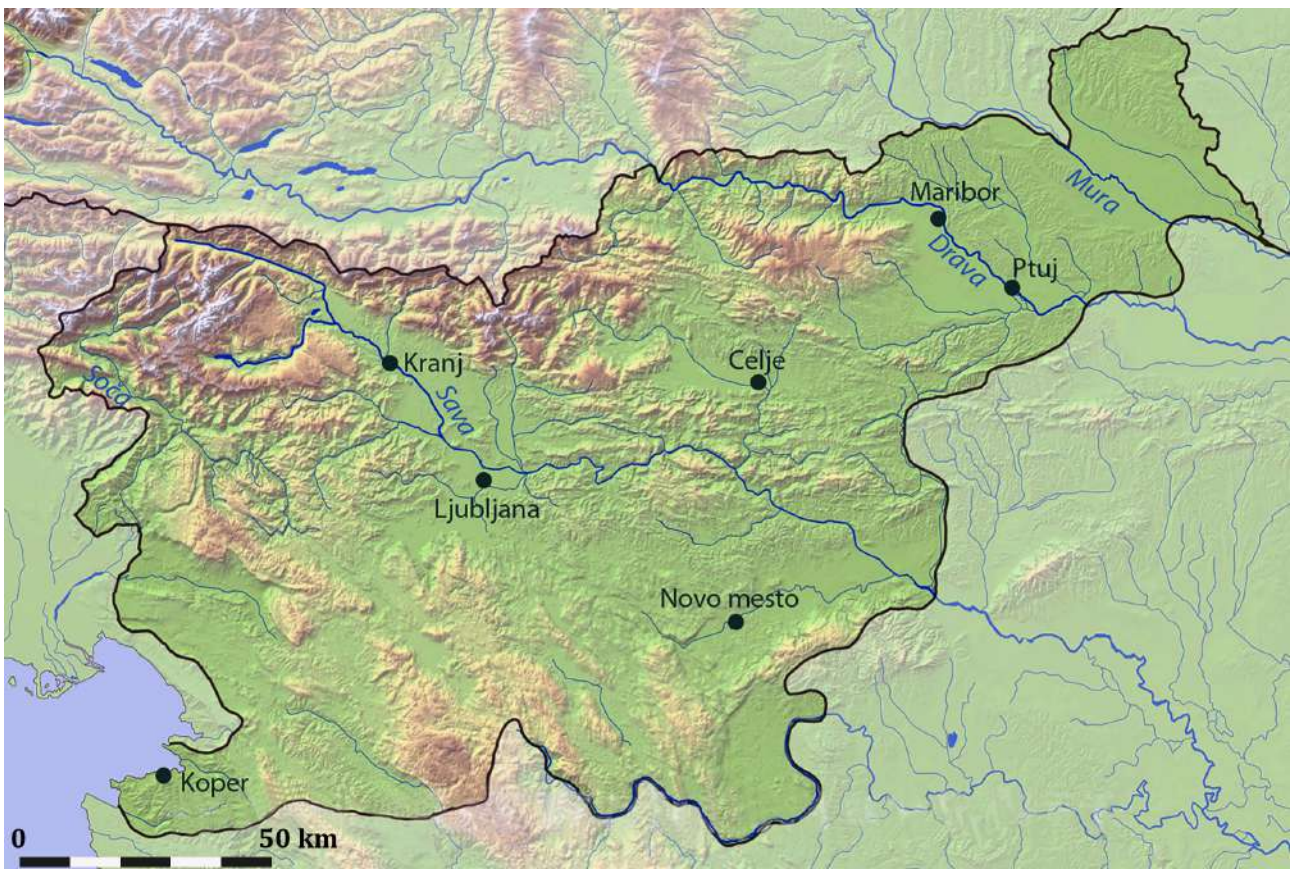


Fig. 5 Relief map of Slovenia.

mountain ridge, which, towards the east, gradually continues into a terrain of lower hills and Pannonian Plain. Moreover, there are no particular 'natural' barriers that mark the border with Hungary in the country's extreme northeast. Natural features are more visible in the eastern and southern border with Croatia, which follows the Mura, Drava, Sotla, Kolpa and Dragonja rivers. The border with Italy on the west has been only recently defined (after the Second World War) on a political basis, and cuts numerous local physical-geographical regions in half (e.g. Karst, Isonzo/Soča Valley, Julian Alps).

Northern and northwestern areas are considered Alpine Slovenia, presenting an extension of the Italian and Austrian Alps. Most of its area is of Triassic origin (the mountains and hills, particularly), with Quarternary sediments in river valleys. Igneous and metamorphic rocks characterise eastern Alpine Slovenia, which consists of two major regional units: high Alpine mountains with peaks between 1500 and 2800 m, interspersed with numerous small and narrow valleys, traditionally suitable for mountain pastoralism. According to the proportion of high alpine landscapes within the total land area, Slovenia holds third place in Europe, immediately after Switzerland and Austria. The second regional unit of Alpine Slovenia is the pre-Alpine region with high and medium-high hills in wide river valleys (31% of the total area of Slovenia). Here conditions for farming are much more suitable and, accordingly, the settlement is denser. Alpine Slovenia is a densely forested region with almost 65% of the land under forest cover (*Slovenija: pokrajine in ljudje* 1998, 34). Typical for its climate are low temperatures and abundant precipitation (rain and snow). All major Slovene rivers either spring from or run across the Alpine area, bringing large quantities of water in the spring due to the snow melting.

The most significant contrast to the mountainous areas represent the northeastern and eastern parts (Pannonian Slovenia), the Great Pannonian Plain's westernmost extension. Most of its land comprises Tertiary sandstone and conglomerate rocks (lower hills) and Quarternary alluvial sediments (gravels, sands, clays) in the river valley plains of the Drava, Sava, Mura and Krka. This region, which occupies 21% of the country, is the most suitable for farming due to abundant soil deposits, numerous rivers and streams, and flatter terrain. Today, it is the most densely settled region in Slovenia. Consequentially, this region has a much lower ratio of forests (33%). The climate exhibits typical features of the continental climate of great plains, with cold winters and warmer summers, and is generally drier than the Alpine area.

The southern-central and western parts of the country make Dinaric Slovenia which is the northernmost extension of the Dinaric Alps. The underlying geology is mostly composed of carbonate rocks (limestones and dolomites) of Triassic, Cretaceous and Jurassic origin. The terrain of Dinaric Slovenia is very dynamic and heterogenous, ranging from medium-high mountains (up to 1500 m), hills of various height, large plateaus and highland areas, and karstic fields, karstic plains and valleys. Typical for most of this area is the so-called 'deep karst', with relatively abundant soil deposits. However, much of this area is not very suitable for farming due to the relative lack of surface water, steep terrain slopes and forests; the latter make nearly 60% of this region's total area. The climate in this area is generally of the continental type, but with varying interchanging patterns, especially in contact with other Slovene regions (Alpine, Pannonian and Mediterranean). Significant local variabilities also depend on the height of the land, terrain orientation, etc. In general, the winters are very cold, and the summer temperatures are also lower than in other parts of Slovenia (except for the High Alps). Precipitation is relatively abundant but gradually falls, moving eastwards.

The fourth regional unit is Mediterranean Slovenia in the west and southwest of the country, at the Adriatic Sea's northernmost end. It is

the smallest of all regions (ca. 9% of Slovenia), where alternating areas of Mediterranean and sub-Mediterranean landscapes formed a geological bed composed of limestone, dolomite and sandstone. The terrain is very heterogeneous, ranging from mountains of some 1000 m in height to numerous hills and plateaus between 500 and 1000 m to karstic fields, lower hills, and alluvial plains. There are generally two types of landscapes – karstic landscapes on limestones and dolomites and flysch hills and alluvial plains; the latter having much greater potential for farming, while the former being traditionally more suitable for sheep and goat keeping and small-scale farming in karstic depressions with thicker soil deposits. The karstic areas have almost no surface water due to the very porous limestone geology. The overall ratio of the forests is around 35%. The climate is the Mediterranean on the coast and sub-Mediterranean or combined with the continental one further inland.

Slovenia is, generally speaking, rich in water sources, rivers and other streams. The Sava, Drava, Mura and Krka rivers, along with their tributaries, ultimately flow into the Danube and Black Sea; much smaller and limited to the country's westernmost part is the Adriatic river catchment (Soča/Isonzo, Vipava, Dragonja).

Archaeological and historical background of Slovenia

Ecological diversity had a significant influence on historical and cultural pathways in the past. The territory of present-day Slovenia has had considerable strategic importance since prehistoric times, as it occupies the junction of some large regional systems (Adriatic, Alpine, Pannonian and Balkan). This large ecological diversity and pivotal strategic location meant that Slovenia's territory was for centuries divided into different regional or political and administrative units, which is also well-reflected in its archaeology and history.

At present, there are about 6,500 registered archaeological sites in Slovenia. Considering the area of the country (20,000 km^2), this makes one site every 3 km^2.[6] Slovenia's archaeological 'image' corresponds well to its ecological diversity and geographic position of the contact zone between the northern Adriatic, eastern Alps, Pannonian Plain and northern Dinaric mountains. This, of course, does not apply to the Palaeolithic periods when the natural environment was significantly different.

During the glacial maximums, almost the whole Alpine area was covered with glaciers and ice, and the surrounding regions had polar or cryophilic vegetation and fauna. On the other hand, during the interglacial periods (e.g. in the Aurignacian), high Alpine areas above 1,500 m were settled. The changes in sea-level were also considerable. Between some 30,000 and 20,000 years BP (the last glacial maximum), the sea level was about 135 m lower than today (Surić 1976; 2009, 182), making the whole Adriatic Sea north of the line Ancona–Zadar dry land.

The geological deposits and sediments that can be dated to the Lower Palaeolithic are scarce in the surface levels. Only a few sporadic finds may be dated to the end of the Lower Palaeolithic and derive from caves in the area of Postojna such as Jama v Lozi, Risovec and Betalov spodmol (Brodar M. 2009, 90–94). Better preserved are deposits in caves and rock shelters from the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic. The Mousterian period has been recorded in some fifteen sites, all but one found in caves or shelters (Brodar S. 2009, 100–141), and all located in central and western Slovenia in karstic areas abundant with various rock shelters and caves. Their highest concentration is in the area between Postojna and Pivka. The most prominent place among the Mousterian sites is Divje babe I, where the earliest known bone flute ascribed to the Neanderthals was found (I. Turk

6 Data on archaeological sites is collected from ARKAS (*Arheološki kataster Slovenije*), a WEB-GIS based database maintained by the Archaeological Institute in Ljubljana (http://arkas.zrc-sazu.si/index.php).

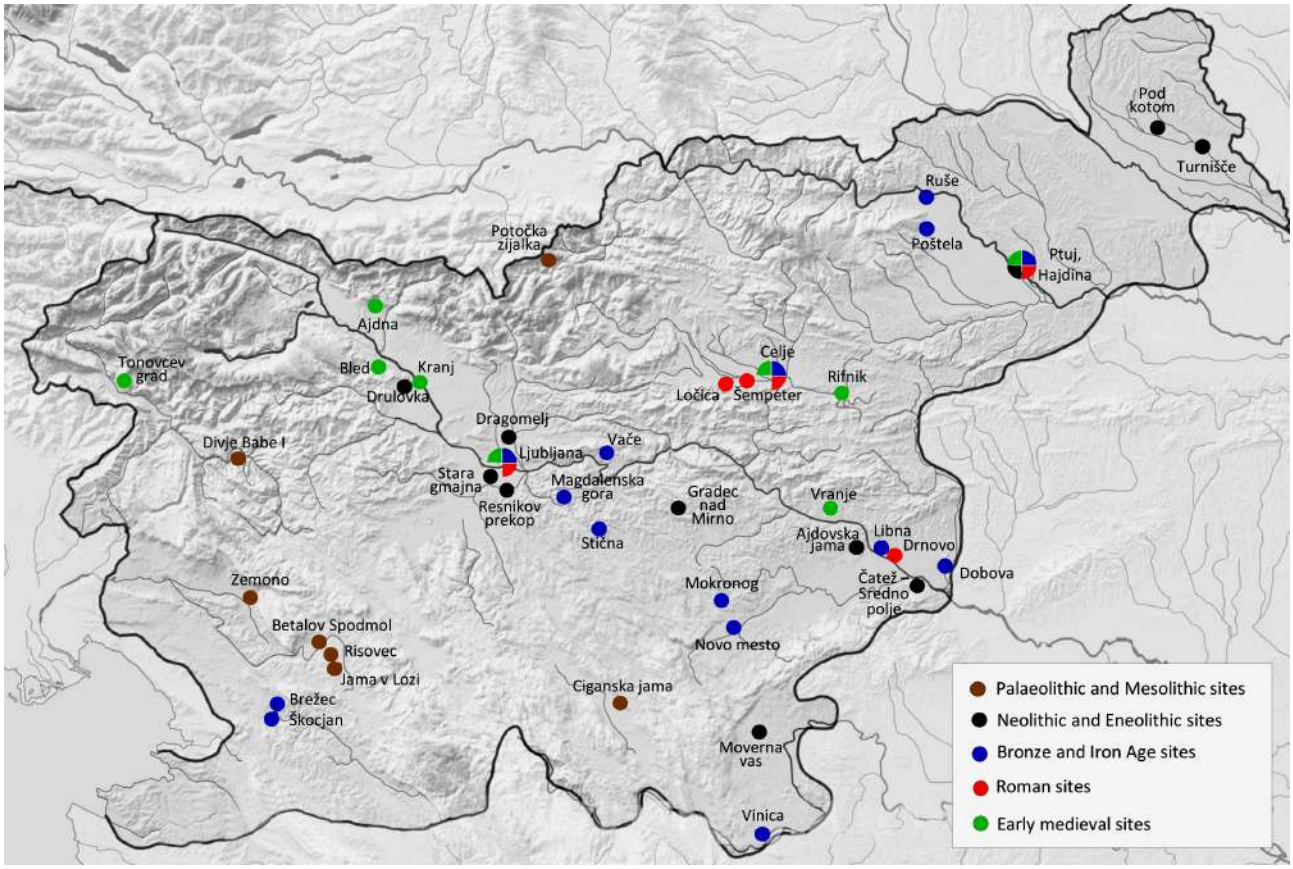


Fig. 6 Archaeological sites in Slovenia mentioned in this chapter.

1997; 2014).[7] From the warmer interglacial period (Aurignacian) there is another exceptional site – the cave of Potočka Zijalka, which lies at 1675 m in the Eastern Alps and indicates a warm period.[8] It is known for the remains of the cave bear (more than 3,000 individuals) and at least 30 bone points, which is probably the largest 'collection' of this type of artefact found in one site in Europe. In the Aurignacian period, the Palaeolithic settlement also spread across eastern Slovenia, where Lower and Middle Palaeolithic sites are missing. The largest number of sites (20) derives from the Gravettian and Epi-Gravettian periods. One-third of them are concentrated in the already mentioned area between Postojna and Pivka. Among the Gravettian sites stands out Ciganska jama near Kočevje, where a deer's long bone with incised signs (probably symbolising humans) was found (Brodar S. 1991), and Zemono, an open-air site from the transition of the Palaeolithic to Mesolithic, which contained a slate slab decorated with incised geometric motives (Kavur and Petru 2003). The number of Mesolithic sites seems to be similar to those from the Gravettian period, but the ratio of cave and rock shelter sites is lower. The Mesolithic sites are distributed in similar zones as the Gravettian sites (of the latter, some of them contained evidence from both periods). However, recent surveys in high Alpine areas discovered some ten locations, many of them well above 1000 m, with potential indications of Mesolithic settlements (e.g. Jamnik and Bizjak 2003; 2015; Jamnik 2015). Unfortunately, most of the research on Mesolithic sites was small-scale, involving sampling excavations or superficial surveys,

7 This discovery is still disputed by some scholars who interpret the holes in the bone as due to animal bites. However, after a series of analyses, the 'flute hypothesis' seems still more plausible than the alternative interpretations.

8 Similar evidence is provided by another Mousterian site (Mokriška jama) located at 1500 m in the Alps.

and so far no systematic radiocarbon dating has been implemented.

With the Neolithic period (ca. 5000–3800 BC) emerged a clear cultural distinction between the 'two Slovenias', the 'Adriatic' and 'continental', which lasted the whole of prehistory. Though being in close contact, each of these regions exhibited their particular trajectories in cultural and historical developments. The earliest Neolithic elements emerged soon after the beginning of the 6th millennium BC. The earliest evidence came from the karst caves from Adriatic Slovenia, the region extremely rich in all forms of caves and rock shelters. In total, there are some 35 Neolithic sites in the whole Karst area (an area of ca. 700 km^2),[9] and all of them are in caves. Traditionally, the process of Neolithisation of the Karst region was seen as an expansion of the Cardium Impresso pottery, the Early Neolithic culture on the Eastern Adriatic Coast (Istria, Dalmatia, Montenegro). The earliest radiocarbon dates of the Neolithic contexts at the Grotta dell'Edera (6617 +/- 390 BP; 6590 +/- 100 BP, 6700 +/- 130 BP) seem to confirm this. More recent interpretations speak of the 'selective' use of some Neolithic elements (e.g. pottery) in the late Mesolithic contexts, and that full Neolithisation (i.e. animal husbandry and farming) of this area developed somewhat later.[10] Since all the Neolithic sites are in caves, only a limited image of this period's economy and culture can be deduced for Adriatic Slovenia. With regard to the economy, the dominant forms were sheep and goat keeping (and their stabling in the caves) along with hunting. Clear evidence of local farming and cultivated plants is still missing. The truth is that the Karst, lacking surface water and deeper soils, is quite unsuitable for tillage and cultivating the 'Neolithic' plants in the 'Neolithic' way. However, some farming products could have been obtained in the neighbouring areas with abundant farming land and evidence of well-developed Neolithic villages (e.g. in the Friuli plain). In the Karst, open settlements only emerge with the Late Eneolithic and Bronze Age.

Quite different was the Neolithisation in continental Slovenia. The earliest settlements emerged in the first half of the 5th millennium BC in patterns similar to farming settlements in the western Pannonian and western Balkans areas. Early farmers colonised the soil-rich river valleys of the Sava, Drava, Kolpa, and their tributaries, across the whole continental Slovenia, from low-Alpine and Dinaric areas to the Pannonian Plain. At present, there are probably more than 70 Neolithic sites, but at least half of them are known from sporadic finds or a smaller number of sherds found at sites that contain more evidence of later prehistoric periods. The locations of the Neolithic sites and types of settlements demonstrate interesting variability, from smaller villages and hamlets in flat lowland areas (e.g. Dragomelj, sites in Prekmurje region), pile-dwellings (Resnikov prekop) in marshlands, sites on river terraces (Čatež–Sredno polje), river meanders (Moverna vas), confluences of rivers and streams, on elevated plateaus (Drulovka, Ptuj), hilltops (Gradec near Mirna) to cave sites (Ajdovska jama). Based on pottery assemblages, the earliest Neolithic settlements in continental Slovenia exhibit numerous features of the Late Neolithic Lengyel Culture matrix, which is most densely present in the central and western Pannonian Plain, suggesting the direction from where the Neolithic colonised continental Slovenia.[11] Typical features are wide-open bowls (frequently with inclined lids), bowls on high legs, biconical pots and bowls, small spoons, red or brown slipped pottery, decoration with fingernail impressions, appliques, simple parallel linear incisions and zig-zag motifs.

9 Today, the state border cuts the region of Karst (Kras, Carso) in half, on its western (Italian) and eastern (Slovene) parts. However, since the Karst is one geomorphological and geological area, I will treat it as a whole.

10 For different theories on the Neolithisation of the Karst, see Fabec (2003).

11 In the recent literature, the earliest continental Neolithic in Slovenia was termed the Sava group of the Lengyel culture (Guštin 2005). For more detailed overviews of the Neolithic in Slovenia, see Budja (1993), Velušček (1999), Guštin (2005).

The Sava group's best-researched site is Čatež–Sredno polje, which spread over three hectares and contained 24 houses (Guštin et al. 2005). The second cultural phase, which followed the Sava group, and falls into the transitional period to the early Eneolithic (ca. 4300–3900 BC) (Guštin 2005, 17) is known as the Lasinja Culture (spread also in western and northwestern Croatia), which in its settlement patterns, settlement areas and pottery assemblages exhibits strong ties with the previous Sava group (Late Lengyel culture). In continental Slovenia, the Lasinja Culture is mostly spread in its eastern and southeastern parts. One of the most interesting sites belonging to this period is Ajdovska jama–a cave site with 29 individuals buried, very probably, in two intervals, at around 4000–3900 BC and 3400–3300 BC (Horvat M. 1990).

Both Neolithic zones, the Adriatic and continental, were somewhat marginal regarding the major cultural centres in this part of Europe, and do not particularly distinguish themselves in terms of some exceptional sites on the broader regional scale. In the settlement pattern smaller and sparser settlements dominated (smaller villages, hamlets) which did not last a very long time. The houses were simple and relatively small, frequently partly dug into the ground and built with wood or other natural materials.

The situation changed considerably with the Eneolithic period, especially in the continental part. This period in Slovenia is dated between the second half of the 4th and first half of the 3rd millennium BC. In Adriatic Slovenia, the only known sites are still in caves, so not much can be said about the settlements, the type of built structures and many other aspects which can be traced in open settlements or cemeteries. To date, there is no evidence of any structures or objects made of stone, which is the most abundant building material in the Karst, and which will be extensively used from the Bronze Age onwards.

Moreover, the Eneolithic finds (mostly pottery) were frequently discovered in mixed assemblages with finds from different periods and diagnosed only based on typology and with very few, if any, reliable stratigraphic contexts (Ferrari et al. 2018, 71). At present, there is still no distinguishable chronological sequence of the pottery styles on sites in the Slovene and Italian Karst for the period between the 4th and 2nd millennia BC. In terms of a general cultural matrix, Adriatic Slovenia continued to exhibit stronger ties with the Eastern Adriatic area (Istria and Dalmatia) than with continental Slovenia. In terms of the way of life and economy, it can be said that local traditional Neolithic patterns (sheep and goat keeping, stabling of flocks in caves) continued well into the Eneolithic.

The knowledge of Eneolithic settlement is much better in continental Slovenia, mostly thanks to recent research on motorways and the more extensive use of radiocarbon dating, dendrochronology and other laboratory techniques. There are two areas with substantial evidence from this period: the Ljubljana Marshes (*Ljubljansko barje*), with pile-dwellings as the dominant type of settlements, and northeastern Slovenia (the Pannonian areas in particular) with settlements in lowland flatter areas. However, the Eneolithic sites were also found in other areas (Alpine and Dinaric) of continental Slovenia, suggesting similar distribution and variability compared to the Late Neolithic. Moreover, many sites of the Lasinja culture also appeared in the Early Eneolithic.

The emergence of new cultural elements came with the Middle and Late Eneolithic. In this respect, the sites in the Ljubljana Marshes are particularly important. Immediately south of Ljubljana extends a 160 km^2 large peat bog with the Ljubljanica river crossing it. In prehistory, this area was composed of a shallow lake or lakes and marshland, which during the 2nd millennium BC started to shrink and leave large deposits of peat, conserving the archaeological evidence of the earlier pile-dwellings. From the 18th century AD onwards, intensive projects of amelioration (building of channels, regulation of the course of the Ljubljanica) were conducted to obtain

more agricultural land. For this reason, the first pile-dwellings were discovered as early as 1875.

The earliest pile-dwellings emerged during the Late Neolithic (Resnikov prekop), but their number increased significantly during the Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age. Today, there are some 40 registered pile-dwellings, of which half have been researched to various extents in the last 150 years. Their greatest concentration is in the second half of the 4th millennium BC (3500–3100) and the first half of the 3rd millennium BC (2900–2400). These short-lived settlements continued to appear until the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.[12] Due to their number, short time span of the individual settlements, relatively numerous excavations and quite extensive use of dendrochronological and radiocarbon dating, the pile-dwellings proved essential for establishing the developmental sequence for continental Slovenia for the period between the 5th and 2nd millennia BC,[13] with a succession of cultures in central Slovenia from the Late Neolithic to Middle Bronze Age. From one of the pile-dwellings came some of the most attractive finds, such as a wooden wheel with axle discovered at Stare gmajne. The wheel, dated to the mid-second half of the 4th millennium BC, is one of the earliest objects of this kind in Europe (Velušček 2002). The Ljubljana Marshes also brought to light the earliest evidence of metallurgy in Slovenia, already from the second half of the 4th millennium BC (Velušček 2008). This should not be a surprise since the Alpine areas are relatively rich in copper ores. Ultimately, and due to its extraordinary archaeology and natural and cultural landscape, the whole area of Ljubljana Marshes is now listed on the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List.

Overall, it seems that around the mid-4th millennium BC in northwestern Slovenia, in the valleys of the Drava and Mura, there existed relatively dense Eneolithic settlement, especially in the areas occupied by the previous Lasinja culture sites. Again, in most cases the settlement and economic patterns did not differ substantially from those of the Late Neolithic. In addition to this, the Lasinja culture sites' sites were appearing well into the Eneolithic period. Some of them also contained finds from the following phase, the Furchenstich pottery culture (e.g. Turnišče), which seemed to be the most widely present Eneolithic phase in northwestern Slovenia (ca. 3800–3500 BC). The Furchenstich pottery is frequently associated with the so-called Retz–Gajary style present in the neighbouring regions in Hungary and Croatia. A very rare type of site from this period is the cemetery Pod Kotom–jug, with 173 cremation graves in urns, dated between 3635 and 3497 (cal. BC) (Šavel 2009).

The Early Bronze Age period (ca. 2300–1600 BC) did not demonstrate particularly radical changes in settlement structure in Slovenia. As a matter of fact, in all areas of the Late Eneolithic settlement, the local groups continued to exist more or less uninterrupted. Pile-dwellings were still being built in the Ljubljana Marshes, and represent the major site type there. Similarly, in other parts of continental Slovenia, the settlement changes (the type of sites, locations), compared to the Late Eneolithic, were not particularly significant, except for some new locations. Moreover, the evidence of metalworking and circulation of metal objects is relatively modest. The only noted difference is the appearance of hilltop settlements, which are still very rare in the Early Bronze Age but become much more common in the following periods.[14]

12 For more precise dendrochronological dates and other chronological data, see Velušček and Čufar (2014).

13 (1) *Sava group of the Lengyel Culture (ca. 4700–4300 BC)* – (2) *Furchenstich pottery Culture (ca. 3800–3500 BC)* – (3) *Stare Gmajne Group (Baden type culture, ca. 3500–3000 BC)* – (4) *Vučedol culture (ca. 2800–2600)* – (5) *Somogyvár–Vinkovci Culture* (ca. 2500–2400) – (6) *Early Bronze Age*.

14 Hilltop settlements and settlements with well-defendable positions (e.g. on river meanders, steep plateaus, in some cases also with palisades) started to appear already with the Late Neolithic period. Still, these were only recently discovered (see P. Turk (2016)).

The change in settlement pattern is much more visible in Adriatic Slovenia, in its karstic and flysch areas where numerous hillforts started to be constructed from the end of the Early Bronze Age. They are mostly characterised by their ramparts and other constructions (e.g. ramps, entrances, etc.) made in the dry-wall technique. It seems that these constructions came to Adriatic Slovenia from the south, from Istria, Kvarner and Dalmatia, where hillforts had already become the most common type of settlement a couple of centuries before. In parallel with hillforts, large stone barrows were raised, clearly signalling the change in mortuary practices. Since the Middle Bronze Age, the hillforts in Adriatic Slovenia, especially in the Karst and Istria, became by far the most common (almost exclusive) type of settlements. These lasted for some 1,500 years until the arrival of the Romans in the 2nd century BC, and so created a particular *longue durée* cultural landscape of later prehistory. This phenomenon can be seen all along the Eastern Adriatic. It is also important to note that in parallel with the appearance of a large number of hillforts there was also a shift in economic pattern towards the greater importance of agriculture, and from stabling flocks of sheep and goat in caves to keeping animals in large enclosures, and also substantially increased remains of cattle and pig in archaeological sites (Fabec 2018, 106–115). Changes emerging with the Middle Bronze Age are also visible in continental Slovenia, where the 'post-Eneolithic' (i.e. Early Bronze Age) settlements ceased to exist, and some new cultural patterns appeared: burials in large earth barrows, frequently equipped with metal objects, and an increased number of metal weapons (e.g. swords, daggers) in graves or as sporadic finds.

But the principal changes occurred with the Late Bronze Age, after the 14th century BC when the Urnfield culture with its regional variants spread from Pannonia across a large portion of southeastern and south-central Europe. With this culture came a series of technological innovations in metalworking and substantial changes in social organisation, economy, and cultural contacts over the large area. In this period a series of large settlements emerged in Slovenia, probably the largest so far, with flat cremation cemeteries containing hundreds of graves. Such large cemeteries have been discovered in all Slovene regions – Alpine, Adriatic, Dinaric and Pannonian. Among the larges cemeteries are Ljubljana–SAZU (Alpine Slovenia); Ruše near Maribor, Dobova, Hajdina (Pannonian Slovenia); Novo mesto–Mestne njive, Mokronog (Dinaric Slovenia); and Brežec (Adriatic Slovenia). In the settlement pattern, probably the most substantial change was a large increase in the number of settlements, almost by an order of magnitude, clearly indicating a large demographic increase. The extent of tilled land and animal husbandry also reached unprecedented levels. New settlement zones were developed in areas previously less intensively settled or not settled during the Late Bronze Age. While in Adriatic Slovenia the hillforts presented the dominant type of settlement, in continental Slovenia the settlement pattern presented more mixed features in flat lowland terrains dominated by larger villages. Still, there were also hillforts and settlements in other types of locations (e.g. lower plateaus, confluences of rivers, river meanders, etc.).

In some cases, it is already possible to speak of the emergence of a settlement hierarchy, with some potential central sites. Such settlement density and an increased population laid the foundations for creating regional groups that shared many general common features of the Urnfield cultural repertoire and developed their own local variants and identities. However, not all zones were equally influenced by the Urnfield culture; their elements are strongest in central and eastern Slovenia, while western parts adopted their elements more selectively. In the Late Bronze Age, regional groups started to develop their local identities, a process which reached its peak in the Early Iron Age. On the other hand, the cultural similarities, now shared on a much larger regional scale, catalysed the intensification of the contacts with Italy and the Aegean and Pannonian regions. The best evidence for

this is a large hoard in Škocjan (Jama na Prevali 2, also known as Mušja jama). In this 50 m deep vertical shaft, some 800 bronze and iron objects (offensive and defensive weapon, jewellery, metal vessels) were deposited (i.e. donated) between the 12th and 8th centuries BC, speaking of its extraordinary religious importance in the wider regional context. Many objects clearly indicate their origins in Italy, the Aegean, Pannonian, or Alpine areas (Teržan, Borgna and Turk 2016).

The Iron Age period, especially its earlier phase (800–300 BC), presents in many respects a continuation and further intensification of large-scale processes that had already started in the late Bronze Age. With regard to the settlement pattern, Iron Age sites continue to appear in even greater numbers. Hillforts became the standard and most frequent type of settlement all over Slovenia. Regional identities were further enhanced, and major regional groups to a great extent corresponded to the 'historical' regions of Slovenia.[15] In general, all the Iron Age groups developed out of their Late Bronze Age (mostly Urnfield) phases. The significant distinctions between them are in the mortuary practices. Some of them buried their dead in large lineage barrows with many dozens of skeleton graves (Lower Carniola Group), others cremated their dead and simply put the ashes in the ground (Sveta Lucija group) or buried the cremated individuals under their own barrow (Styrian group), or even combined different modes of burials.

However, in most cases the burials (grave goods) demonstrated differences in the deceased's social status. Indeed, the Iron Age cemeteries in Slovenia are among the most and best-researched archaeological sites in the country. In the last 150 years more than 12,000 Iron Age graves have been excavated, of which some 7,000 are from the Sveta Lucija group alone.[16] With regard to the settlement pattern, the hierarchisation of settlements reached its peak. Within each of the regional groups, several settlements developed into identifiable 'central places' distinguished through their size, population and relative wealth in their cemeteries. These include Stična, Magdalenska Gora, Novo mesto, Vače, Libna in the Lower Carniola group, as well as Most na Soči in the Sveta Lucija Group, Škocjan in the Inner Carniola group and Poštela in the Styria group, to name just the largest and best researched.[17]

The decline of these communities started after 300 BC with the arrival of Celtic peoples. In Slovenia, the Celts (Norici, Tauriusci) settled mostly in central and eastern regions, but other regions also underwent substantial transformations. The Celtic settlement's core areas in Slovenia were the river valleys of the Sava, Drava, Savinja and Krka. The Celtic settlement created a new countryside, abolishing the traditional pattern of large regional Hallstatt hillforts. While some of these continued to be settled in the La Tène period, but their importance in the settlement pattern was much less than before. The change was also very evident in the burial record. Celtic cemeteries were either at new locations or attached to the Hallstatt burials in mounds, but what distinguished them most was cremation and typical Celtic grave goods.

Two major Celtic peoples settled in Slovenia. North of the Alps, the Noricans had the core area of their Kingdom, which extended to northern and eastern Slovenia (Carinthia, western Styria). Their major centre in Slovenia was in Celje (Keleia/Celeia), where a powerful local elite developed in the 1st century BC, which also minted coins. South of

15 Lower Carniola group (*Dolenjska group*), Styrian group (*Štajerska group*), Upper Carniola group (*Gorenjska group*), Carinthia group (*Koroška* or *Breg–Frög group*), Northern Littoral group (*Sveta Lucija group*) and Inner Carniola Group (*Notranjska group*).

16 I estimate that a number of the Iron Age sites in Slovenia exceeds the figure of 1000. More sites are only from the Roman period.

17 The literature on the Iron Age in Slovenia is abundant; for a general overview, see Gabrovec (1987), for radiocarbon dating and chronology of the Iron Age in Slovenia, see Teržan and Črešnar (2014).

the Norican territory, mostly in Inner and Lower Carniola, was settled by the Taurisci. Opposed to the Noricans, the Taurisci did not form their 'kingdom' but lived in several more loosely connected tribal units. Particularly densely settled was Lower Carniola, where the largest Celtic cemeteries were discovered (e.g. Novo mesto, Mokronog). An especially interesting site from the 1st century BC is Nauportus (Vrhnika) near Ljubljana, where the Romans established their principal point of trade with regions in the southeastern Alps and western Pannonia.[18]

The Romans had already started to advance towards Celtic areas in Slovenia at the beginning of the 2nd century BC. Their most strategic move was establishing the colony of Aquileia near the mouth of Soča/Isonzo to the Adriatic Sea in 181 BC, making a strong base for further advances to the east. Combining political negotiations with military incursions, they soon succeeded in conquering western Slovenia and Istria, making them part of the province Galia Cisalpina. The final stabilisation of Roman rule came with the foundations of the colonies Tergeste (Trieste) and Pola in the mid-1st century BC. With Augustus's reforms, the territory of western Slovenia was included in the 10th region of Italy. The rest of Slovenia was divided among the Provinces of Noricum (northern-central Slovenia) and Upper Pannonia (central and eastern Slovenia). After successful military campaigns against the western Balkans and Pannonian peoples, the Romans established four towns in what is now Slovenia: Emona (Ljubljana) in AD 14, Celeia (Celje) during the reign of Claudius, and Nevioudunum (Drnovo near Krško (Flavian municipum) and the colony of Poetovio (Ptuj) during Trajan's reign. The Romans constructed quite an extensive network of roads. The principal node in the road network was Emona. Towards the southwest, the principal road led to Aquileia, another road went north, along the River Sava Valley, towards the Alpine passes. In the northeastern direction, the road connected Emona with Celeia and Poetovio. The eastern road lead from Emona to Neviodunum, Siscia and further east towards Sirmium and Moesia, along the Sava Valley. Crossing southwestern Slovenia, there were also two short tracks of roads connecting Tergeste with Pola and Tarsatica (Rijeka). Altogether, there were some 450–500 kilometres of the principal roads (*viae publicae*) and at least twice as many secondary and tertiary roads.

Developed urban centres and a relatively dense road network, coupled with the long-lasting stable period of peace, resulted in a very dense settlement of Slovenia between the 1st and 4th centuries AD. Indeed, it is this period from which the largest number of archaeological sites are known.[19] Of course, the richest sites are urban centres with cemeteries that contained thousands of graves (e.g. Emona, Poetovio, Neviodunum). Moreover, their town plans are relatively well researched, and those of Emona and Ptuj in particular (Gaspari 2014; Horvat J. and Vičič 2010). Among the Roman cemeteries in Slovenia, a special place is given to the cemetery at Šempeter, with extraordinary monumental tomb monuments of the Celeian Roman elite made in the so-called Norican-Pannonian artistic style (Klemenc 1972). The Roman countryside also demonstrates a wide variety of different structures densely dispersed across Slovenia: villas, road stations, villages, hamlets, vicinal roads, quarries, workshops and so on.

In addition to this, some significant military camps and forts were also constructed, and during the time of the advance of the Romans (the period of Augustus), there was a large military camp near Obrežje in Sava valley and some smaller camps around it, at the very border with Croatia. During the Markoman wars (168–180 AD), another large camp was raised at Ločica near Celje. Especially intensive was the building of military structures in the Late Roman period.

18 On Nauportus, see Horvat J. (1990; 2020).

19 Based on ARKAS (*Arheološki kataster Slovenije*) data, 58% of 5,185 dated sites belong to the Roman period (other periods: prehistory 33%, medieval period: 8%).

From this time the most important military construction in Slovenia is associated with the Late Roman system of defence – Claustra Alpium Iuliarum. This limes-type system was constructed in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD to protect the eastern passages to Italy. It consisted of a series of forts, towers and wall blockades and other types of barriers extending from Rijeka in Croatia across the whole of western Slovenia, ending in the Gail Valley in the southern Austrian Alps, blocking all major roads and passages to Italy (Šašel and Petru 1971).

Following the fall of the Western Roman Empire, several Germanic and other tribes crossed Slovenia's territory on their incursions into Italy: the Huns, the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Langobards, and later also the Magyars. Some areas of Slovenia constituted, over short periods, parts of the kingdoms of the Ostrogoths and Langobards, which also left some traces in the archaeological record. By the mid-5th century AD, all the Roman urban centres were destroyed, abandoned or otherwise ceased to continue, together with numerous villas in the countryside. The Roman population sought retreat in mountainous areas, building smaller, frequently fortified settlements (*refugia*), which lasted well into the 6th and maybe the 7th century AD. More than 40 such *refugia* in Slovenia have been recorded so far.[20] The best researched are Ajdovski Gradec above Vranje, Rifnik, Tonovcev grad and Ajdna nad Potoki (Sagadin 1994). One kind of *refugium* was a smaller community settlement (a 'parish'), frequently having its central church as the most elaborated and largest structure built in stone. Near many of these cemeteries were also discovered, giving a good insight into the local post-Roman material culture. Significant evidence for this transitional period also came from larger cemeteries which indicate the existence of some larger communities (e.g. Kranj–Lajh, Ljubljana–Dravlje) in the 6th century AD.[21] The grave goods point to a mixed population, with the local inhabitants dominant, but with Goths or Langobards also present.

However, only with the arrival of the Slavs, from around the late 6th or early 7th century AD, did a more intensive re-settling of major river valleys and old settlement areas in lowlands began. The Slavs seem to arrive in several phases, mostly from the northeast and east. According to the jewellery, three phases were proposed for the period from the late 6th to 11th centuries AD – Carantanian culture, Köttlach culture and then Belo Brdo culture, mostly based on the analyses of larger Slavic cemeteries in Slovenia (e.g. Bled, Kranj–Župna cerkev, Ptuj) and Austria. In general, the Slavs gradually spread over the areas which were already densely settled in the Roman period. There is no evidence of any larger settlements or forts or 'burgs' from the two earlier Slavic phases, apart from those constructed in the late Roman period and re-settled by Slavs. Instead, the new Slavic settlements were mostly smaller villages and hamlets, with simple houses, frequently dug into the ground, with stone very rarely used as a building material. The repertoire in these houses speaks to a rather modest material culture, with simple and rather coarse vessels, sometimes decorated with incised parallel wavy lines as the most frequent types of finds. Only recently, with the 'motorway' excavations of large open areas, have some more data on the settlement of Slavs been collected (e.g. Guštin 2010), confirming the relatively simple social organisation of the new settlers. More complex built structures were either those that were reused or which emerged only in the later phases of stabilising the Slavic settlement (e.g. at Ptuj Castle). It took a century or so before the first local Slavic principalities were formed (8th century AD). Before the arrival of the Franks, the largest and most powerful principality was Carantania, with its core area north of the Alps, in today's southern Austria.[22] Historical sources, associated

20 Similar *refugia* are also very frequent in southern Austria.

21 See more in Slabe (1975) and Stare V. (1980).

22 Carantania gave the name to the historical province of Carinthia (*Kärnten*), now one of the Austrian federal provinces.

with the Christianisation of Carantania from the late 8th century AD onwards, describe its society as already ranked, structured around a common prince and having hereditary rules regarding succession to the throne.

After the beginning of the 9th century AD, amidst Charles the Great's conquests, the largest part of Slovenia was first included in the Kingdom of the Franks to be later integrated into the Holy Roman Empire, where it remained until its official dissolution during the Napoleonic wars. After that, Slovenia became part of the Austrian Empire until 1918. The instalment of a feudal system was gradual, and it was also associated with colonisation of large, poorly settled areas, which lasted until the 12th century AD. By the 14th century AD, numerous mountainous zones were also re-settled. The countryside was filled with villages, hamlets and small castles and towers. The 13th and 14th centuries AD are also the time of the rapid emergence of medieval towns and markets. An essential role in its political development was played by the formation of so-called Inner Austrian provinces during the Late Middle Ages in the 14th century: Carniola, Carinthia, Styria and the province of Gorizia.[23] These arose from the early historic territorial units, and they became established as the regional division of Slovenia which is still present in many cultural and historical aspects.

The Slovene medieval provinces were well integrated, politically, economically and culturally, in the Holy Empire. Centuries of German cultural and political supremacy had a major influence on Slovenia's historical development in many components of its culture. This is why Slovenia cannot simply be considered a 'typical' Balkan country, even though it was part of the Yugoslav federation for most of the 20th century.

In the political developments in the Habsburg Empire in the mid-19th century appeared the first programmes for uniting Slovenia, which only grew through time. In 1918, in the collapsing Austro-Hungarian state, the Slovenes and Croats rebelled against Austrian rule. They chose to form a united state with Serbia and Montenegro – the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. However, the western part of today's Slovenia was annexed to the Italian Kingdom.[24] Western Slovenia, taken by Italy after the First World War, was incorporated later, after 1945. Despite the significant political instability and economic weakness of the Yugoslav Kingdom (1918–1941), Slovenia preserved its territorial unity (as the Banate of Drava) and continued to strengthen its national and cultural identity that was different from that of other South Slavic nations. In terms of religion, Slovenes are predominantly Roman Catholics, but a 16th-century Protestant movement left important traces in Slovenes' history and culture, especially in establishing the Slovene language.[25]

In 1941, when Germany with its allies invaded Yugoslavia, Slovenia was divided into three occupation zones: Italian (west of the River Sava), German (between the Sava and Mura rivers), and Hungarian (north of the Mura), and all three countries planned to annex these territories to their respective states. The National Liberation Movement (NLM), led by the Slovene Communist Party, was soon organised and openly fought the occupiers to prevent this.[26] In two years,

23 Carniola was the only province whose territory (and its capital) is entirely in today's territory of Slovenia. Other provinces included large portions of land in Italy (Adriatic Littoral), Austria (Carinthia and Styria) or Croatia (Adriatic Littoral).

24 Even during the first decade of the Yugoslav Kingdom, Slovenia was not administratively united. It was split between the provinces of Ljubljana and Maribor. Only after forming larger provinces (banates/*banovine*) in 1929, were both Slovene provinces united into the Drava Banate. Western Slovenia with the Littoral was under Italian rule.

25 The earliest prints (abbreviated religious and clerical texts) in the Slovene language appeared in 1550. In the next 40 years, a distinguished corpus of more than 50 books in the Slovene language was published, including a translation of the Bible (1583) and the first grammar of the Slovene language (1584). All the earliest Slovene prints were made in the Protestant context.

26 The Slovene NLM was part of the all-Yugoslav NLM, lead by Josip Broz Tito.

especially after Italy's capitulation in 1943, the NLM grew into a well-organised and potent military force controlling most of Slovenia's territory. After the end of the Second World War, Slovenia became one of the six constituent republics of the renewed Yugoslavia. The Slovene territories annexed by Italy in 1918 were returned.

'New' Yugoslavia was established on the Soviet model, with the socialist system and the Communist Party ruling the state. However, in 1948, when Yugoslavia opposed Soviet supremacy among the socialist states, the country started to gradually open to the West. With the considerable support of the Western countries, a massive modernisation and industrialisation campaign was launched. Being already the most industrialised and 'Western' among all Yugoslav republics, Slovenia made giant developmental steps in this period and fully established its national political, economic and cultural institutions. National and political tensions in Yugoslavia and the economic crisis, which all grew in the 1980s, ultimately led to Yugoslavia's collapse in 1991 and Slovenia's proclamation of independence. Slovenia was largely excluded from the civil war which followed in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in 1992 became a member of the United Nations, and in 2004 a member of the European Union.

Antiquarians, the *Landeskunde* tradition and the Enlightenment projects

Other than Croatia, Slovenia had, without doubt, the longest tradition of antiquarian and historiographic activities among the archaeologies in the former Yugoslavia, dating from as early as the Renaissance. The pioneers of this tendency are found in Ljubljana, the capital of the centrally located Slovene province of Carniola (Kranjska), and in the coastal towns of northern Istria (ruled by Venice), most prominently the town of Koper (*Capodistria*).

The first works that could broadly be classified as antiquarian, historical, and historical-geographical mainly included various itineraries, travel journals, texts on local geography, and notes on epigraphic monuments and the first historiographical synthesis of the local past. The author of the earliest mentions of Roman inscriptions in Slovenia was Paulus Santoninus (?–1508/10), a secretary at the Patriarch's Court in Aquileia. As a member of the Patriarch's entourage during his inspection travels, he produced the manuscript entitled *Itinerarum*,[27] where he noted some historical and epigraphic records in the places they visited, such as Celje (the Roman town of Celeia). He noted that, due to abundant Roman ruins, the inhabitants called it 'Little Troy'. The work of Santonini cannot, however, be considered as a proper antiquarian activity. Still, already these, for the most part, unsystematic observations point to the local population's awareness of the rich pasts of their towns.

The first true antiquarian of Carniola was Avguštin (Augustinus) Prygl (also known as Tyffernus,[28] about 1470–1535), a secretary and architect of Krištof Raubar, the Bishop of Ljubljana, who contributed significantly to the cultural development of Ljubljana Diocese and the entire province of Carniola. Prygl was very active in his antiquarian endeavours. He maintained contacts with Italian and other European scholars and was a member of the Academy in Naples. He was undoubtedly one of the most important 'promoters' of Italian Renaissance culture in Carniola. During his visits to Italy, Rome and Naples, he recorded Roman inscriptions and wrote a preface to a brief study on the antiques of a small Italian town of Puteolo.[29] Sometimes referred to as Antiquus Austriacus in the epigraphic literature, Augustinus Prygl is also an author of two collections of manuscripts on the Roman inscriptions from

27 For more details on his visit, see *Santonin Paolo, Popotni dnevnik.* Ljubljana 1991.

28 His real name was Auguštin Prug(e)l or Prygl, and he was born in Laško (Tüffer) near Celje (in Styria).

29 *Libellus de mirabilibus civitatis Puteolorum et locorum vicinorum ac de nominibus virtutibusque balneorum ibidem existentium.* A study written by an Italian antiquarian Francesco de Accoltisi (1507).

Inner Austrian provinces. These manuscripts were later sourced by Theodor Mommsen in his *Corpus Inscriptionem Latinorum* and are nowadays kept in Vienna's National Library. Many humanities' scholars from the German Empire consulted these manuscripts, among others Konrad Peuntinger and Wolfgang Lazius. That the ancient history of Carniola and the neighbouring provinces was well-known already in the 16th century is also indicated by the map created by Wolfgang Lazius,[30] showing Roman towns and other important places from ancient history, including the places of the ancient legends that circulated in Carniola back then (for instance, the Argonauts myth).

It is no surprise that antiquarian and historical activities were very intensive in the Venetian coastal towns in northern Istria.[31] Here, one should point out to scholars such as Pier Paolo Vergerio (the Elder), (1370–1444) from Koper, a statesman, lawyer and diplomat, and an influential thinker on the nature and significance of humanities. After a career in Florence and Bologna, he moved to Budapest's Imperial court, where he remained until his death. He wrote an essay *De situ urbis Iustinopolitanae* in which he describes the ancient town of Aegida (the assumed predecessor of the town of Koper). Giacomo Filippo Tommasini (1595–1654), a bishop from Novigrad in Istria is the author of, for a long while, the principal geographical and historical description of Istria, *De commentarii storici-geografici della provincia dell'Istria libri otto con appendice*.[32] Venetian Istria, considered an Italian region, was frequently included in various historical description, itineraries and maps of wider Italy. The most notable are the contributions of Flavio Biondo in his *Italia Illustrata* (1453), Marino Sanudo in Itinerario per la Terraferma Veneta (1483), Pietro Coppo in *Del sito de Listria* (1540) and Leandro Alberti in *Descrittione di tutta Istria* (see more in Darovec 1999).

With the beginning of the Enlightenment in the 17th century, antiquarian activities in the Slovene provinces advanced notably, with some local scholars' works comparable to those of Italian and Austrian historians and antiquarians. Janez Ludvik Schönleben (1618–1681), a theologist, philosopher, historian and professor of rhetoric in Linz, Vienna and Ljubljana, published the first substantial study on the history of the province of Carniola in 1681.[33] His work was continued and notably expanded by Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641–1693), a topographer and naturalist, whose research on the karstic Cerknica Lake made him a member of the Royal Society in London in 1687. In 1689 Valvasor published his monumental study – a synthesis of the geography, topography, ethnography and history of the Dutchy of Carniola (*Die Ehre des Herzogthums Krain*) in fifteen volumes, also known for its numerous excellent woodcut illustrations of places, towns, castles and scenes from everyday life. For nearly two centuries, this work served as a reference source for the

30 Wolfgang Lazius, *Ducatus Carniolae et Histriae vna cvm Marchia Windorum* (1561). This map was part of the Lazius' atlas *Typy Chorographici Prouin: Austriae cum explicatione earundem pro Commen: Rer: Austriacar: concinnati ad Heros fuos Ferdin: Imp: Rom: p.F. & Maximilianum Regem* (1561).

31 The region of Istria is today divided between Italy (the area of Trieste), Slovenia and Croatia. The town of Trieste, with its immediate hinterland, belonged to Austria since the late 14th century together with the Istrian interior. Venetian territories were south of Trieste along the western and eastern Istrian coasts. Though parts of Istria are today in Croatia, I have presented the earliest antiquarian activities in this chapter for the reasons of coherence. Until the Napoleonic era, the town of Koper was the strongest Venetian centre in the region. For further details on the Renaissance antiquarians in Istria, see Cunja (1992) and Slapšak and Novaković (1996).

32 His work was preserved in the form of a manuscript until 1837, when it was published by Domenico Rosetti in the journal *Archaeografo Triestino* (see Tommasini 1837).

33 J. L. Schönleben, *Carniola antiqua et nova sive annales sacroprophani*, Ljubljana 1681, vol. 1, encompasses the period of early Carniola up to Christianisation in 800 BC. The work is mostly based on data compiled from the existing bibliography; however, he also visited some archaeological places. Two additional volumes were planned but not published due to Schönleben's departure from the area. It is assumed that he was also the author of two volumes containing drawings of archaeological finds – *Numismata e ruderibus veteris Labaci erruta*.

historical geography of the Slovene provinces (Valvasor 1689).[34] Towards the end of the 17th century, another scholar well connected with Italy's antiquarian centres was active in Ljubljana – Janez Gregor Dolničar (Thalnitscher), Schönleben's nephew, a jurist and historian. He was the author of the first proper historical studies on ancient Emona and its antiquities, and in 1693 created a manuscript on the antiquities of the city of Ljubljana.[35]

Of the 18th century scholars coming from Venetian towns in Istria, Gian Rinaldo Carli (1720–1795), born in Koper, had the best international reputation of his time. He was an economist and founder of the Accademia degli Operosi (1739) in Koper and a member and the Director of the Accademia dei Ricoverati in Padua. He was a professor of economics, astronomy, and geography in Pisa and Milano for a while, and wrote influential studies on monetary systems and the management of public funds, as well as political and philosophical treatises and geographical and economics studies. His works investigating the early history of Istria and Italy were also extremely important. For the history of archaeology, his most influential works include *Delle antichità di Capodistria* (Venezia, 1743), *Delle antichità romane dell'Istria* (Venezia, 1760; 2 volumes), as well as his most important work – *Antichità Italiche* – published in five volumes between 1788 and 1791. Gian Rinaldo Carli is also known as one of the first excavators of the Roman amphitheatre in Pula (*Relazione delle scoperte fatte nell'anfiteatro di Pola nel mese di giugno 1750 dal conte Gian Rinaldo Carli-Rubbi*, Venezia 1750). Moreover, he demonstrated the invalidity of the previous interpretation of the internal wooden construction of the amphitheatre.[36]

Gian Rinaldo Carli's example is illustrative but also a common occurrence when it comes to intellectual traditions and achievements that do not fit easily into the frames of modern national schools, mostly since the state borders kept shifting over time. Without a doubt, Carli's work belongs to a broader Italian (Venetian) tradition of historians and antiquarians. However, his impact on the development of local studies of Koper and Istria's ancient history cannot be ignored. Later on, both Slovene and Croatian local archaeological traditions were based to a great extent on this work. Indeed, instead of asking the question 'Who does Gian Rinaldo Carli belong to?' it is thus more useful to look at which later traditions he contributed to.[37]

In the period between the 17th and 19th centuries in northern Istria's coastal towns (Koper, Trieste, Piran, Izola, Novigrad), there were relatively numerous scholars who studied the local and regional history. For instance, the town of Koper itself had five different academies in the 18th century. At that time, academies also existed in Piran, Gorizia and Trieste, making this area a relatively strong intellectual region, which contributed significantly to local antiquarianism and scientific activities. This became even more evident in the 19th century, when some important institutions were founded, such as museums and several scholarly societies.

34 His other important works include *Topographia Ducatus Carniolae modernae* (1679), *Topographia Archiducatus Carinthiae modernae* (1681) and *Topographia Archiducatus Carinthiae antiquae et modernae* (1688).

35 Dolničar was also a member of the Academy Gelatorum in Bologna, Academy Arcadum in Rome and the academies in Venice and Forlì. His other important works include *Cypressus seu Epitaphia Labacensis* (1688–1691), a systematic collection of historical sources on Ljubljana, and *Nucleus selectarum Inscriptionum Vetrum et Novarum* (1709).

36 See more on Gian Rinaldi Carli's activities associated with Slovenia in Apih (1973), Šmitek (1997) and Cunja (1997).

37 Even the inclusion of the description of the work of Gian Rinaldo Carli here (also, in a broader sense, of other early Venetian scholars) is, in this sense, problematic. However, it would be unjustifiable not to mention such an influential figure just because Carli is most often considered an Italian scientist. Since he originated from Koper, and due to the important work he carried out in this town, I have decided to include Carli's contribution to the Slovene archaeology traditions. His work certainly deserves to be included in the history of Croatian archaeology as well.

The earliest works on the national history of the Slovenes appeared towards the end of the 18th century. They must be viewed in the context of the late Enlightenment and the beginning of the national revival, accelerated by Napoleon's conquests and formation of the Illyrian Provinces, an autonomous territory within the French Empire. Here, an important role was played by intellectual circles in Ljubljana, especially the group around Sigismund Zois, an industrialist and patron of arts and sciences. His circle united the most prominent and liberal Slovene intellectuals of Carniola at the turn of the 18th century. One of them was a historian and man of letters, Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756–1795), who published a key piece on the birth of Slovene historiography, *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und der übrigen südlich Slaven Österreichs* (1788–1791). In this study, the Slovene nation was for the first time defined not only based on the common language,[38] but also explicitly on the grounds of shared history since the early medieval times. Of particular interest here is the first part of his book, which deals with the history of Slovene territory before the Slavs' arrival. This is where Linhart employed a relatively correct reading of ancient sources and the archaeological evidence known at the time (mostly from the bibliography). By the standards of the time he presented a very good overview of Slovene lands' ancient history.[39] His account of the effect of physical geography on the development of settlements is especially worth mentioning. Linhart was not a geographical determinist, which was a relatively common standpoint in similar studies of this period. Instead, he considered a different though related concept – the way of life as a distinct structure that stands between geography and history and, in its own way, contributes to the construction of the identity of a nation.

A close associate of Linhart's, and a member of the same intellectual circle, was Valentin Vodnik (1758–1819), a priest, poet, gymnasium professor and author of historical and linguistic textbooks. In archaeology, Vodnik is known for his studies of ancient tombstones and other Roman finds,[40] which he observed during his travels and field research. He also commissioned the making of a copy of the famous Roman itinerary *Tabula Peutingeriana* kept in Vienna. His archaeological activities were influenced by Etienne-Marie Siavue[41], an officer in the French administration in Napoleon's Illyrian Provinces, with whom he paid visits to archaeological sites. They probably undertook the first 'archaeological' excavations of an Iron Age barrow in Stična.

Development of the archaeological discipline and practice in Slovenia during the Austrian Empire (1800–1918)

In the 19th century, Austria was one of the leading European countries in terms of the development of archaeology. The main centre was certainly Vienna, with its museums, university and prominent scholarly societies. An essential role in facilitating the advancement of archaeological research was played by the Imperial Court, which had a long tradition of patronage in establishing the collection of antiquities originating from the Empire's provinces, diplomatic gifts and, also, in acquiring antiquities from Italy, Greece and Egypt.[42] In the

38 The modern Slovene language developed much earlier. Its origin is linked with the works of the Slovene Protestant scholars from the second half of the 16th century, who published the first books in the Slovene language.

39 Linhart did not confine himself only to questions about national history, but was also an important figure in the development of the modern Slovene language, culture and literature, and was the author of the first drama written in the Slovene language. For more on Linhart's historiographical achievements in the development of archaeology, see Slapšak and Novaković (1996).

40 V. Vodnik, *Römische Denkmähler in Illyrien* (LW 1818; Archiv f. Geogr., Historie, Staats un Kriegskunst 1818).

41 Ettiene-Marie Siuave (?–1813), French archaeologist, and member of the Académie Celtique. He described his research in Slovenia *De Antiquis Norici viis, urbibus et finibus epistola* (Verona 1811).

42 Here I mention only Anton Lavrin (Anton Ritter von Laurin), a Slovene from Vipava, and Austrian consul in

Austrian Monarchy, archaeology developed in parallel with the establishment of museum institutions. Large museums founded in Vienna and, a little later, in Prague and Budapest,[43] were soon followed by numerous museums in the provinces. They all played an important part in promoting the new discipline of archaeology.

The development of archaeology in Slovenia followed the very same pattern. The crucial step was the establishment of the first institutions that studied archaeological finds professionally – the Provincial Museum of Styria in Graz (1811) and the Provincial Museum of Carniola (Kranjska) in Ljubljana (1821), along with the Monument Protection Service of the Austrian Empire (1850). The Museum of Carinthia in Klagenfurt (1843) was less present in the territory of Slovenia, whilst the two municipal museums in Trieste – the HistoricalMuseum (1876) and the Natural History Museum (1846) were indeed very active in the field of archaeology and also in Istria and the Littoral. In was also in that region, in 1911, that the municipal museum in Koper was established. In the province of Styria, three municipal museums (and their respective museum societies) were also founded, in Celje (1892), Ptuj (1893) and Maribor (1903).

In the 'Austrian' system (but not in the Hungarian part of the Empire), in the protection of heritage certain crucial tasks were assigned to the Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Historical and Art Monuments (*Kaiserlich-Königlich Central Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmäle*),[44] founded in Vienna in 1850, making it so one of the earliest monument protection services in Europe. The Commission acted in the field through its provincial offices managed by 'conservators'. The Commission's offices responsible for the territory of Slovenia were located in Trieste (Adriatic Littoral), Ljubljana (Carniola) and Graz (Styria). In principle, the conservators were professional public civil servants, but they frequently combined different positions in their work (heads of museums, gymnasia directors, etc.). The conservators also maintained networks of local 'correspondents', local scholars, teachers, clerics and so on, who were informing the conservators about discoveries, potential threats to monuments and the like. Although the Commission's main task was to catalogue and protect the listed monuments, many provincial conservators also carried out archaeological investigations, especially archaeological topography.[45]

Among all such institutions, the Provincial Museum of Carniola had the most significant role in developing archaeology in Slovenia. It was, indeed, the central institution (and often the only one) for archaeological research practically up until the end of the Second World War. As was the custom at the time, some scholarly societies were founded and appended to the museum, such as the Museum Society of Carniola (1839) and the Historical Society of Carniola (1843).[46]

Alexandria in the 1830s and 1840s who collected Egyptian antiquities for the Austrian Imperial Court. Lavrin sold most of his collection to Archduke Maximilian, who used the pieces to decorate his Miramare Castle near Trieste. Other 'receivers' of the Egyptian antiquities were the Austrian Academy, National Museum in Budapest, Art History Museum in Vienna, Imperial-Royal Cabinet for Numismatics and Antiques in Vienna, Provincial Museum in Ljubljana. More on Lavrin see in Hamernik (1986) and Šmitek (1987).

43 The museums in Prague (1818) and Budapest (1811) had an evident political basis, as they were national museums of the Czechs and Hungarians. The museums in Vienna, however, had an Imperial perspective.

44 Its official name was the Central Commission for the Study and Preservation of the Monuments of Architecture. In 1873, it changed the name to the Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Historical and Art Monuments. It functioned within the Ministry of Trade, Crafts and Public Construction but was overseen by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Education and the Academy of Sciences and Arts. It consisted of three main departments: (1) archaeology (prehistoric and ancient monuments), (2) history of Art, and (3) Written records from the Middle Ages up to the 18th century.

45 Among the most successful and long-term positive actions of the Commission was the decree to collect the Roman (and other) inscriptions on tombstones and similar pieces and immured them into nearest active churches.

46 The tensions and long competition between different influential figures in these two societies caused a profound crisis which was eventually overcome by their unification in 1885, overseen by Karel Dežman.

However, it was not before the mid-1870s that the Provincial Museum of Carniola started being actively engaged in archaeological investigations. Karel Dežman (1821–1889), head of the museum 1852–1889, encouraged by the chance discovery of pile-dwellings (similar to those around the Swiss lakes) and supported by the Anthropological Society of Vienna, started the first large excavations in the Ljubljana Marshes, near the village of Ig (1875–1878) (Deschmann 1875a; 1875b; 1876; 1878). In Slovenia, these excavations are traditionally considered the hallmark of modern scientific archaeology.

Karel Dežman, a naturalist by profession, successfully introduced modern scientific standards into the practice of museums and local scientific societies in which he had some influence.[47] He strongly criticised the naive and speculative historical theories on the origin of the Slovenes, and because of this, Slovene historiography considers him one of the first Slovene critical historians. The novelty that Dežman introduced into archaeological practice in Carniola was a fresh concept of prehistory that, following the existing Austrian and German classification of scientific disciplines, was seen as part of a broader science of combined anthropology (*Völkerkunde*), palaeontology and prehistory. The main protagonist of such science in Europe was Rudolph Virchow.

In line with such a concept of prehistory, Dežman brought new anthropological and evolutionary contents into Slovene archaeology, whose traditional perspective up to that point was markedly historical and philological. Through his early excavations in the Ljubljana Marshes over the ensuing decade, he managed to develop a reasonably solid conceptual frame for the new discipline. He published the first syntheses of the prehistory of Carniola and also distinguished the *La Tène* period in Slovenia only a few years after Tischler had construed this chronological epoch.[48] For his efforts and the quality of this work Dežman earned great respect from his colleagues in Austria, who organised a scientific meeting in Ljubljana to honour his discoveries.[49] Karel Dežman also had significant political power as he was the Mayor of Ljubljana and a Member of Parliament in Vienna for a short while. His political influence was probably crucial to his successful lobbying for a new building for the provincial museum, which was opened in 1888 and represented the largest public palace built in Carniola up to then. Having moved the museum to a new building, Dežman set up a permanent archaeological collection and prepared the museum guide.[50] The two became the pride of the scientific community in Carniola, and a commendable example of an outstanding activity at a provincial institution in Austria. Unfortunately, Dežman did not publish the results of his excavation in the Ljubljana Marshes. It took more than 80 years for the Ig excavations to be published and interpreted as the richest late Eneolithic site in the wider region. One could only wonder what impact the early publication would have had on the development of chronology and cultural interpretations in the late 19th century in the broader context of Central European archaeology.

Dežman's successors in the Museum of Carniola could not maintain such a high level of archaeology. Their priorities and scientific approaches were significantly different from Dežman's. Alphons Müllner (museum Director from 1888 to

47 In the literature, Dežman is referred to under different names – Dragotin, Karl, and Carl. For further details on Dežman, see Novaković (2001).

48 Prähistorische Ansiedlungen und Begrabnisstätten in Krain I. Bericht, *Denkschriften der k.k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Matematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Classe* 42, Vienna 1880 (Deschmann 1880b), 1–54; Zur Vorgeschichte Krains, in*: Die österreichisch-ungarisch Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Kärnten und Krain*, Vienna 1891, 305–324 (Deschmann 1891).

49 In 1879, Dežman organised an annual meeting of the Austrian Anthropological Society in Ljubljana (Deschmann et al. 1880a, *Versammlung österreichischer Anthropologen und Urgeschichtsforschers in Laibach am 28. und 29. Juli 1879, Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* X, Vienna, 163–164).

50 Deschmann, K. (1888), *Führer durch das Krainische Landes-Museum Rudolfinum in Laibach.*

1903), a naturalist just like Dežman, pursued the work in different directions. Slovene archaeology usually points out his two greatest mistakes: locating the Roman town of Emona at the village of Ig (ca. 10 km south of Ljubljana) based on the relatively large number of Roman inscriptions documented in this area; and his primary mistake – rearrangement of the museum collections according to the principles of typology, without noting down the original burial contexts. As a result of this rearrangement, in 1900 Müllner published the book *Typische Formen aus dem archäologischen Sammlung des Krainisches Landesmuseum Rudolphinum in Laibach in photographischen Reproductionen*, which some of the prominent archaeologists of the time, such as Paul Reinecke, valued very highly as an excellent example of publishing the catalogues of finds. Moreover, Müllner's mistakes are more understandable when considered in context. When he placed Emona in Ig, the Roman Emona in Ljubljana was not yet excavated, and thus its existence in this location could not be stated unambiguously.

More interesting and, for Slovene archaeology more important, was the next museum Director – Walter Schmid (1875–1951). He was the head of the Provincial Museum of Carniola for only a short period (1905–1909), but continued his archaeological work after he moved to Graz and took up a position as a curator in the Provincial Museum of Styria, which also covered large parts of present-day eastern Slovenia. Schmid was the first such expert with formal education in archaeology, which he gained from the University of Graz. His archaeological profile was utterly different from that of the two previous directors of the museum in Ljubljana, and his approach was distinctively historical, with the archaeology he practised possible to describe as a regional historical discipline. Although the sphere of interest of archaeologists of the time was very wide, his primary focus was on the archaeology of the Roman provinces Noricum and Pannonia, whilst he also investigated archaeological topics of later prehistory (primarily the Iron Age). Indeed, his most significant research contribution was on the process of Romanisation and organisation of the Roman state in the territory of modern Slovenia. His work in other research areas is also of significance, such as the earliest investigations of Slavic cemeteries and the excavations of Iron Age hilltop settlements. After Schmid had moved to Graz in 1909, there were no archaeologists in the Provincial Museum of Carniola for almost two decades, which was reflected in the notable decline in archaeological activities and their quality. The museum, which in 1920 changed its status and became the National Museum (of Slovenia), was able to recover from this setback only through a major reorganisation and the employment of archaeologists following the end of the Second World War.

Another fully active archaeological service before 1918 was the Central Commission with its provincial offices in Ljubljana, Trieste and, later, Pula. Some conservation activities were also carried out by museums. The most prominent among the conservators was Simon Rutar (1851–1903), a historian who directed Ljubljana's office. Rutar was first a gymnasium professor in Gorizia, Kotor and Split (today in Montenegro and Croatia, respectively). During his service in Dalmatia, he also worked as an assistant of the Archaeological Museum and the Conservation office in Split. There he closely collaborated with Frane Bulić, the principal archaeological authority in Dalmatia.[51] Rutar's most significant work was a study on the Roman roads and fortifications in Carniola, which he wrote together with Anton Premerstein.[52] This laid important

51 On Frane Bulić, see more in the chapter on Croatia.

52 A. Premerstein and S. Rutar, *Römische Strassen und Befestigungen in Krain*, Vienna 1899. Anton Premerstein (1869–1935), archaeologist and historian, was born in Ljubljana and studied Classics and Ancient History at the University of Vienna; starting in 1898 he was a professor (*'privat Dozent'*) for Greek and Roman history at the University of Vienna and was later Secretary of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Athens (1906–1912), professor of Ancient History at the German University at Prague (1912–1916) and the University of Marburg am Lahn (from 1916 until his retirement), and a correspondent member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (1934).

foundations for future studies in the field of archaeology and military history in Slovenia. Another of Rutar's publications, perhaps less significant for its scope but more for the idea, is his short Slovene-German dictionary of archaeological terminology,[53] which represents one of the first steps in the formation of archaeology as a national discipline in Slovenia.[54]

During the Austrian period, special attention was paid to archaeological topography and cartography, and so these aspects became quite advanced in Slovenia. The tradition of producing maps dates as far back as the time of Linhart and even earlier, from the end of the 18th century. Linhart's maps did not yet represent what could be considered proper archaeological maps, but were historical maps complementing the texts. A similar characterisation applies to the map published in 1825 by Albert Anton Muchar, professor of Classical Philology at the University of Graz. His map (*Tabula Norici Romani*) was published as an appendix to his book on Roman Norican history (Muchar 1825–1826).[55]

The map published in 1862 by Peter Radics (1836–1912) in his book on the history of Carniola can be considered the first genuine archaeological map of Carniola.[56] About 150 archaeological sites, exclusively Roman, were mapped and classified into fifteen different categories, although Radics mapped the sites using only information provided in the literature. At around the same time, the archaeological map of Styria was published, created by Friedrich Pichler. This was essentially a map of numismatic findings, along with the locations of some other archaeological sites.[57] The sites were placed into three groups – prehistoric, Roman and Merovingian period sites – and further classified as Roman roads, supposed Roman roads, Roman inscriptions and other sites.

Archaeological maps were a vital tool for the Central Commission and its efforts in protecting historical and archaeological monuments. As such, the Commission ordered a new archaeological map of Carniola, which Anton Globočnik produced.[58] His map contained around 190 archaeological sites, and for nearly half of them bibliographic data was also provided. This was, until this point, the most detailed archaeological map of Carniola and, with some later additions, represented an essential tool for future researchers.[59]

Among the important cartographic projects of this time there is also *Carta archeologica dell'Istria*, designed in 1864 by a historian and conservator from Trieste, Pietro Kandler. Unfortunately, it was not published, and neither were the draft versions preserved. Its content is known indirectly through Kandler's contemporaries' work (see Bandelli 1977 for more details). Kandler's map contained over 300 archaeological sites in Istria, which at the time was a vast number. Among them predominated prehistoric hilltop settlements – hillforts (*kaštelirji/castellieri*) and ancient settlements. What distinguished Kandler's map is the fact that it was based on authentic field research by the author and his assistants.

53 S. Rutar, Slovensko-nemška starinoslovska terminologija. *Izvestja Muzejskega društva za Kranjsko* III, Ljubljana 1893.

54 In his study of Slovene archaeology in the 19th century, J. Kastelic distinguishes the beginnings of 'archaeology in Slovenia' and 'Slovene archaeology'. As a pioneer of the former, he considers K. Dežman; in contrast, he declares S. Rutar as the first archaeologist who tried to outline the national framework of the Slovene archaeological discipline.

55 Muchar, in 1844–1847, published an improved version of the map in which he also included archaeological sites.

56 Radics P., *Geschichte Krains*. Appendix *Archäologische Karte von Krain*. Ljubljana 1862.

57 Pichler F., *Repertorium der Steirischen Münzkunde*, Graz 1865; comments to the map and description of sites were published in 1879 (*Text zur archäologische Karte von Steiermark*, Graz 1879).

58 Globočnik A., Die archäologische Karte von Krain, *Mittheilungen des Musealvereines für Krain* 2, 1889, 263–264.

59 At the Central Commission's initiative, J. Pečnik (1904) supplemented Globočnik's map for the region of Dolenjska.

Archaeological topography was also in the focus of A. Müllner. In 1867, long before he became the Ljubljana Provincial Museum Director, he kept sending off questionnaires about archaeological finds to schools and parishes across the entire Styria and Carniola (Dular 1992, 41). He failed to publish the final synthesis of his work, but parts of it were presented in some of his publications, testifying to the, at the time, unusually high-quality achievements in gathering the data.

Owing to the local scholars' efforts, both professionals and amateur archaeologists and historians, Carniola was relatively well known as an archaeologically rich region by the late 19th century. The most researched areas were around Ljubljana and the region of Lower Carniola (Dolenjska), particularly the Iron Age barrows and the Roman sites (e.g. Neviodunum). The monumental Iron Age grave mounds in Dolenjska, yielding numerous finds, attracted particular attention. From as early as the end of the 19th century, they were frequently excavated by amateur researchers selling finds to provincial and imperial museums.[60] The largest excavation campaign was conducted by the Duchess of Mecklenburg,[61] who between 1906 and 1913 excavated nearly 900 Iron Age graves in Lower Carniola in Stična, Magdalenska gora and Vinica. She unearthed numerous exquisite objects (for example, a set of Greek-style bronze armour from Stična, which she later presented as a gift to the German Kaiser Wilhelm II). Her activities, abundantly funded by the German Imperial Court (to the sum of around 200,000 marks), drew the attention of some prominent European scholars (e.g. J. Dechelette and O. Montelius) who visited her excavations in 1913. After her death most of her immense collection was sold to the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. It still represents the most extensive American collection of (c. 20,000 pieces) of prehistoric antiquities from Europe.[62]

As for the other 'Slovene' provinces, the tradition of archaeological research was particularly strong in the region of Primorska (the Adriatic Littoral), where scholarly societies and the museums in Trieste played the central role. However, due to the highly pronounced irredentist (anti-Austrian and anti-Slovenian/Croatian) politics of the Italian community, which was also reflected in the research priorities and attitude of the local archaeological institutions,[63] this tradition is not

60 Especially active was Jernej Pečnik (1935–1914), amateur digger and collector, frequently commissioned by museums in Ljubljana and Vienna for digging archaeological sites. Altogether he excavated more than 60 sites, the results of which he sold to various museums. In 1912 he published a brochure 'The Duchess of Carniola in Prehistoric Age' (*Vojvodina kranjska v predzgodovinski dobi)*.

61 Princess Marie Gabrielle Ernestine Alexandra von Windischgrätz (1856–1929) came from a noble family of Windischgrätz, which had large estates in Slovenia, and was related to the Austrian and German Emperors (the latter by marriage).

62 For more on this collection, see Polizzoti Greis (2006). The whole story about this collection and its arrival at the Harvard Peabody Museum is highly illustrative of the 'imperial archaeology' in the Austrian lands. In 1918, the collection, kept in the Duchess's castle at Bogenšperk in Slovenia, was sequestered and moved to the National Museum in Ljubljana. In 1929, after the death of the Duchess, the collection was returned to her daughter Marie Antoinette who handed it over to the American art dealer Anderson Galleries, New York, for auction. The dealer commissioned a team of highly renowned experts to prepare the auction catalogue: Adolf Mahr (National Museum of Ireland, Dublin), J.M. de Navarro (Cambridge University), Ferenc Tompa (National Museum of Hungary, Budapest), Emil Vogt (Swiss Federal Museum, Zurich), Raymond Lantier (Musée des Antiquités nationales, Paris), Gero v. Merhart (University of Marburg am Lahn), Balduin Saria (University of Ljubljana). The catalogue was published in 1934 (Mahr 1934). The first auction failed due to very high prices, and less than one-third of the collection was sold to the Peabody Museum (including items from graves from Magdalenska gora). However, soon after, Anderson Galleries went bankrupt due to embezzlement in its accounting department. The Peabody Museum successfully lobbied the judge to repeat the sale and, consequently, bought the remaining part of the collection. For more details on the history of the Mecklenburg Collection, see Greiss (2006), Hawkes (1934), Hencken (1981).

63 Details on the cultural and research agendas of the local Italian scholarly associations and institutions are given by Forlati Tamaro (1984) and Bitelli (1999).

recognised as a constituent component of the national Slovene archaeological discipline. It is, however, necessary to mention one archaeologist from Trieste – Carlo Marchesetti (1850–1926), a medical doctor and botanist by profession, and the head of the Natural Science Museum in Trieste from 1876. Much of his scientific career he dedicated to research on the prehistory of the Primorska and Istria regions (at the time, both parts of the Austrian province *Adriatic Littoral*), where he conducted several extensive excavations of the prehistoric necropolises (for example, Most na Soči, a cemetery with more than 6,000 graves; Škocjan; Tominčeva Jama; Beram). His preeminent work on the northeastern Adriatic hillforts' topography remained an essential study for almost a century, making him one of the most influential scientists in the north Adriatic.[64] In 1911 another museum was founded in this region, the Municipal Historical and Art Museum in Koper (*Museo civico di storia e d`arte*), after a very politically charged exhibition entitled 'The First Istrian Provincial Exhibition' (*Prima Esposizione Provinciale Istriana*). Before the 'Istrian' museum, the town of Koper had, since 1881, a municipal Archaeological Commission for the collection and protection of objects and documents (Rogoznica 2011).

In the province of Styria (whose southern part also spanned eastern and southeastern Slovenia), the main archaeological centre was the provincial capital Graz, which was an academic hub housing the university, large museum and the provincial office of the Central Commission. Across the Slovene parts of Styria, the main archaeological activities took place in Ptuj, the former Roman colony of Poetovio. Here, a lapidarium was founded as early as 1830 and a local museum in 1893. The museum kept a vast amount of finds discovered during the Roman sites' large-scale excavations in the first decades of the 20th century. The number of archaeological finds and sites in Ptuj was so great that already in 1911, Skrabar and Gailhoffer (1911) made a detailed topographic map (at a cadastral scale of 1: 2880) with archaeological sites.

In general, over the last decades of the 'Austrian' era archaeology in the Slovene provinces advanced to a very respectable level. It was entirely comparable to the archaeologies in developed central European countries. It owes this successful advance to many outstanding scientists, such as K. Dežman, C. Marchesetti, W. Schmid and S. Rutar, as outlined above, and the relatively well-organised state and provincial institutional network, active scholarly societies, scientific journals and other publications.[65] The 'pyramidal' structure proved to be highly efficient. The central institutions in Vienna (the University, Natural History Museum, Anthropological Society and other historical associations, along with the Central Commission) dictated the general course and standards of archaeology, and provincial and local institutions implemented them locally but with considerable autonomy.

In such a system, the pre-1918 Slovene archaeology can hardly be regarded as a national framework. Instead, it represented a good quality provincial or regional component of a larger, imperial disciplinary framework and practice. Its transformation into the national archaeological school ran parallel to the development of other national institutions of the Slovene nation. This can be best observed in Carniola, the only province entirely within today's Slovenia territory. Other Slovene provinces had their capitals outside Slovenia, and the 'Slovene agenda' had to face much

64 Carlo Marchesetti, *I castellieri preistorici di Trieste e della regione Giulia.* Museo civico di Storia naturale, Trieste 1903.

65 The main scientific journals published by the Provincial Museum of Carniola and the Museum and Historical Societies in Ljubljana were *Mittheilungen des historischen Vereins für Krain* 1–23 (1846–1868); *Mittheilungen des Museal-Vereins für Krain* 1–20, 1866, 1889–1907; *Izvestja Muzejskega društva za Kranjsko* 1–19 (1891–1909), *Argo* 1–10 (1892–1903), *Carniola* 1–2 (1908–1909), and *Carniola* (new series) 1–9 (1910–1919).

greater challenges. The key element needed for the formation of a national archaeology, i.e. the politically and administratively united Slovene nation, was still missing in Austrian times. It emerged after the breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 when the majority of former 'Slovene' provinces in Austria (Carniola, the southern parts of Styria and Carinthia and the Prekmurje region, which was under Hungarian control) came together in a newly created state – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.[66]

Slovene archaeology in the Yugoslav Kingdom (1918–1941)

The political context for the national autonomy of the Slovenes seemed to be, at least at the beginning, more favourable in the new country, and this additionally reinforced the development of the chief national cultural and scientific institutions.[67] However, the new state could not compare with regard to the wealth, organisation and quality of the public services from the previous period. A weak economy, disconnection from the former (Austrian) regional and political networks and partners, lack of expert staff and the remarkably weak public service for protecting cultural heritage,[68] soon led to a considerable decline in the level and quality of archaeological research in Slovenia. Yugoslavia was, starting from its establishment, a very unstable country, almost continuously in political crisis, and in 1929 the situation worsened with the proclamation of the King's dictatorship.

Nevertheless, the foundation of the first university in Slovenia in Ljubljana (1919) and the introduction of the archaeological curriculum (1923) were the main steps taken in these years in further developing and institutionalising archaeology. The beginnings were indeed very modest in all respects.[69] Only classical archaeology was taught and to a very limited extent. Due to the scientific profile of the first professor (Vojeslav Molè), the courses comprised numerous elements of art history. The library was only being established, the university employed just one professor, and all other lecturers came from other institutions (e.g. the National Museum) and gave lectures only intermittently.

Vojeslav Molè (1886–1973), the first professor of archaeology at the University of Ljubljana, did not leave a significant mark in the history of Slovene archaeology. As a doctoral student of the history of art in Vienna (1912), he began his professional career in Split as an assistant to Frane Bulić at the conservation office for Dalmatia. In the First World War, he was mobilised and sent to the Eastern Front, where he fell into captivity and was interned in Siberia, near the town of Tomsk. In 1917, the University of Tomsk offered him a professorship in art history at the newly founded Faculty of Philosophy (1916). His work at this university did not last long, however, and at the onset of the October Revolution and with Russia's withdrawal from the war, Vojeslav Molè returned to Slovenia. There, he soon started assisting at the University of Ljubljana and, ultimately, in 1923, became an associate professor, holding a Chair in Classical Archaeology. His archaeological courses started in the academic year 1923/1924 but, two years later, Molè moved to the University of Krakow, where he initiated the courses of medieval art history of the South Slavic nations and

66 The regions of Primorska (Slovene Littoral), Istria and western parts of Carniola were taken over by Italy (1918–1945), whereas central and northern Carinthia remained in Austria, as well as northern Styria.

67 The long-awaited national university was founded in Ljubljana in 1919, and in 1921, the former Provincial Museum of Carniola became the National Museum (of Slovenia). In 1938, the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts was established.

68 Altogether, two to three professional archaeologists were active in the country between the two world wars.

69 Initially, Chairs in Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology were planned in 1919. However, due to the lack of resources and trained professors, only one Chair (Classical Archaeology) started teaching in 1923. This situation continued until 1943 (Novaković, Lovenjak and Budja 2004, 19–20).

the Byzantine period and achieved his greatest professional success.[70]

A person of much greater significance for archaeology at the University of Ljubljana was Balduin Saria (1893–1974), Molè's successor. His early career is similar to that of his predecessor and illustrates numerous social and political circumstances of the first half of the 20th century. He was of German origin, born in Ptuj. He studied at the University of Vienna, where, in 1921, he completed his doctoral research in prehistory and classical archaeology. After short-term employment as a librarian of the Archaeological and Epigraphic Seminar of the University in Vienna, he moved to the post of a curator for archaeology at the National Museum in Belgrade (1922), and in 1925 became an assistant professor at the University of Belgrade. In 1926 he took up the position of an associate professor at the University of Ljubljana and became the head of two Chairs – Ancient History and Classical Archaeology. He remained in Ljubljana until 1942, when he moved to Graz where he worked in the museum and at the university. He retired immediately after the Second World War, but continued to be a member of the Institute for Southeastern Europe.

In less than 20 years of his professional career in Slovenia, Balduin Saria produced momentous results and propelled Slovene archaeology to the level it had attained during the time of Karl Dežman. Already as a curator of the National Museum in Belgrade, he conducted investigations of the ancient town of Stobi in N. Macedonia and published several important papers about this famous Roman site. His research in Slovenia was mostly focused on the Roman period. Among his most impressive achievements are the first systematic publication of the Roman inscriptions (with comments) from the territory of Yugoslavia (Hoffiller and Saria 1938); coordination of the project for the Archaeological Map of Yugoslavia;[71] crucial papers on the Roman military history of the western Balkans; series of texts about the Roman period in the encyclopaedia edited by Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll *Realenciklopedie der Klassische Altertumswissenschaft* (e.g. presentations of the Roman towns Neviodunum and Poetovio and the province of Dalmatia). He published in Serbian, Italian, Austrian, German and Hungarian archaeological and historical journals. He was also one of the organisers of the first major international archaeological meeting in Slovenia (*Tabula Imperii Romani* in 1937 in Ptuj). Saria enjoys a special place in the history of Slovene archaeology because of his efforts and success in maintaining a high level of research and vivid communication with international circles. However, his conduct during and after the Second World War made his further career in Slovenia impossible.[72]

Another key figure from the period between the two wars, which influenced the development of Slovene archaeology over the long term, was Srečko Brodar (1893–1987), a geologist and pioneer of Palaeolithic studies in Slovenia and post-war Yugoslavia. Between 1928 and 1935 he

70 Vojeslav Molè remained in Krakow until the Second World War in Poland, when he returned to Ljubljana and stayed there until 1945. After the war, he went back to Krakow, where he had already attained an important scientific reputation (and membership of the Polish Academy of Science). After his retirement and the death of his son, he moved to the United States. More information on his life and work can be found in his memoirs (Molè 1970).

71 Following the design of the German project *Archäologische Landesaufnahme*, this very ambitious project of creating maps of archaeological sites in the scale 1:100,000, with accompanying explanations, fulfilled the highest cartographic criteria of the time. Saria (1936; 1939) was the author of two volumes: *Archäologische Karte von Jugoslawien: Blatt Ptuj*, Beograd – Zagreb 1936 and *Archäologische Karte von Jugoslawien: Blatt Rogatec*, Zagreb 1939 (with J. Klemenc).

72 After the Italian occupation of western Slovenia (including Ljubljana), Saria moved to the German (Third) Reich. Thanks to his pro-German stance, he immediately got a position at the Graz University and Styrian Provincial Museum. Although he remained active in research after his (probably forced) retirement in 1945, he broke almost all ties with archaeologists in Slovenia and Yugoslavia. However, he regularly published overviews in Austrian and German journals of important publications from Slovenia and Yugoslavia. See more in Mlinar (2019).

explored the Potočka Zijalka cave, the first Palaeolithic site discovered in Slovenia,[73] which turned out to be one of the richest sites of the Upper Palaeolithic (Aurignacian) in the Alpine area in general, and also of importance for the interpretation of the process of Würm glaciation in this part of Europe. Potočka Zijalka is located high in the Alps, at more than 1700 m asl, and displays clear indications of the transitional warmer phase of the Würm glaciation (Würm I/II phase). More than a hundred different types of stone tools have been documented at this site, along with 133 bone points. Another peculiarity of the site is the great number of remains of the cave bear; it was estimated that this species' bones represent 99% of the faunal assemblage and that they came from more than 3,000 individuals.[74] Inspired by this discovery's significance, S. Brodar initiated systematic investigations of the Palaeolithic in Slovenia, whilst he also played a significant role in establishing Palaeolithic archaeology in other republics of the former Yugoslavia (Brodar S. 1983).

The work of the National Museum in Ljubljana (the former Provincial Museum of Carniola) in-between the two world wars was mostly limited to the research and publications by Rajko Ložar (1904–1985). He was among the first students of archaeology at the University of Ljubljana in 1923. Still, he finished his degree in Vienna, where he also received his doctorate with a dissertation on the Roman tombstones in Pannonia and Noricum. In the National Museum, which lacked archaeologists since the departure of Walter Schmid in 1909, Ložar was first hired as a librarian, and only at the beginning of the 1930s did he become an archaeology curator, where he remained at this position until 1939 when he moved to that of the Director of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. Since he was the only archaeologist in the museum and one of only two or three professional archaeologists in Slovenia, besides standard museum tasks his duties also included the protection of the cultural monuments.

Moreover, Ložar did not restrict himself only to archaeology, but also pursued research in ethnography, art history and literary criticism. He developed a kind of eclectic and rather diverse approach to archaeology by applying some basic concepts from the history of art and the analysis of style as a prerequisite for synthesising the cultural matrix of time and space. Ložar's work is of relevance here because he was the first to build the concept of the history of archaeology as a national discipline in Slovenia. To this end, he published two major works. One is a pioneering study of early Slavic pottery making (Ložar 1938), representing an early attempt at the chronological and typological systematisation of Slavic pottery found in Slovenia. The other is the first historical synthesis of Slovene archaeology (Ložar 1941), in which he provided an overview of archaeology as a national discipline, describing all of its constituent traditions, relevant scholars, biographies of institutions and the problems of conceptualisation. Unfortunately, this scientist's highly promising career was abruptly interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War, when his political orientation led him to emigrate from the country in 1945, first to Austria and later to the United States.[75]

73 Over the same period, investigations of the Palaeolithic sites took place in regions that belonged to Italy between 1918 and 1943. In 1927, the Italian Speleological Institute was founded in Postojna (*Istituto Italiano di Speleologia*), whose members also explored cave sites in this area and the Middle Palaeolithic site of Betalov Spodmol was one of those. Among the most prominent scholars in the Institute was Raffaelle Battaglia, born in Trieste, professor at the University of Padua, and author of several works on the prehistory of Istria and the Karst. After the Second World War, this institute became a research unit within the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts.

74 For more details on Potočka Zijalka, see Bayer and S. Brodar (1928) and S. Brodar and M. Brodar (1983).

75 Similarly to Saria, Ložar also broke all ties with Slavic archaeologists after the Second World War. After several failed attempts to get a position at the Peabody Museum and some other US universities – Ložar was one of the best connoisseurs of the vast Mecklenburg Collection of Iron Age items purchased by the museum in the 1930s – he eventually got a job at the City Museum in Manitowoc, Wisconsin where he remained until his retirement.

In the domain of heritage protection, archaeology received much less attention during the Yugoslav monarchy than the museums or academia. In fact, one can speak of a considerable regression compared to the previous 'Austrian' system. One of the most considerable obstacles was a very weak legal basis accompanied by poor institutionalisation of the public service of heritage protection in the whole Kingdom of Yugoslavia.[76] In fact, it was only in Slovenia where some concepts and practices of the Austrian's Central Commission were kept alive. The heritage protection system's central point was the former provincial Monuments Office in Ljubljana (in 1919 renamed as the Monuments Office for Slovenia, with France Stelè at its head). The responsible ministry was that for public education, and this office operated until 1941. In this context, it is important to note that the former Central Commission in Vienna, aside from its offices in the provinces, included also some central institutions such as the Archaeological Institute, Archives Council, and Art History Institute. In Slovenia, these institutes were substituted by local scholarly societies (Baš 1955, 29).[77] Overall, in the period between 1918 and 1941, activities on archaeological heritage protection were not that numerous and mostly limited to small emergency excavations of sites discovered by chance during construction works. Even these would not be possible without the assistance of local institutions, mostly museums. The Monuments Office simply did not have enough people and funds. Moreover, archaeology was not that high on the national agenda compared to historical buildings and larger art objects.

As for the municipal museums, the most archaeologically active was the museum in Ptuj, which continued its research, mostly on the Roman town of Poetovio and its cemeteries. Here, the most active scholar was Mihovil Abramić, who, among other publications on local archaeology also published a guide to the museum and architectural monuments in Ptuj in German and Slovene (Abramić 1925a, 1925b). Other existing municipal museums in Maribor and Celje were not very active in archaeology at that time. In the late 1930s, new municipal museums were founded in Ljubljana (1937) and Škofja Loka (1939), but with no particular engagement in archaeology before the Second World War.

During the Second World War, archaeological and many other research and cultural activities almost completely ceased.[78] Following Italy's capitulation and the arrival of the Germans into the former Italian occupation zone in autumn 1943, the work at the University of Ljubljana and numerous other institutions was suspended.

The decline in archaeology between 1918 and 1941 can also be seen in publication activities. The number of published papers fell due to the smaller number of active archaeologists, but also because there was no proper archaeological journal. The only journal which continued to publish archaeological papers was the Bulletin of the Museum Society of Slovenia (*Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo*), with some two to three archaeological papers per issue.

76 Probably the most illustrative aspect of the functioning of a new country, established in 1918, was non-existing laws in the domain of heritage protection. In 1922, the first meeting of archaeologists in Yugoslavia was organised in Belgrade with a major topic to discuss and propose a new law on heritage protection. However, such a law was not adopted during the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In fact, the Statute of the 'Austrian' Central Commission from 1911 and the following instructions remained the most important working document on which the system of heritage protection was based (Baš 1953, 29, 31). The first consistent law was adopted in 1945, a few months after the end of the war.

77 E.g. Museum Society of Slovenia, Art History Society from Ljubljana, Museum Society and Historical Society from Maribor, Museum Society from Ptuj, Museum Society from Škofja Loka.

78 On activities of Germans and Italians in Slovenia between 1941 and 1945, see more in Chapter on the Yugoslav archaeology.

Contemporary archaeology in Slovenia

Extensive transformations in Slovene archaeology commenced after the Second World War, in the 'second' Yugoslavia. Two major political changes determined the subsequent development of the discipline – Slovenia gained the status of an autonomous republic within the federation, which gave an additional impetus to the formation and strengthening of national institutions, including archaeology; and the introduction of the Communist regime that initiated a radical transformation of the whole country. In this context, the Yugoslav (and Slovene) Communist regime followed the ideology that insisted on the modernisation of the country, and thus strongly supported the development of science and culture and the national emancipation of the Yugoslav nations, but, needless to say, under the control of the Communist Party. One must also not forget that the war left Yugoslavia impoverished, and that substantial parts of the public and economic infrastructure were destroyed or remained undeveloped.

The 'restoration' of archaeology was far from an easy task, given that all of the professional archaeologists, except Jože Kastelic,[79] had left the country during or immediately after the Second World War. Furthermore, the experience with the abuses of archaeology by the Nazi and Fascist occupiers was quite distressing. The Italian annexation of Primorska and Istria (1918–1943) and the later occupation of western Slovenia (1941–1943) were also justified by claiming that these territories were parts of the historical territory of Roman Italy. Most Italian archaeological institutions in these regions were thus given the task of establishing 'scientific' foundations and demonstrating Italian cultural and racial superiority over the Slavic population (see Bitelli 1999). Moreover, the Germans invested significant efforts to prove the German character of the countries south of the Alps, and secure 'historical' arguments for the ethnic cleansing of tens of thousands of Slovenes, particularly in Styria where annexation to the Third Reich was planned.

In such circumstances, leading historians, art historians and linguists from the University of Ljubljana and the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts played a crucial role in re-establishing the institutional frame of archaeology. Two new institutions were founded – the Department of Archaeology at the University of Ljubljana (1946) and the Commission for Archaeology at the Slovene Academy (1947), which was later reorganised into the Institute of Archaeology.

For the first time, a complete archaeological curriculum was introduced (prehistoric, classical/Roman and medieval archaeology) and taught by three professors: Josip Korošec (1909–1966), Josip Klemenc (1898–1967) and Srečko Brodar (1893–1987). All three of them also worked in the Commission for Archaeology at the Slovene Academy. Another important moment for archaeology was the appointment of Jože Kastelic as the Director of the National Museum in 1945 and Stane Gabrovec (1920–2015) as the head of the Archaeological Department at the Museum in the early 1950s.

Urgent measures were also needed in the domain of protection of cultural heritage. In 1945, the Institute for the Protection and Scientific Research of the Cultural and Natural Monuments was formed (the name was later changed to the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage). In this field, the principal authority was France Stelè (1886–1972), the last of the Austrian Commission's conservators in Ljubljana (1913–1918), and Director of the monument protection service between 1918 and 1938. A number of new regulations were necessary to secure the adequate protection and management of archaeological sites and monuments since there was no adequate legislation in the

79 Jože Kastelic (1913–2003), classical philologist, historian, in 1942, appointed as an archaeologist in National Museum in Ljubljana; after 1945, he became the Director of the Museum, and in 1958 he moved to the University of Ljubljana.

Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Another important step in completing the archaeological discipline's basic framework was launching the journal *Arheološki vestnik* (*Acta Archaeologica*) in 1946, which was conceived as the chief archaeological scientific journal in Slovenia and published by the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts.

In general, the first two decades following the Second World War could be considered the formative period of contemporary Slovene archaeology. All key national and regional archaeological institutions were established during this period, and the fundamental concepts of present-day Slovene archaeology were introduced or improved. The main feature of the discipline's organisational structure was the three-fold division of work: research, education, and heritage protection.[80]

Due to the absence of experts and the very few jobs available to archaeologists, there was no real specialisation in the earlier phases of the development of Slovene archaeology. Thus, there was no real allocation of tasks and responsibilities among the archaeologists. The significant increase in the number of professional archaeologists facilitated the process of specialisation, which commenced in the 1950s and 1960s. It is, indeed, during these two decades that more than half of the present-day regional and local museums were founded, and archaeology was one of their tasks from the very beginning.[81] This process of the spread of archaeological institutions out of Ljubljana, into other regions, proved later to be of great significance for the well-balanced development of discipline and its practice across the country.

80 This division of work and organisation was identical in all other Yugoslav republics.

81 Eight positions were open for archaeologists in new regional and local museums established in Postojna (1947), Brežice (1949), Novo Mesto (1950), Nova Gorica (1952), Kranj (1953), Piran (1954), Murska Sobota (1955), Kamnik (1961), Slovenj Gradec (1981) and Mengeš (1998). New archaeological posts were also offered in the municipal museums established before the Second World War, in Celje, Ptuj, Maribor, Koper, Ljubljana, Škofja Loka.

Besides the institution-based specialisation, the most common form of specialisation was based on the period of research, and it was in this way that the traditional archaeological division emerged: the Palaeolithic (traditionally the domain of geology); the Neolithic and Eneolithic; the Bronze and Iron Age; classical archaeology and (archaeology of the Roman provinces); archaeology of the Late Roman period/early Middle Ages and Slavic archaeology). These were five primary directions of such specialisation, which were reflected in the departments' organisation at the University of Ljubljana, coordination of the research projects, the archaeological society's structure, publishing activity, etc.

The pivotal figure in Slovene archaeology in the first two decades after the Second World War was, without doubt, Josip Korošec, one of Miloje Vasić's students at the University of Belgrade, who gained his doctorate from the University of Prague at the end of the 1930s. Korošec's professional career started in 1939 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he became a curator for prehistoric archaeology at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, the best-known and most developed archaeological centre in pre-war Yugoslavia. He remained there until the war ended and then moved to Slovenia, to the museum in Ptuj, where he immediately initiated a very ambitious programme of investigations of early Slavonic cemeteries, which unquestionably was one of the largest projects in Slovenia in the first post-war years. In 1947, he published a monograph about the investigations in Slavic cemeteries in northern Slovenia,[82] the first archaeological monograph in Slovenia after 1945. The context was, in political terms, highly charged given that the research took place in the zone along the northern border of Slovenia, whose line shifted during both world wars. The political environment in Slovenia and Yugoslavia demanded urgent advancement of archaeology into a national science to respond to the pre-war, pan-Germanic expansionist archaeology. In 1946,

82 Josip Korošec, *Staroslovenska grobišča v severni Sloveniji.* Celje: Tiskarna Družbe sv. Mohorja, 1947.

Korošec, during his excavations in Ptuj, discovered an early Slavonic settlement and extensive necropolis. He also discovered a Slavic temple which gave him instant acclaim, but later works did not confirm this (Janžekovič 2017). Korošec's investigations in Ptuj undeniably had clear political connotations, but despite this they were essential for further developing national archaeology and history in Slovenia.

In a country lacking competent archaeology professionals, especially in Slavonic archaeology, Korošec was instantly declared a leading archaeologist among the new, post-war generation in both Slovenia and Yugoslavia. In 1947, he became a professor of prehistoric and Slavonic archaeology at the University of Ljubljana. In the years that followed, Korošec became one of the principal officials in multiple national and federal scientific bodies and institutions. He was also the main presenter at the first conference of Yugoslav archaeologists in Niška Banja in 1950, where he gave a talk on the state of archaeology in Yugoslavia; naturally, he was also one of the main authors of the resolutions adopted at this event.[83] Also of note is the fact that in the first decades following the war Korošec was the most publicised and cited Yugoslav archaeologist in foreign journals and publications. His research agenda spanned almost all archaeological periods, though with a clear focus on the early medieval times and Neolithic. He carried out research projects across Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and N. Macedonia). His most significant contribution to the prehistoric studies was the discovery of the well-preserved settlement from the Middle Neolithic at the site of Danilo in Dalmatia and, based on this site, his definition of the dominant Middle Neolithic (Danilo) culture in the region of the eastern Adriatic (Korošec 1958–1959).

The post-war renewal of the Roman and classical archaeology was carried out by Josip Klemenc, a professor of ancient history at the University of Ljubljana since 1946. Before getting the professorship, he was a curator of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb but was forced into retirement during the war. Klemenc mainly focused on teaching and had only a limited number of field investigations. Unlike Korošec, who essentially established archaeological studies of Slavonic and Neolithic periods in Slovenia (and Yugoslavia), Klemenc could greatly rely on the impressive results of his predecessor at the department, Balduin Saria. Although he never achieved the reputation of Korošec, his accomplishments in Roman archaeology were still significant. Klemenc's research and publications on the monumental pieces of art of the Roman funerary architecture in Šempeter represented key contributions to the understanding of the Roman provincial art and crafts in general in the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia.[84]

The principal national archaeological project in the 1950s and 1960s was the Archaeological Map of Slovenia. The Institute of Archaeology coordinated this long-term project, and virtually all archaeologists in the country took part in it. In 1975, after more than two decades of collecting and editing the data, a catalogue of more than 3,000 archaeological sites in Slovenia was published, accompanied by comments and lists of references.[85] The new archaeological map contained ten times more sites than previous maps, which clearly highlights the project's significance and aptly illustrates the modest scope of Slovene archaeology in the periods before the Second World War. Furthermore, work on the final publication enabled for the first time the production of an empirically well-based synthesis of individual archaeological periods in Slovenia, thus paving the way for many new regional studies. Obviously, the new archaeological map also became an essential instrument for protecting and managing archaeological heritage.

83 More details on the Niška Banja Congress are provided in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology.

84 Although since the 1950s he intensively explored these topics, the synthetic publication, edited by Vera Kolšek and Peter Petru, appeared later, after his death (Klemenc 1972).

85 *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije*. Ljubljana 1975.

Another principal goal agreed by the leading Slovene archaeologies included the modernisation of the concepts of the study of archaeological epochs. One should not forget that before the Second World War the only archaeological disciplines that managed to reach international standards were epigraphy and, to a limited degree, ancient history.[86] For this reason, virtually all fields of archaeology urgently needed an improved conceptual infrastructure and tools: regional typologies, chronologies, type sites, research priorities, systematisation and standardisation of methods for the analysis and interpretation. The manner in which Slovene archaeologists (and other archaeologists in Yugoslavia) intended to solve these problems was in line with the spirit of the time: they focused on structured projects for which they believed they could secure the publication of key findings and data. The number of research projects increased significantly, some because of the intensive development for renovation and modernisation of the state's infrastructure (railways, roads, housing, etc.), and some because some sites were targeted as reference sites for specific periods. These projects were typically designed and coordinated by the chief experts of the national institutions.

The main milestones of this progress were a series of national archaeological conferences in the 1960s and 1970s, which examined the current state of affairs in selected geographical areas or chronological epochs and made plans for future research. In the aftermath of such conferences long-term development strategies were proposed, whilst the results were published in the leading national archaeological journal *Arheološki vestnik*.[87] The Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia, established in 1950 (and in 1971 renamed the Association of Archaeological Societies of Yugoslavia), followed the same pattern by regularly organising similar conferences every four years. These symposia turned out to be useful for furthering Slovene archaeology that, over this short period, succeeded in developing all the fundamental aspects of the discipline. Its accomplishments were thus entirely comparable to those of archaeologies in the neighbouring countries, including Italy and Austria.

Towards the end of the 1960s there was a short crisis in Slovene archaeology due to the death of two leading scholars at the University of Ljubljana – of Korošec and Klemenc. Previously, situations like this would have greatly threatened the discipline's continuity and development, but this was not the case anymore. Slovene archaeology recovered quickly thanks to the appointment of two new professors recruited from the ranks of already reputable scientists – Jože Kastelic and Stane Gabrovec, both from the National Museum, who were temporarily also assisted by experts from Croatia (Zdenko Vinski, Branko Marušić, and Marin Zaninović). They followed in the footsteps of Korošec and Klemenc with full competence, and, in many respects, exceeded their predecessors. The resilience of Slovene archaeology in this situation was undoubtedly supported by the strengthened public service for the protection of cultural heritage and the ever-growing network of regional and local museums.

In terms of the underlying concept, in the period after the Second World War Slovene archaeology fully adopted the Central European culture-history approach, which remained fully dominant up to the beginning of the 1980s, as was also the case in other Central European countries. In the 1980s, some of the essential works of the British and American processual archaeologists

86 The quality of the works by Karl Dežman from the 1870s and the 1880s, for various reasons, remained practically irreplicable up until the revival of archaeology after the Second World War.

87 The topics from 1962 and 1977 related to the Late Iron Age; 1965 was dedicated to the Late Roman, Early Medieval and Slavic periods; the topic in 1967 was the Palaeolithic and in 1968 again the Slavonic period; the topics in 1970 were the Neolithic and Eneolithic; in 1972, the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age; in 1974, the progress in the research on material culture in Roman provinces was discussed; in 1986, the topic was the Bronze Age.

(particularly the papers by L. Binford, D. Clarke and C. Renfrew) appeared for the first time in Slovene archaeology.[88]

The solid basis of the conceptual frame of archaeology in Slovenia was established between the 1950s and 1960s. It successfully combined some earlier traditions and practices (e.g. Austrian, German, Central European) with the requirements of modern archaeology in the 1970 and 1980s. Perhaps the most recognisable in this sense is the so-called Ljubljana School of Bronze and Iron Age archaeology, whose central figure was Stane Grabovec[89] (1920–2015) and his doctoral students from the 1970s, who together earned the reputation of a top regional archaeological school. The joint work by these and other experts from the National Museum and the Institute of Archaeology and those from the University of Ljubljana is considered exemplary in a broader Central European context.[90]

The merits of Jože Kastelic (1913–2003) are many and are not easy to present in a few words. Besides his scientific work, Kastelic is credited for his exceptional work on the organisation and management of major archaeological institutions.[91] In 1945 he was appointed as Director of the National Museum, where he remained until 1968. In the late 1940s, he succeeded in launching a series of excavation campaigns (e.g. at the early Slavic necropolis at Bled, Iron Age barrows at Stična), which soon proved to be key sites for their respective epochs and went on to be continuously researched in the decades after. Kastelic was one of the founders of the major archaeological journals in Slovenia: *Arheološki vestnik* (1950), *Situla* (1960), and a series *Arheološki katalogi in monografije* (1955), which are all still published. He was very engaged in the organisation and coordination of the archaeological discipline and practice on a Yugoslav-wide level: elected President of the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia, and member of the editorial boards of several archaeological, art historical and historical journals and publications. In 1968, Kastelic became the Head of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Ljubljana (retired in 1983) and held two Chairs (Ancient History and Roman

88 Unlike other Eastern Bloc countries, in which archaeologists and numerous other scientists had difficulties or even restrictions in communicating with colleagues from the West and following Western publications, this was not the case in Slovenia or the entire Yugoslavia. The libraries at the University of Ljubljana, Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, and National Museum annually acquired or exchanged hundreds of scientific journals from all over the world. The principal limiting factor was the lack of finances, so the institutions were encouraged to prepare their own journals and exchange them with academic institutions abroad. At present, the number of publications at these two institutions obtained through the exchange reaches the figure of some 1,400 volumes each year, which have been swapped for the two main Slavic archaeological journals (*Arheološki Vestnik* and *Documenta Praehistorica*). The reason for the delay in the arrival of the British and American publications on processual archaeology is in the predominantly 'Continental' perspective of Slovene archaeology.

89 Gabrovec graduated in classical philology at the University of Ljubljana, in 1962 he obtained his PhD in archaeology at the University of Zadar, Croatia, in 1948 was appointed curator of prehistoric archaeology at the National Museum in Ljubljana, from 1956–57 studied with Wolfgang Kimmig at the University of Tübingen, Germany, from 1969–1989 was professor at the University of Ljubljana, and since 1987 has been a member of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts.

90 The international respect for Gabrovec is very well reflected in his membership in some of the leading scientific societies: he was a full member of the Centre for Balkanological Research at the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1962), associate member of the Italian Institute for Prehistory and Protohistory (1963), member of the Institute for Etruscan and Italian Studies (1972), member of the German Archaeological Society (1967), and an associate member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

91 Kastelic can be best described as the last 'polymath' or 'encyclopaedist' in Slovene humanities. His scientific contributions were in archaeology, ancient history, epigraphy, art history, classical philology, and literary history. He was also a poet. In archaeology, he was mostly focused on Roman regional history, classical and provincial archaeology, and provincial art. His most memorable contributions include one of the earliest excavations of Slavic cemeteries in Bled (Kastelic, Škerlj 1950; Kastelic 1960), the international exhibition on the Situlae art in 1962 (probably the first post-war joint exhibition of Italian, Austrian and Yugoslav archaeologists) (Kastelic 1962), translations of the works of Theodor Mommsen and Gustav Schwab, and an extensive, more than 725 pages long study on mythological symbols on Roman tombstones from Šempeter (Kastelic 1998).

Provincial Archaeology). During his years at the university, he also significantly reformed the curricula in archaeology.

Another important link with the former traditions existed in the field of Roman archaeology. Large excavations of cemeteries of the main Roman towns (e.g. in Ljubljana/Emona, Ptuj/Poetovio, Drnovo/Neviodunum) and some other sites, conducted before the First World War, yielded discoveries that required modern evaluation. In the period 1960–1980, great efforts were invested into re-examining the archives from these sites and the freshly excavated Roman urban spaces in Ljubljana, Celje and Ptuj. It is precisely in Roman urban archaeology that Ljudmila Plesničar Gec (1931–2008) gained high international recognition for her investigations of Emona, whilst Vera Kolšek in Celje and Iva Mikl Curk from Ljubljana were also experts of a similar profile and reputation. The application of modern standards in the chronological and typological determination of objects salvaged vast amounts of the material from utmost disregard. Within the scope of Roman archaeology and ancient history, particularly noteworthy was the work of Jaroslav Šašel (1924–1988), who in the 1960s and 1970s earned the reputation of a world-renowned author of studies on the epigraphy and ancient history of Roman Illyricum, Pannonia, Noricum, Dalmatia and Istria.[92]

Similar stages in development characterised the research on the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods. Though the onset of Slovene archaeology as a modern science is symbolically connected with the first excavations of the Eneolithic pile-dwellings in the Ljubljana Marshes (1875), it took more than 80 years to re-start a series of studies of the materials discovered in the 19th century and launch new excavation campaigns that revealed more than 40 new sites in the marshlands south of Ljubljana, dating from the period between the 5th and 3rd millennia BC. This enabled a much more detailed understanding of the early farmers and the first traces of metallurgy in this region. Some of the recent discoveries in the area are truly spectacular.[93] Thanks to the exceptional preservation in tis area, the investigations of the sites at Ljubljana Marshes were conducive to the systematic development and testing of a range of scientific methods and techniques (pollen analysis, dendrology and dendrochronology, radiocarbon dating, archaeobotany, archaeozoology, anthracology, etc.). The first systematic application of these methods happened in the 1980s, but only to a lesser extent linked with the rising influence of processual archaeology from the Anglo-American world. Instead, these were natural and logical steps of the developments in a local context, and the impact of processualism came later and in a different way.

Srečko Brodar (1893–1987), the pioneer of Palaeolithic archaeology in Slovenia (and Yugoslavia), continued his career at the University of Ljubljana after the Second World War. Since Brodar was a geologist and palaeontologist, the Palaeolithic studies were hosted at the Department of Geology, and he contributed significantly to the progress of these in the following decades. Together with France Osole (1920–2000) and Mitja Brodar (his son) (1921–2012), he strongly influenced Palaeolithic archaeology throughout Yugoslavia. The four decades of their research turned Slovenia from a 'Palaeolithic *tabula rasa*' to a widely explored country. However, it must be noted that the research on the Palaeolithic in Slovenia (and other Yugoslav republics) was traditionally the territory of natural scientists – geologists and palaeontologists. Until recently (2005), the Department for Palaeolithic studies at the University of Ljubljana

92 Šašel was an author of 160 papers published in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, as well as Italy, Germany and France, in journals and encyclopaedias (see the selection of his most significant papers in the posthumously published collection, Šašel 1992).

93 For example, the discovery of one of the earliest wooden wheels and parts of a wooden cart dated to the end of the 4th millennium BC (see Velušček 2002). Another exceptional find from this region is the wooden point dated around 40,000 BC (Odar, Erič and Gaspari 2009).

existed within the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Engineering. This 'geological' background had a marked effect on the studies of hunter-gatherer communities, as the emphasis was mainly on the geological and environmental aspects rather than on cultural and social interpretation. The successors of Srečko Brodar at the university were all naturalists by education. They contributed much to the improvement of the Palaeolithic studies and developed much more refined regional typologies of stone and bone objects and several scientific approaches and techniques that are mandatory in modern research in this field, but remained firmly anchored in the 'naturalist' agenda.[94] Some of the discoveries from this period became known worldwide, such as the Mousterian flute from the cave site of Divje Babe.[95]

Archaeology of the Slavs and the Early Middle Ages in Slovenia was established after 1945, and its development was considered a national priority. This initiative could not be pursued in isolation from the general process of the Slovenes' national emancipation after their separation from Austria. The economically and politically underdeveloped Yugoslav Kingdom was not a favourable environment for such aspirations. The reasons for this should be primarily looked for in the very weak institutional infrastructure and small number of archaeologists. In fact, except for Croatia, the archaeology of South Slavic nations did not exist in the Yugoslav Kingdom for more or less the same reasons. However, one should also not ignore political issues that may have influenced the late development of national archaeologies of the nations in Yugoslavia.[96]

Nonetheless, the situation radically changed after the Second World War, when the Slovenes (and other nations of Yugoslavia) gradually gained larger autonomy and formed a series of their national institutions. There was also another incentive that required competent scholars in the sphere of the archaeology of Slavs and Early Middle Ages. The tense international political environment at the outset of the Cold War, additionally burdened by the recent experience of the racist Nazi and Fascist interpretations of the past at the expense of the Slavic peoples, as well as disputed Slovene (Yugoslav) borders with Italy and Austria, all made Slavic archaeology an even more urgent task. In this context, one should also see some major activities in this field, such as Korošec's excavations at Ptuj, his monograph on Slavic cemeteries in northern Slovenia (Korošec 1947), and the monograph *Slovenes on the Adriatic* (*Slovenci na Jadranu* 1952).[97] After all, in 1950, at the occasion of the first conference of the Yugoslav archaeologists, a resolution was adopted urging the development of archaeology to refute racist and imperialist assumptions and theories on the origin of the Yugoslav nations.[98]

Over the next two decades, experts in Slavic/early Slovenes archaeology and history went beyond advocating such 'targeted' archaeology and cultivated a much more critical approach to the subject. They, in full capacity, participated in the international discourse on the issues of ethnic groups and the history of the Early Middle Ages. Here, the significant contribution came

94 For more on the development of the Palaeolithic archaeology in Slovenia, see Kavur (2008).

95 The still contested flute dates back to 45,000 BC and represents a challenge in addressing several fundamental questions on the mental and cognitive capabilities of the Neanderthals (see Turk I., 1997).

96 One could think of the proclamation of the King's dictatorship in 1929, and the official abolishment of the Yugoslav nations in the Imposed Constitution in 1931 (replaced by one 'Yugoslav' nation). In general, the political conditions for developing national (ethnic) history and archaeology of the individual nations probably worsened. But then again, the case of the Croatian Museum of National Antiquities (established already in 1893) in Knin shows that situation was not all black and white. The Knin museum, closed in 1930 due to inadequate building, was about to get new venues in the Knin Fortress funded by the regional government. However, this did not happen because in 1941 the fortress was turned into an Italian Army barracks.

97 Istria was also researched with regard to the Slavs by Croatian archaeologists (e.g. Marušić 1955).

98 On this conference and adopted documents, see more in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology.

from Zdenko Vinski,[99] who published some critical works in which he developed a much more substantiated approach to the period of 2nd half of the 1st millennium AD and the question of Slavic settlement.

The institution which probably made the most considerable advances was the heritage protection service. Museums and universities, despite a small number of experts working in these domains before 1945, nevertheless had some tradition and frameworks which made re-vitalisation of archaeology easy. This was much less the case in the heritage protection sector, where there was clear and abrupt discontinuity with the relatively well-developed tradition of the Austrian Central Commission. In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the sector of heritage protection suffered the most. The concepts and practices stemming from the Central Commission's tradition continued to some extent with scholars who used to work in the Austrian system, like France Stelè in Slovenia. An additional problem was a heavily destroyed country and demands for urgent industrialisation and intensive spatial development. How urgent the situation in heritage protection was can be seen in the fact that the first 'heritage protection' law was adopted immediately after the war (July 1945). Many tasks were still closely associated with the war, and of these the assessment of war damage inflicted to heritage and preparing documents for claiming restitution of heritage objects taken out of Yugoslavia were among the most important. Yugoslavia, until the mid-1950s, was a highly centralised country, so the central role in heritage protection was given to the federal Institute for Protection and Scientific Study of Cultural Monuments and Natural Sights, stationed under the Federal Ministry of Education in Belgrade. Similar institutes were also established in the individual republics, and Slovenia did it in the same year, 1945. In the following decades, a series of laws on protecting cultural heritage was adopted to secure an adequate protection system. The Institute also developed into strong expert public service with clear concepts and strategies in heritage protection, including a wide variety of tasks in this domain: administrative protection, restoration works, education of experts, issuing licences for expert conservators, preventive research, involvement in spatial planning processes, etc. The amount of tasks coupled with the necessity for more efficient organisation – one should not forget that the 1950s and 1960s were periods of very intensive industrialisation, urbanisation and spatial development in general – lead to the formation of regional institutes in Maribor (1959), Celje, Nova Gorica, Kranj (1961), Ljubljana (1964), Piran (1961) and Novo Mesto (1980).[100] This reorganisation of the national institutes had an essential impact in many areas, one being the increase of the archaeological jobs on regional levels. In 1946 the national institute also launched a new journal – *Varstvo spomenikov* ('Protection of Monuments'), which is still published today.

Before the 1980s, traditional foreign partners mostly came from the neighbouring countries, Germany, Austria and Italy. The most fruitful and influential were collaborations of the Slovene prehistorians with the so-called Merhart School (e.g. H. Müller-Karpe, G. Kossack, J. Werner, W. Dehn) from the 1950s on. Some key Slovene prehistorians (e.g. Stane Gabrovec, France Stare) specialised at German universities. This collaboration was essential for the modernisation and re-establishment of research on the Bronze and Iron Ages in Slovenia on a more positivistic and less Kossina-inspired basis (which can be discerned in the early works of J. Korošec), with a strong emphasis on the criticism of sources and

99 Zdenko Vinski, curator at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (1945–1979), guest professor at the universities of Ljubljana, Zadar and Göttingen, correspondent member of the German and Austrian Archaeological Institutes, and one of the foremost experts in archaeology of the Migration period, Slavs and Byzantium in the Adriatic.

100 Prior to 1980, in the region of Novo mesto, the Regional Museum was also authorised by local municipalities for the protection of heritage.

detailed chronological and formal-typological analysis that supported historically focused interpretations. In the early 1970s, when Grabovec became a professor at the Department of Archaeology at the University of Ljubljana, the conditions for the development of prehistoric archaeology became even more favourable. With his first generations of students, and through a series of projects, he succeeded in initiating investigations of the material culture and chronology of individual Slovene regions and regional groups of the Bronze and Iron Ages and creating a high quality and internationally recognised school of prehistoric archaeology. Most well-known archaeologists of the 'older generations' emerged from this school, such as Biba Teržan, Janez Dular, Mitja Guštin, who, from the 1990s onwards, gained first-class international reputations thanks to their excellent research results.[101]

Another person that contributed to the building of relationships between Yugoslav (including Slovene) and German archaeology in the 1960s was Vladimir Milojčić (1918–1978), a pre-war student of Miloje Vasić at the University of Belgrade, who after his doctoral studies with Oswald Menghin in Vienna (1945), stayed in Germany.[102]

However, despite the close collaboration with various foreign partners, most evident in the numerous joint publications, study visits and so on, there were very few large-scale international field projects in Slovenia (unlike in some other republics within the former Yugoslavia). The most substantial was the excavation of a massive, Iron Age princely hilltop fortification in Stična over several seasons in the period 1960–1974, conducted by Stane Grabovec in collaboration with the Archaeological Seminar of the University of Marburg and the Smithsonian Institute. It is undoubtedly necessary to mention here the cooperation between Joachim Werner and Thilo Ulbert from the University of Munich and Peter Petru; together, they excavated at Hrušica (ancient Ad Pirum) and Vranje near Sevnica, both in the early 1970s. A good illustration of cooperation with Slovene archaeologists is also the case of the Eastern Alps Committee formed in the early 1960s, probably at the occasion of the exhibition on Situla art in 1962 in Ljubljana, which joined archaeological institutions from Slovenia, Italy (Friuli and Veneto provinces) and Austria on projects and publications on the Bronze and Iron Ages of the Northern Adriatic area.

It is difficult to determine the reasons for the relatively small number of international projects in Slovenia. One could suggest factors such as the lack of 'spectacular' sites, the effect of the greater orientation of Slovene archaeology towards local and regional topics rather than issues of broader geographical coverage, prioritising publication of finds from Slovenia kept in foreign museums (e.g. in Austria and Italy). In any case, the fact that Slovenia had a socialist political system was not a reason for the relative absence of large fieldwork projects with the 'Western' partners. It is common knowledge that communication between the West and Yugoslavia was much easier than was the case with other socialist and communist countries of those years.[103]

101 For example, Biba Teržan was, for many years, a professor at the Free University of Berlin, while Mitja Guštin received an honorary doctoral degree from the University of Innsbruck.

102 V. Milojčić received his habilitation from G. von Merhart in Marburg (1946), professor of prehistoric archaeology at the universities in Munich, Saarbrücken and Heidelberg. member of the German Archaeological Institute, Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and correspondent member of the Yugoslav (i.e. Croatian) Academy of Sciences and Arts. Milojčič was an internationally recognised specialist for the Neolithic period in the Aegean and Balkans, and his major projects were in Aegean archaeology.

103 Compared with other countries of the former Soviet Bloc, Yugoslavia was much more open for collaboration with Western institutions. From the end of the 1950s, archaeologists from all republics of former Yugoslavia participated in several joint research projects with teams from the USA, Germany, Austria, Italy, France, etc. Moreover, many foreign scholars frequently visited Yugoslavian sites and museums. For more on this, see the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology.

The second wave of modernisation of Slovene archaeology (1980s–1990s)

So far, the 'periodisation' of Slovene archaeology has corresponded to the major political changes since the beginning of the 19th century. Indeed, with each change of state or ruling regime, archaeology in Slovenia, as a discipline and framework, underwent considerable transformations. In addition to this, being a discipline (and practice) involving a very small number of professionals for almost 100 years, each personal biography may have greatly influenced the course of archaeology, and in fact did. However, by the late 1960s, Slovene archaeology reached a level of stability, when even a departure of major figures (e.g. J. Korošec, J. Klemenc, F. Stare) did not cause any major distress and developmental regression, as was the case in the past. This new capacity of Slovene archaeology resulted from very successful renewal and modernisation of the discipline and its institutions in the first two decades after the Second World War. The situations in the 1930s and 1960s, covering the span of one professional career, cannot be compared at all. In 1930, two or three professionals in the country and some five to six institutions were active in professional archaeology. Thirty years later, the number of professionals was more than 40, working in some 15 to 20 institutions. Of course, that system underwent reforms, but from the late 1960s until today only a few new archaeological institutions have been established. Even when Slovenia became independent in 1991, the transformation went very smoothly, with no ruptures in the institutional network or structure. To put it briefly, former 'republican' institutions became national, while the research and institutional agendas from the late 1980s continued and developed organically.

The 1970s were a period of steady growth in all sectors, which can be best seen in the increase in archaeological jobs. The Department of Archaeology at Ljubljana University, the Institute of Archaeology at the Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the National Museum all doubled their staff. All regional museums in the country had at least one archaeologist, but frequently more. Also, all regional units of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage had at least one archaeologist among their staff.Towards the end of the 1970s, the number of archaeologists in the country rose to more than 70, more than twice the size compared to the 1950s. Such an increase was also mirrored in a large rise in the number of research projects, exhibitions, publications, and archaeologists' specialisation in various disciplinary domains. Similar trends can be seen in other republics in the former Yugoslavia.

From the mid-1980s onwards, Slovene archaeology rapidly changed its identity and development pathways, especially in the conceptual perspective. This is best seen in international cooperation. Along with the traditional partners from Germany and other Central European scientific circles, collaboration with British and American scholars began and started to play an increasingly important role. As a consequence, new ideas and concepts in archaeological research, methodology and practice were soon adopted. The presence of American archaeologists and institutions in field projects in Serbia and N. Macedonia was already significant from the end of the 1960s (more details on this are provided in the chapters on Serbian and Macedonian archaeologies), but this had different effects in Slovenia, where the collaboration with archaeologists from the UK and USA was somewhat different. It was upheld mainly in the theoretical and methodological discourse. Scholars from the USA and UK were invited to present ideas and concepts that contributed to the significant changes in the archaeological paradigms. The Department of Archaeology at the University of Ljubljana held the central place in communication with 'Anglo-American' archaeologists. The new generation of staff from the early 1980s invested a lot of efforts in following the advances in archaeology on the international levels (as seen in the work of Božidar Slapšak, Bojan Djurić, and Biba Teržan, and later also Ivan Šprajc and Mihael Budja).

Thus, upon the invitation of Božidar Slapšak, professor of Roman Provincial Archaeology, Lewis Binford came to Ljubljana as a visiting professor in the winter semester in 1985 and sparked interest in archaeological theory and methodology amongst younger scientists and students. The principle topics included his ideas on middle-range theory, frames of references in archaeological reasoning, the nature of the archaeological record, and deductive epistemology, among other issues.[104] Binford's visit was accompanied by the publication of translations of some of his programmatic articles and some other scholars' works in the new discourse in world archaeology (e.g. Leo Klejn, Jean-Claude Gardin).

An important turning point was the foundation of *Arheo*, the journal of the Slovene Archaeological Society, in 1981, which followed the French journal *Nouvelle d'Archéologie* as a model. *Arheo* was also the project of the younger generation of scholars at the University of Ljubljana, who had a strong intent to modernise and further internationalise Slovene (in earlier years, also Yugoslav) archaeology.[105] The principal aim of the journal was to discuss theoretical and conceptual problems in Yugoslav and international archaeology. *Arheo* remained for more than two decades the leading voice of 'reflexive' archaeology across the entire region of the former Yugoslavia. The main articles varied from translations of theoretical texts and local contributions, to archaeological theory, analytical philosophy applied to archaeology, and the presentation of new technologies and methods, along with essays about the role of archaeology in modern popular culture, and reflections on the nature of 'Yugoslav' archaeology (on the latter see more in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology). The first texts on gender archaeology also appeared in this journal. In the late 1980s, almost all Yugoslav archaeological institutions subscribed to it, along with more than 50% of all archaeologists in Yugoslavia. As a direct result of the intensified communication with the UK and USA, in 1988, a course in archaeological theory was introduced at the University of Ljubljana, initially taught by British professors (e.g. John Chapman of the University of Newcastle, and occasionally also John Bintliff of the University of Durham) and later taken over by Slovene scholars (Božidar Slapšak, Predrag Novaković). In 1996, a 'Slovene' session was organised at the Theoretical Archaeology Group conference held in Leicester.

The intensive collaboration with British and American archaeologists through joint projects as well as the exchange of students and staff with British and American universities were also instrumental for significant advances in field archaeology and archaeological methodology in general, including the introduction of systematic surveys, stratigraphic excavation methods, geophysical prospection, aerial archaeology and remote sensing. And last but not least, the developments in the late 1980s were also instrumental for a subject where the Department of Archaeology at the University of Ljubljana had a pioneering role in a global context – in the first applications of the geographical information systems in archaeology (see Gaffney and Stančič 1991). That GIS was already used in Slovene archaeology in 1990 was not a chance occurrence, but the result of intensive collaboration with the UK experts within the project of landscape archaeology on the island of Hvar, Croatia.[106] In fact, it is precisely this project, directed by Božidar Slapšak, John Bintliff, Vince Gaffney (University of Bradford), and Branko Kirigin (Archaeological Museum, Split, Croatia), that was a real incubator for much of the methodological, conceptual and

104 On his visit and impact, see more in Novaković (2015).

105 The editors were Božidar Slapšak and Bojan Djurić, and later, in the 1990s, *Arheo* was edited by Mihael Budja, Predrag Novaković and Peter Turk.

106 Between 1988 and 1990, this project was probably the largest project of systematic archaeological surveying in the Mediterranean. About 50 researchers (archaeologists, geographers, soils specialists, architects, etc.) and students from Ljubljana, Zadar, Zagreb, Belgrade, Skopje and Bradford, as well as the staff from the institutes in Split, Zagreb, London and Newcastle, collaborated in this project.

theoretical innovations implemented by Slovene archaeology since the early 1990s. One of the major impacts the Hvar project had was greatly raised interest in spatial and landscape archaeology approaches. The Department of Archaeology at the University of Ljubljana was among the first archaeological schools in Europe (1996) to include GIS studies in its curricula (initially taught by Zoran Stančič), accompanied by curricular courses in spatial and landscape archaeology introduced by Predrag Novaković. So, by the early 2000s, the Department of Archaeology had gained an excellent reputation as a school for archaeological methodology and landscape archaeology in the region of Southeast Europe.[107] The application of these methods and tools represented a great success in Slovene archaeology in the following decades in preventive archaeology (see later in the text).

Other aspects of the discipline also benefited greatly from international cooperation. Under the influence of processual (and later, to some extent, also post-processual) perspectives, significant progress was made in the research on the Neolithic period, where since the late 1960s, after J. Korošec, developments had taken a slightly slower pace. Projects with an important impact on the development of Neolithic research were launched in the 1970s by Tatjana Bregant, the successor of Korošec at the University of Ljubljana, focused on Ljubljana Marshes. Her research gradually evolved into complex excavations, sampling of sites, and the application of numerous naturalistic methods for reconstructing environmental conditions of pile-dwellings. Her project in the Ljubljana Marshes is considered one of the prime cases of settlement excavations in Slovenia before the 1990s (Novaković 2003, 234). As is frequently the case with smaller professional communities, as the Slovene archaeologists' community was (and still is), it sometimes took several years after the retirement of the leading scholars to achieve the former levels of research. Field projects in Ljubljana Marshes, with some exceptional discoveries such as more than 5,000-year-old wooden cart (Velušček 2002), continued with the Institute of Archaeology, while M. Budja, the successor of T. Bregant at the University of Ljubljana, made an essential contribution by launching annual international seminars on the Neolithic and renewed the journal *Documenta Praehistorica*,[108] focusing it on the discussion of major aspects of Neolithisation in Eurasia (with contributors also coming from Iran, Turkey, China and Japan). The result of his efforts is over 3,000 pages of discussions on the most recent achievements in this field.[109]

It is vital to note that such a developmental 'boom' in academic archaeology stems from two factors – conceptual changes in Slovene archaeology catalysed by intensified contacts with Anglo-American archaeology[110] and increased internationalisation of the country after the dissolution of Yugoslavia.[111] Since gaining independence, Slovene institutions have increasingly used EU and other international funds for joint research projects, grants, and mobility of students and staff. Every year, there have been more and more proposals for collaboration with foreign

107 In the period between 1997 and 2002, members of the Department of Archaeology and from the newly established Institute for Anthropology and Spatial Studies at the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts (its founder was Z. Stančič, who moved there in 1993) were frequently acting as guest professors of GIS and remote sensing in archaeology at the universities in Pisa and Trieste, Italy (Predrag Novaković, Darja Grosman, Zoran Stančič), Stančič also taught at Reading, Santa Barbara (USA) and Sydney, Australia.

108 This journal, launched by Josip Korošec, was previously published under the name *Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, mezolita in eneolita v Sloveniji*.

109 *Documenta Praehistorica* is available at http://arheologija.ff.uni-lj.si/documenta/index_si.html

110 Modernisation in the 1980s is also seen in the number of new archaeological jobs opened in the country. Compared to the late 1970s, the number of jobs in Slovene archaeology in the late 1980s increased by almost 100% (comparing the figures published in *Arheo* 1 and *Arheo* 6).

111 Since 1991 Slovenia, having two major political goals, joining NATO and the EU, greatly accelerated international cooperation with the West in all domains – political, economic, cultural, and scientific. This process was also well financed by different international funds.

partners. Thus, without exaggeration, the rate of mobility in research and education over the last 15 years has by far exceeded the total mobility seen for the entire 20th century. However, the most important event in Slovene archaeology of the 1990s was the Inaugural Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists organised in September 1994 by the Department of Archaeology, University of Ljubljana.

Preventive archaeology on the march (2000s–)

In the previous chapter, I intentionally omitted the domain of heritage protection and developments of archaeology in it. The reasons were straightforward–first, not all domains of archaeology are fully synchronised and followed the same rhythms of change and transformation. And secondly, the advances in heritage protection in the last two decades were so many that they deserve a separate heading since they have substantially transformed archaeology's image and its professional landscape in Slovenia.

As has been shown in this chapter, the academic archaeology in Slovenia has undergone significant conceptual growth over the past three decades. This growth can also be seen at the institutional level, where almost all institutions, existing from the 1980s or before, increased the number of professional archaeological staff, and some new institutions were also established, among which the one of the most important is the Department of Heritage and Archaeology at the University of Primorska in Koper (2006).[112] The key role in forming new institutions in Koper was played by Mitja Guštin, who moved there from the University of Ljubljana. Another important new institution is the Centre of Preventive Archaeology, a newly established internal unit of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia that was founded in 2009.

The changes in the domains of museums were more gradual than radical over this same period. In general, one could witness steady growth in the number of museums and archaeological staff in them. Before 1945, there were only a few museums on the territory of present-day Slovenia, some of them with a relatively respectable 'Austrian' tradition (e.g. the Provincial Museum in Ljubljana, Museum in Ptuj), while most of today's regional and local museums with archaeology departments were established before 1960.[113] In the last few decades, the network of regional and provincial museums has not changed much. The new course was the formation of special, thematic museums and smaller municipal museums and collections. Nowadays, out of the 65 museum institutions at all levels in Slovenia, 18 employ archaeologists and deal with archaeological heritage systematically. In addition to this, several archaeological parks and open-air presentations of some sites were also created. It is important to note that archaeology had through all these years a clearly defined place and role in the museums, which themselves became the engines of archaeological research at regional and local levels and still maintain this role today. In these institutions, there is a trend of increased focus on communication, education, and other forms of interaction with the public, whilst research – once a major component of the museum's activity – has become a secondary activity.

Yet, when speaking of recent transformations of Slovene archaeology, nothing can be compared to the scale of effects caused by changes in preventive archaeology in the last two decades. The principal external stimulus was the national highway construction programme that

112 Before the establishment of the department there existed the Institute for Mediterranean Heritage (since 2003 called the Institute of Archaeology and Heritage, which joined the University of Primorska).

113 Postojna (1947), Brežice (1949), Novo Mesto (1950), Tolmin 1951 (re-established in 2000), Metlika (1951), Nova Gorica (1952), Kočevje (1952), Kranj (1953), Piran (1954), Murska Sobota (1955), Kamnik (1961), later also in Slovenj Gradec (1981) and Mengeš (1998).

commenced around 1994 and lasted for about 15 years. An enormous amount of the work along the more than 300 km of roads presented a challenge that demanded immediate radical changes in the organisation and practice of rescue archaeology, as it was termed at that time. Archaeologists, mostly from the University of Ljubljana, now well equipped with knowledge of new field techniques (e.g. systematic field surveying, stratigraphic excavations, geophysics, aerial reconnaissance, GIS)[114] and experience from working on international projects and studying in the UK, developed a strategy for preventive ('early warning') research of the new motorway routes (Grosman and Novaković 1994), which was adopted by the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of Slovenia. Furthermore, in 1994 the Institute established a special task-group for archaeology on motorways (*SAAS – Skupina za arheologijo na avtocestah Slovenije*) for negotiating with the state agency for motorways, standardising and coordinating all archaeological projects associated with motorway construction.

New methods and techniques of early detection of sites and the management and organisational infrastructure for conducting the excavations over extensive areas were crucial for the success of highway archaeology. Thus in the period between 1994 and 2010, over 150 archaeological sites (varying from a few hundred square meters to more than 10 hectares), covering a total area of more than 2,000,000 square meters, were investigated on some 300 km of motorway routes. This required many millions of euros in funding and a highly efficient organisation on a scale never seen before in Slovenia.[115]

Such a large-scale multi-year project of archaeological investigations along the motorways would not have been possible without radical changes in the practice of conducting research. The capacities and organisational potential of the related public service – the National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage with its regional equivalents (the only body legally allowed to direct rescue archaeology at the time) – were mostly insufficient for such an extensive and long-term enterprise. The establishment of the SAAS was only the first step necessary for the principal administrative and coordinating tasks. Still, the quantity of research required in the field, and the time pressure, demanded new solutions. And indeed, the only viable solution – allowing the private enterprises to direct the research, particularly the large-scale excavations – soon proved to be highly adequate for coping with this challenge, and had substantial multiplying effects on the further development of archaeology in general.

Due to the scale of the whole motorway project, the number of private enterprises involved increased markedly in the 2000s, soon reaching the figure of about 25-30% of the total jobs in Slovene archaeology. These private companies were mainly engaged in archaeological fieldwork, and they quickly took over the largest portion of the preventive field projects.[116] Notably, this process

114 Here, it is worth noting intensive work on improving excavation techniques and recording, particularly by the Department of Archaeology, University of Ljubljana, and that the Slovene Society of Archaeology published translations of two seminal texts, namely Edward Harris's *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy* in 1989, and Philip Barker's *Techniques of archaeological excavation* in 1998. In 1991 a special issue of *Arheo* was dedicated to stratigraphic excavation and its recent applications in Slovenia. At approximately the same time, archaeological geophysics was introduced to Slovenia on a more systematic basis.

115 Further information on the project and its effects are available in Djurić et al. (2003); Novaković (2016); Novaković and Horňák (2016); Brišnik, Kajzer Cafnik and Novaković (2016). Moreover, some 70 monographs on 'motorway' sites were published in recent years, and a similar number is planned for the next years few years (free access: https://www.zvkds.si/sl/kategorija-publikacije/e-knjige).

116 It is important to note that until 2008 when the new Law on Protection of Cultural Heritage was adopted, a sort of 'hybrid' system existed. According to the laws before 2008, only the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage was allowed to direct rescue excavations. The solution was found where the Institute technically directed the excavations but hired private

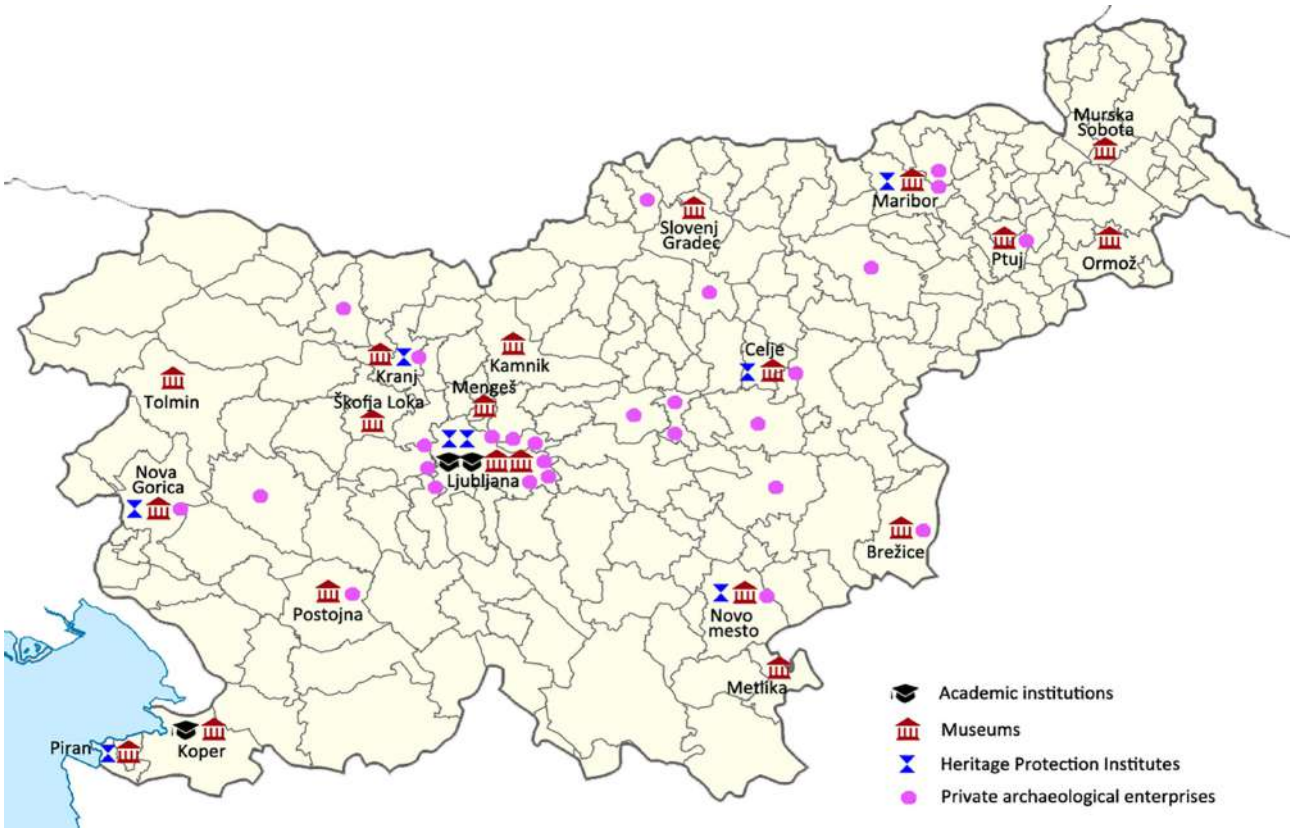


Fig. 7 Archaeological institutions and professional enterprises in Slovenia.

did not just include the takeover of tasks from the public institutions, which would not be capable of completing most of this work on time, but it also triggered a significant broadening of the archaeological tasks. In this way, the public institutions could focus more effectively on their fundamental duties and develop more adequate strategies to protect cultural heritage.

The transformations described above were soon echoed in the changes in the public services themselves, among which certainly the most important was the concept of preventive archaeology, as introduced in legislation in 2008. The concept of preventive archaeology was, to a great degree, designed after the French model of *archéologie preventive* implemented by the INRAP (*Institute Nationale de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives*). In Slovenia, preventive archaeology is based on the 1992 European Council's Convention on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage (La Valletta Convention). The national legislation requires mandatory preventive archaeological investigations already in the spatial planning phase. This enables early detection of archaeological sites and timely preventive intervention. The main tendency was to expand the model and practice developed in the motorway-archaeology projects and to apply it at the general level of archaeological heritage protection.[117] As an illustration, the data for the period 2009–2016 for Slovenia show that there were about 3,000 permits issued for archaeological fieldwork of all kinds, sizes and scales, and that

companies as sub-contractors. After 2008 this system was abandoned, and private companies could directly compete for any kind of archaeological project.

117 Another highly important document was adopted in 2013 – Regulations on Archaeological Research (*Pravilnik o arheoloških raziskavah*), which for the first time included mandatory standards in performing various types of archaeological fieldwork and recording. (*Pravilnik o arheoloških raziskavah* 2013).

99% of the cases were projects of preventive character. In contrast, a mere 1% represented academic research projects (Brišnik, Kajzer Cafnik and Novaković 2016).

An important and far-reaching tool for protecting cultural heritage was developed in 1995 at the Ministry of Culture, the Register of Immovable Heritage, aimed at keeping accurate information necessary for administrative protection. This record on an online GIS server has been freely accessible for some years.[118]

In reforming the legal and organisational aspects of heritage protection, a new organisation was founded, the Centre for Preventive Archaeology (the unit within the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage), modelled on the French INRAP. The Centre's main tasks are to provide archaeological preventive research in areas subject to state spatial planning, areas containing monuments, and areas changing their status to building areas. Soon CPA developed into the largest archaeological professional organisation in Slovenia.

Recent comparative studies about the archaeological profession in Europe (Collis 2009; Schlanger and Aitchison 2010; Novaković et al. 2016; *Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe* (2008; 2014)) showed that Slovene archaeology is completely comparable in all professional aspects, academic and applied, to archaeologies in countries with much longer archaeological traditions. At present, there are some 25–30 private companies along with 19 museums, three academic institutions, one regional park and eight units of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage. As a rule of thumb, more than 50% of the professional workforce work directly or indirectly in preventive archaeology.

In the conclusion to this overview of the modernisation of Slovene archaeology post-1991, it should be added that the major transformation of the discipline witnessed in the last few decades is not only a consequence of the establishment of a democratic social regime, independent state and the introduction of the market economy into several areas which were previously strictly in the domain of public service. It is also a result of the changes that commenced in the 1980s, with the beginning of intensive cooperation with British and American institutions, which soon led to the introduction of numerous new methods and technologies and, in parallel, provided new insights about the nature and social practice of the archaeological discipline. It could even be argued that it is mostly owing to the experience and achievements from the 1980s that Slovene archaeology over the last two decades was much better prepared for the social, economic and political changes that it faced.

Concluding thoughts on Slovene archaeology

Every history of a discipline, especially when the author of such history made a career in this discipline, may easily fall into what I have termed the 'teleological trap', and explain the past as directly serving the present. The history of Slovene archaeology – and this can also be said for all other national archaeologies and traditions from the former Yugoslavia – may fall in this trap: However, the political, social, and economic changes of the last century were so substantial – to the extent that almost every 30 years re-contextualisation is needed – what clearly objects teleological arguments. In one of my earlier papers (Novaković 2002, 332–345) I proposed major focal points for understanding the development of Slovene archaeology, as follows:

a) Requiring demands for re-constitution or re-adjustments of the discipline. Changes in the political and social context of the states to which Slovenia belonged in the last 200 years were mostly of such an order of magnitude that they required substantial transformation

118 In 2013, the Register contained 29,446 registered heritage units (11,18% or 3,295 were archaeological sites) (Pirkovič 2014, 82).

of, basically, all domains of social life, science included. After each major change (new state or new political regime), re-adjustments were also necessary for archaeology. One should also not forget that these major changes were, in most cases, catalysed by wars.

b) Slovene archaeology was (and still is) a small professional community discipline. Until 1960, in almost a hundred years of its history, there were probably no more than five active archaeological professionals in Slovenia working contemporarily, sometimes even fewer.These figures substantially increased after the Second World War; in the 1960, there were some 20 professionals, in the late 1980s, about 70, in 2006 around 180, and in 2014 between 250 and 300. Despite such an increase in archaeological positions, we are still dealing with a small community, a matter that is not uncommon in Europe.[119] In such conditions, many individual events and personal biographies can have long-lasting consequences on the whole discipline's development. Wars and political disruption throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries provided abundant cases of personal biographies that directly or indirectly influenced the course of archaeology in Slovenia. In other words, it is only in the 1960s that Slovene archaeology reached a level of stability, in part due to the increased number of institutions and experts, that it did not so heavily depend on the decisions, fates or ideas of only a few individuals.

c) The history of Slovene archaeology is marked by its episodic nature until the 1950s. There is much more discontinuity than continuity in the period between 1850 and 1950. The only anchors of continuity were a few institutions, primarily museums. But this also may be deceiving, as while museums were there, they did not always have archaeological staff

d) If we consider Slovene archaeology a complete system of discipline (knowledge) and practice with its tasks within society, this level of complexity and stability was achieved only after the Second World War. Though some infrastructure existed from a few decades before this time, what was needed was a critical mass of people and institutions, together with a well-developed legal and conceptual background, to demonstrate the full potential of archaeology and its relevance in broader society. The renewal of Slovene archaeology started under the socialist system, as was the case with other archaeologies in countries that emerged after the collapse of the Yugoslav federal state. A significant part of its history was thus within the socialist political landscape.

The socialist regime's ideological component will be dealt with later, in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology, because it affected all national archaeologies in the federation. However, I would like to point here to another set of factors deriving from the system of governance of Yugoslavia which created conditions for the rapid growth of archaeology: stable and rapid economic growth after 1950, sizeable political pressure to intensify the cooperation between the Yugoslav nations, large investments in the public sector, education, science and culture included, and, last but not least, social and historical sciences gaining in weight considering their social role. If we take into consideration the formative period of the Slovene post-war archaeology from 1945 to the mid-1960s and compare it to all previous periods in its history, Slovene archaeology never previously experienced such a level of organisation and cooperation with other national archaeologies, it never had so much money available for international cooperation and diversification of its activities. It also never experienced such growth in infrastructure. The truth is that the regime also expected something in return from the science and culture it strongly supported.[120]

119 Based on simple interpolation of data collected by the project Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe (2008; 2014), some 20 European countries have less than 500 professional archaeologists, and only ten countries more than 1,000.

120 See more on this in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology.

Still, to get the expected return, it both first needed to make large investments for things to be adequately developed.

The last episode can be imagined after 1991, after Slovenia gained independence. Still, this time the continuity in Slovene archaeology, both in terms of its conceptual and infrastructural development, was much stronger. The institutional framework continued to exist without any essential changes, demonstrating in its own way that the Yugoslav republics since the 1970s were already states within the state. In conceptual terms, the seeds for significant changes in archaeology were already there in the 1980s. They then quickly grew in new conditions of more extensive internationalisation and cooperation with other European countries after the end of a divided Europe.

Images

Fig. 8 Janez Ludvik Schönleben (1618–1681), theologist, historian and author of the study Carniola antiqua et nova.

Fig. 9 Janez Gregor Dolničar (1655–1719), jurist, historian and antiquarian from Ljubljana. Author of the first essays on Roman Emona.

Fig. 10 Gian Rinaldo Carli (1720–1795), economist, historian and archaeologist, native of Koper, founder of the Accademia dei Risorti in Koper, excavator of the amphitheatre in Pula.

Fig. 11 Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756–1795), writer and historian. Author of a historical study on the South Slavs in Austria.

Fig. 12 Provincial Museum of Carniola in Ljubljana (1890s). Courtesy of the National Museum of Slovenia.

Fig. 13 Karl Dežman (Deschmann) (1821–1888). Director of the Provincial Museum of Carniola, excavator of the prehistoric pile-dwellings at Ljubljansko barje. Courtesy of the National Museum of Slovenia.

Fig. 14 Simon Rutar (1851–1903). The first Conservator of the Central Commission for Research and Protection of Historic and Art Monuments for the Province of Carniola.

Fig. 15 Municipal Museum in Ptuj (1928).
Courtesy of the Historical Archive Ptuj.

Fig. 16 Exhibition of the Maribor Museum Society (1903–1907).
Courtesy of the Regional Museum Maribor.

Fig. 17 Gymnasium in Celje, the first venues of the Municipal Museum in Celje lapidarium (1882–1946).

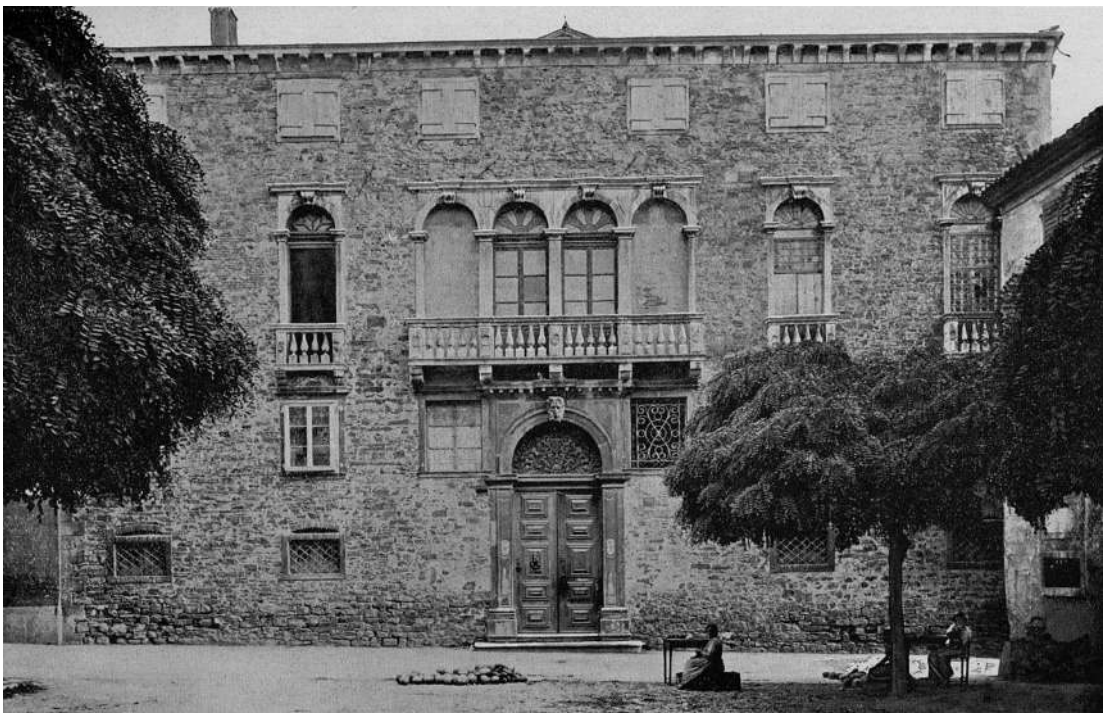


Fig. 18 Municipal Museum in Koper (early 1920s). Courtesy of the Regional Museum Koper.

Fig. 19 University of Ljubljana, established in 1919.
Site of the first chair in archaeology in Slovenia. (Photo from 1932).

Fig. 20 Vojeslav Molè (1886–1973).
The first professor of archaeology at the University of Ljubljana (1923–1926).

Fig. 21 Balduin Saria (1893–1974).
Professor of archaeology at the University of Ljubljana between 1926 and 1942.

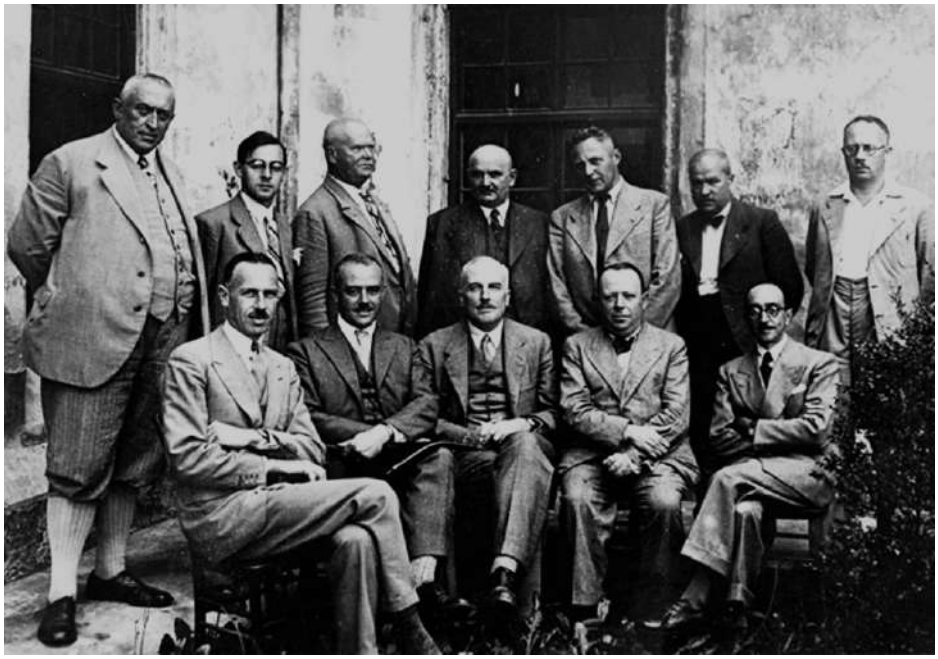


Fig. 22 Participants of the Tabula Imperii Romani Meeting in Ptuj 1937. Standing from the left: Viktor Skrabar (Ptuj Museum), Aladar Radnoti (Hungarian National Museum), Mihovil Abramić (Archaeological Museum in Split), Viktor Hoffiler (University of Zagreb), Rudolf Egger (University of Vienna), Balduin Saria (University of Ljubljana), Josip Klemenc (Archaeological Museum Zagreb); Sitting from the left: Vivian E. Halifax Sanceau (UK), Henri Seyrig (Director General of Antiquities of Syria and Lebanon), Osbert Crawford (Ordnance Survey, UK), Gerhard Bersu (German Archaeological Institute), Giuseppe Lugli (University of Rome).

Fig. 23 Rajko Ložar (1904–1985), archaelogist, Director of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana, at an archaeological excavation in Novo mesto in 1941 (right) accompanied by two Italian officials. Courtesy of the National Museum of Slovenia.

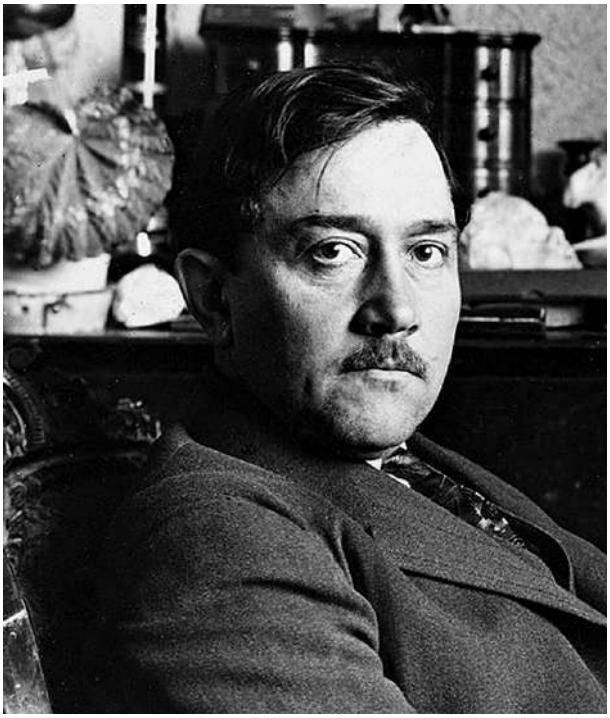


Fig. 24 France Stelè (1886–1972), Provincial Conservator for Carniola (1912–1914), Head of the Monuments Office in Ljubljana 1919–1938). One of key scholars in designing the cultural heritage protection system in Yugoslavia after the Second World War.

Fig. 25 Jože Kastelic (1913–2003), Director of the National Museum of Slovenia and Stane Gabrovec (1920–2015), Curator for prehistory at the National Museum of Slovenia (early 1950s). Courtesy of the National Museum of Slovenia.

Fig. 26 Museum in Novo mesto in 1958. Courtesy of the Museum of Dolenjska, Novo mesto.

Fig. 27 Josip Klemenc (1898–1967), Professor of ancient history and archaeology at the University of Ljubljana (1946–1967) with students and visitors at the Roman cemetery in Šempeter (early 1960s).

Fig. 28 Josip Korošec (1909–1966), Professor of prehistory and early medieval archaeology at the University of Ljubljana (1947–1966) at excavations in Kevderc in 1959. Courtesy of Josip Korošec jr. and Darko Periša.

Fig. 29 Josip Korošec and Paola Korošec (1913-2006) (with children). Paola Korošec was the first professional female archaeologist in the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Courtesy of Josip Korošec jr. and Darko Periša.

Fig. 30 Srečko Brodar (1893–1987) and France Osole (1920–2000) (both sitting on the right), professors of Quarternary and Palaeolithic studies at the University of Ljubljana (at Potočka zijalka, 1960s).

Fig. 31 France Stare (1927–1974) (center, with bow tie), professor of archaeology at the University of Ljubljana, photographed with students of archaeology from the University of Belgrade during their excursion to Slovenia (1959). Courtesy of Mirina Cvikl Zupančić.

Fig. 32 Jaroslav Šašel (1924–1988), epigraphist, ancient historian and archaeologist at the Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre at the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana.

Fig. 33 Bernarda Perc (1929–1983) and Stanko Pahič (1924-2003) at excavations of the Bronze Age settlement in Ormož (1956). Bernarda Perc was the first specialist in egyptology in Slovenia. Archive of the Regional Museum Ptuj – Ormož.

Fig. 34 Tatjana Bregant (1932–2002), Professor of Neolithic aand Eneolithic archaeology at the University of Ljubljana at excavations in Ljupljanica (Bosnia and Herzegovina) (1970s). Archive of the Department of Archaeology, University of Ljubljana.

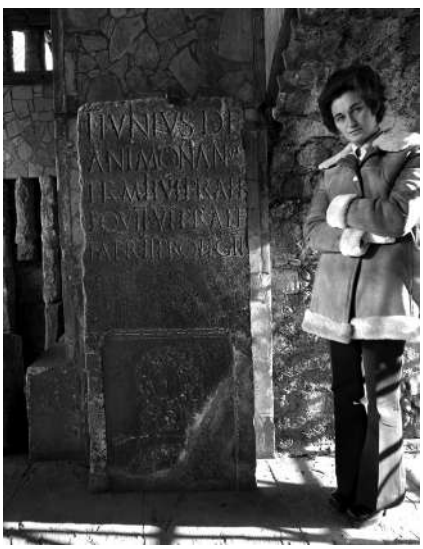


Fig. 35 Ljudmila Plesničar Gec (1931–2008), Curator at the Minicipal Museum in Ljubljana, the principal researcher of the Roman Emona. Photo taken in 1973 in the lapidarium in Ljubljana. Courtesy of the Museums and Galleries of Ljubljana.

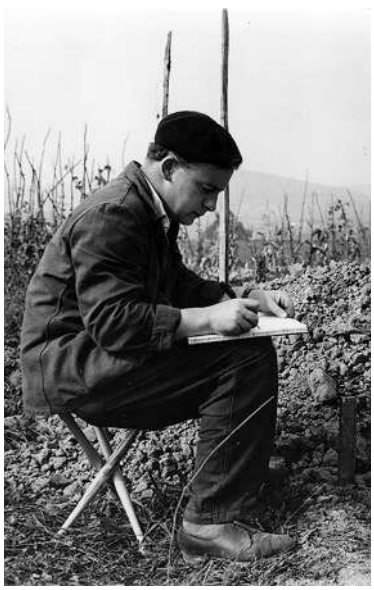


Fig. 36 Tone Knez (1930–1993), Curator at the Museum of Dolenjska, Novo Mesto at the excavations in Novo mesto in 1959 (Kambič 2019).

Fig. 37 Iva Mikl Curk (1935–2013), Head of the Archaeological Department at the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia.

III. CROATIA

Croatia has been an independent state since 1991. It covers 56,000 km2 and has approximately 4.3 million inhabitants (Croats 90%, Serbs 4.5%, other nationalities include Bosniaks, Hungarians, and Czechs, among others). Croatia is predominantly a Catholic country, whilst other religious groups include Orthodox and Muslim populations (ca. 6% combined).

The country extends from the eastern Adriatic coast to the Pannonian Plain, encircling Bosnia and Herzegovina from the south, west and north. Croatia's crescent-shaped territory resulted from the late 15th establishment of the Austrian Military Frontier around the lands ruled by the Ottomans, primarily Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Fig. 38 Relief map of Croatia.

In terms of physical geography, Croatia is a very heterogeneous country. This heterogeneity is also well reflected in the historical regionalisation of the country. Its western Adriatic parts are marked by a highly indented coast with more than 600 small and medium islands, with some 50 of them inhabited. A distinguished geographical and historical region in the Adriatic Croatia is the Istrian peninsula in the north, divided today between Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. Istria was crucial for controlling maritime routes in the northern Adriatic since prehistoric times. On the other hand, it also contains relatively large areas for farming, animal keeping, vine and olive oil production, making it attractive for dense settlement in the past. Bordering Istria on the south is Kvarner (Quarnaro) or Hrvatsko Primorje (Croatian Littoral), a narrow coastal belt with relatively large islands (Cres, Krk, Lošinj, Rab). The Velebit high mountain ridge (part of the Dinaric mountains) rises from the sea and extends for some 150 km along the coast, making a significant barrier towards the interior.

To the south is Dalmatia, the largest Croatian Adriatic region which extends to Montenegro. Both Kvarner and Dalmatia are typical karstic landscapes with highly permeable limestone geology, rare superficial water streams and sparse karstic fields. Their climate is Mediterranean or sub-Mediterranean, or mixed with a continental climate in the hinterland. Similarly to Kvarner, central and southern Dalmatia are blocked inland by the high Dinaric mountains, frequently reaching more than 1,500 m (Kozjak, Mosor, Biokovo, Dinara) and dividing coastal Dalmatia from its hinterland (*Dalmatinska zagora*) and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Large parts of the land, particularly in the Dalmatian hinterland, are extremely rugged and barren, unsuitable for settlement. In addition to this, intensive exploitation of wood (construction, fuel, clearing the forests for pastures or fields, etc.) also deprived the region of its forests in the last few centuries. In Dalmatinska zagora, the principal settlement zones are around numerous small and medium-size unevenly spaced karstic fields or flatter areas containing some more soil deposits. Traditionally, the Dalmatian hinterland economy was based on small-scale mixed agriculture, pastoralism, and, to a smaller scale, also trade.[121]

In contrast, with its hundreds of bays, coves, peninsulas and islands, the Adriatic coast provides numerous naturally protected routes for seafaring and safe ports, making it much more integrated into cross-Adriatic contacts and trade, which consequently led to the early development of urban civilisation. The earliest urban settlements in Dalmatia appeared already in the Hellenistic period with the Greek colonies, Roman emporia, and the local communities' proto-urban settlements. This 'urban' coastal belt has existed for more than two millennia.

From Istria to Montenegro, only four larger rivers flow to the Adriatic: the Raša in Istria, and the Zrmanja, Cetina and Neretva (in northern and central Dalmatia), all being essential core areas for settlement in the past. Northern and central Dalmatia also includes hundreds of islands. The largest and economically the most important were in Central Dalmatia – Brač, Hvar, Vis – all relatively well suited for agricultural production, and which also played an essential role in cross-Adriatic navigation. Southern Dalmatia begins south of the River Neretva mouth. At the seashore, the Pelješac peninsula and the island of Korčula (Curzola) form a barrier between central and southern Dalmatia. Around the town of Neum, there is a c. 20 km wide corridor belonging to Bosnia and Herzegovina cutting through to the Croatian coast.[122] Southern Dalmatia is the smallest and

121 One should also not forget that territory of Dalmatian hinterland crossed the border between Venice and Ottomans, which frequently shifted in favour of one or another regional force. In this condition, an important part of the local population was serving in the defensive forces of both countries.

122 This peculiar situation derived from 1699 when the Ottomans and Austrians ended a war with a peace agreement in Sremski Karlovci. The Republic of Dubrovnik, then a vassal of Turkey, demanded two Ottoman-held

least settled of all Dalmatian regions. It consists of a very narrow coastal belt (up to 20 km wide) and a few larger islands (Korčula, Mljet, Šipan, Lopud). The principal mainland towns are Dubrovnik and Cavtat, while historical urban centres on the islands developed only on Korčula.

North and northwest Croatia exhibit utterly different geography. The whole area belongs to the catchments of two main rivers, Sava and Drava, which both flow to the Danube. Here, the landscapes belong to the extensive Pannonian and sub-Pannonian Lowland. 'Pannonian' Croatia extends from Slovenia on the west to the Danube and Serbia on the east; its northern and southern borders are formed by the Drava and Sava. Slavonija (including Baranja and western Srem or Srijem) is a historical region occupying the eastern part of lowland Croatia and is today the main agricultural region in Croatia. To the west is the geographically similar sub-Pannonian region of northwestern Croatia. It contains lowland and hilly terrains and is further divided into smaller regional units. In western and central Slavonija, the only higher terrain is a 60 km long and 20–30 km wide chain of higher hills, reaching some 500–600 m of relative height (Papuk – Psunj – Požeška gora). The rest is lowland, comprised of alluvial deposits and loess terraces. The climate in the whole of northern Croatia is continental. In the past, large parts of Slavonia was marshland and densely forested with oak. With intensive colonisation, starting at the end of the 18th century, and with further development of agriculture in the last century, large plots of land were cleared, drained and turned into agricultural land.

The third geographical region is called Mountainous Croatia (*Gorska Hrvatska*). It is a transitional zone between Pannonian and Adriatic Croatia. In terms of Balkan geomorphology, this region is considered as the high Dinaric region with karstic geology. Its northern part is still densely forested today, and due to the high terrain is the least settled part of Croatia. This is also the least suitable region for agriculture. Towards the south, the region is more open with large karstic fields, Gacko, Krbavsko and Ličko, more suitable for agriculture. The climate in Gorska Hrvatska is continental and also alpine in the high mountains.

A brief survey of archaeology and history of Croatia

Such geographical variety has substantially influenced the archaeology of the country. In terms of the Palaeolithic, Croatia is, together with Slovenia, the most researched country presented in this book. There are about 100 sites that belong to this period. Throughout the whole Palaeolithic, two broader regional 'clusters' are visible, one along the Adriatic coast and Central Dalmatia and another in Northwestern Croatia.[123] However, to a certain extent, such clustering can also be a consequence of uneven research.

buffer corridors at its border with Venice – in the area of Neum in the north and near Boka Kotorska in the south. This territorial divide was abolished with the Austrian rule but re-appeared in 1945 when the new border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina was determined.

123 One should bear in mind that the Adriatic Sea was much smaller during the glacial periods and that its northern shores represented the line between Zadar and Ancona.

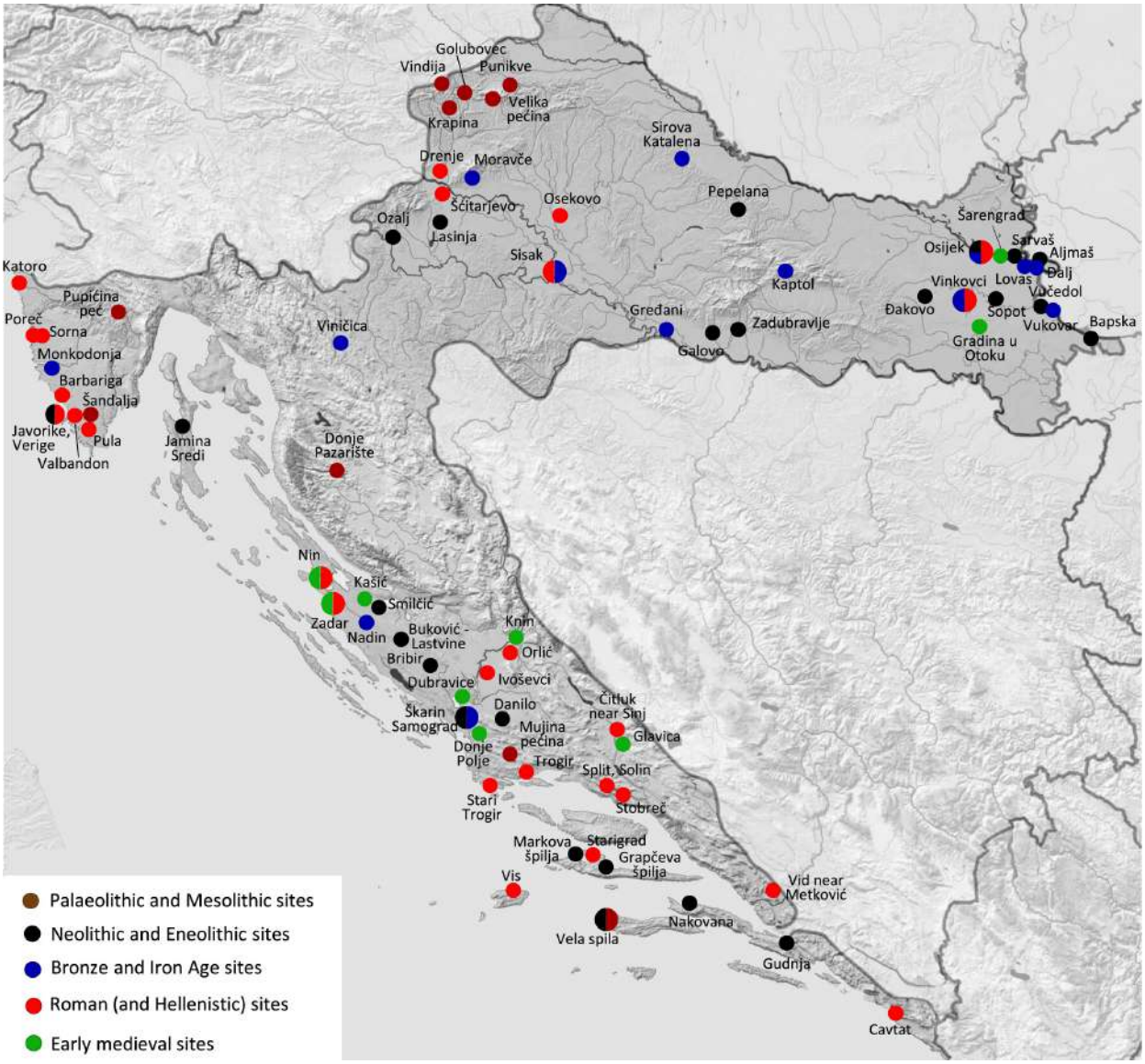


Fig. 39 Archaeological sites in Croatia mentioned in this chapter.

The Lower Palaeolithic sites are scarce but found in both Palaeolithic 'regions' (Šandalja I, Donje Pazarište, Golubovec, Punikve). They are all open-air sites. They were not systematically researched and were distinguished based only on typological analysis of stone tools (Karavanić and Janković 2006, 22). The Middle Palaeolithic is probably the best researched of all Palaeolithic periods, mainly because of some very attractive discoveries in northwestern Croatia. Most renowned site a Mousterian rock shelter at Krapina, which was extensively researched since the end of the 20th century (Gorjanović Kramberger 1906). The site contained more than 800 pieces of human remains belonging to at least 24 Neanderthal individuals (Gardner and Smith 2006).[124]

Human remains of the Neanderthals from Krapina were dated to 130,000 BP (Rink et al. 1995). Neanderthal remains were also found in Vindija and Velika Pećina near Goranci in the same region (Karavanić and Janković 2006, 29, 30). The Mousterian sites are also relatively frequent in

124 Based on dental analyses, Wolpoff and Caspari (2006) calculated some 80 individuals.

Central Dalmatia, where the best researched is Mujina pećina (see Karavanić and Bilich-Kamenjarin 1997). Altogether there are more than 30 Middle Palaeolithic sites in Croatia, most frequently found in caves and rock shelters. During the Upper Palaeolithic, the number of sites further increased, particularly on the Adriatic coast. The layers from this period are frequently found also in the Mousterian caves and shelters. Several thousand finds make Šandalja II near Pula the richest Gravettian site, which also contained human remains (Malez 1979, 292–294). Worth noting here is a recent discovery at Vela spila on the island of Korčula, where 36 fragments of clay figurines from the Epigravettian were found (Farbstein et al., 2012).

Similar regional clustering of sites is discernible in the Mesolithic period. Still, most of them appear along the eastern Adriatic coast – more than two-thirds out of 55–60 Mesolithic sites in Croatia.[125] They also exhibit a larger variety in terms of their locations; there are more open-air sites, in northwestern Croatia and Slavonia in particular. Particularly numerous are sites in Istria and the Croatian Littoral (Hrvatsko Primorje), where some 25 sites were found (Komšo 2006, 60). Among them, the best researched is Pupićina peć,[126] which is dated between 10,000 and 7,500 BP. It contained more than 8,000 finds of flint and bone tools and human remains (Komšo 2006, 60). Another interesting Mesolithic site is Vela spila near Vela Luka on the island of Korčula, where several Mesolithic graves were discovered (Komšo 2006, 72–73).

The earliest Neolithic settlement emerged at the end of the 7th millennium BC in the Pannonian zone (in Slavonija), in the area between the Sava, Drava and Danube rivers. The Neolithic settlers came to this area from the southeastern Pannonian Plain and are represented by the Starčevo culture, the earliest Neolithic culture in the Pannonian basin and Central Balkans. Today, around 100 sites of Starčevo culture are known from an area of some 13,000 km^2, representing a picture of small and short-lived settlements living by hoe-cultivation of land and cattle rearing (Šimić, 2013, 15; Hršak and Šošić Klindžić 2014; Šošić Klindžić et al. 2018). Starčevo period settlements are dispersed all over the Pannonian area, taking advantage of open and drier land, river terraces, foothills and similar locations in otherwise mostly forested and marshy Slavonia. The individual settlements were generally smaller in size, short-lived and relatively densely clustered in their micro-regional settings. According to the radiocarbon dates, the earliest Starčevo culture sites are Zadubravlje and Galovo, from the beginning of the 6th millennium BC,[127] i.e. to the later phase of the general Starčevo culture chronology. The most frequent finds are relatively simple and coarse vessels (most frequently globular pots and bowls) of red and ochre colour. Typical for the local Starčevo culture pottery is the decoration with incised and impressed simple linear motifs and fluted barbotine. Finer pottery is painted also with white linear motifs. Finds of Spondylus shells and obsidian indicate long-distance exchange taking place in the 6th millennium BC. In the northwestern areas of Croatia during the same millennium there are also some 20 sites containing evidence of the southernmost Linear Band Ceramic, locally labelled as Malo Korenovo culture. This culture's sites are more frequent in western Hungary and eastern Austria, but their southernmost distribution also reached Croatia. However, they are usually mixed on the same sites with materials of other cultures (e.g. Starčevo-type or Sopot-type pottery) (e.g. Težak-Gregl 2014, 37, Balen and Čataj 2014, 61).

With the Middle Neolithic, starting at around 5300 BC, the cultural changes became quite evident.

125 Komšo (2006, 81) argues that such an uneven geographical distribution results from more intensive research in the coastal areas in the last decades. Nevertheless, the number of Mesolithic sites is still much larger than the Upper Palaeolithic sites in the same coastal regions.

126 For more on this site, see Miracle and Forenbaher (2006).

127 On the earliest radiocarbon dates of the Starčevo sites in Croatia, see Šošić Klindžić et al. (2018).

The settlement became gradually more complex and denser. Frequently, the settlements of the Sopot culture were multi-layered and had a longer duration than was the case with the settlements of the early Neolithic. At that time, the dominant Sopot culture was the first to construct more complex settlements such as tells (e.g. Bapska, Pepelana, Osijek–Hermanov vinograd, Sarvaš, Sopot), and settlements similar to *wasserburgs*. The Sopot culture tells are ellipsoid or oval, with an area over 1 hectare with layers between 2–4 m thick. They are also frequently raised above the surrounding area, enclosed with ditches, earthen ramparts and palisades (see more in Balen and Čataj 2014, 65). Šošić Klindžić et al. (2018, 170) also detected a substantial change in the raw materials used for stone tools – the Sopot culture changed not only the raw materials but also the technology and typology compared to the preceding Starčevo culture. Pottery types are more heterogeneous and numerous than in the preceding period. The most typical and frequent are biconical forms (pots, bowls, etc.). However, the decoration is, in general, very modest and simple, mostly incised linear motifs and finger-impressed motifs. Sopot culture is a very long phenomenon that spanned from the Middle to Late Neolithic in the late 5th millennium BC.

In the late Neolithic and early Eneolithic in continental Croatia (ca. late 5th millennium–3,000 BC), the development continued with the Sopot and Vinča cultures (central and eastern Slavonia) and Lengyel culture (northwestern Croatia). The main site in eastern Slavonia is Bapska which is at the contact of two larger cultural complexes – Sopot (western) and Vinča (eastern), and, indeed, exhibits the finds of both.[128] The Vinča cultural elements[129] belong mostly to its later phases (ca. 5000–4500 BC).[130] Bapska is also the site where the earliest indirect evidence for metallurgy was found (Burić 2014, 54) which points to intensive contacts with the closest core area of Vinča culture (near Belgrade). In northwestern Croatia, the principal Late Neolithic – Early Eneolithic cultural formation was Lengyel culture, or better to say, its Croatian and Slovene regional manifestation.[131] Its most distinctive feature is painted pottery (red, yellow, white). In neighbouring countries, particularly in Austria and Hungary, the Lengyel culture sites exhibit very complex features (elaborate site plans, large houses, 'rondels', etc. However, such sites are still to be discovered in Croatia. At present, the site of Ozalj – Stari grad is the best evidence of this culture in Croatia (Težak-Gregl 2005).

The earliest Neolithic sites in Adriatic Croatia appear at approximately the same time as in the Pannonian area, at the turn from 7th to 6th millennium BC, and lasted until the mid-6th millennium.[132] The development of the Neolithic in this area seems to be independent of developments in the Pannonian and other continental areas and influenced by the spread of the 'Neolithic' culture from the southeast, from Ionian and southern Adriatic seas. The earliest sites, characterised mainly by impresso-cardium pottery, are found all along the eastern Adriatic coast, also in Montenegro and Albania. In Croatia, they are predominantly clustered in the northern Adriatic (Istria and Kvarner), northern Dalmatia (the area between Zadar and Šibenik), and southern Dalmatia (south of Neretva river). At present, there are some 40 sites in these three regions. Some two-thirds were found in caves and rock

128 The site of Bapska spanned a much longer period, from the Late Starčevo/Early Sopot period at the beginning of the Middle Neolithic, continued through the Late Neolithic (Sopot and Vinča cultures), and ended in the Eneolithic.

129 For more on the Vinča culture see in chapters on Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

130 For the Late Neolithic radiocarbon dates in Slavonia, see Burić (2015, for Bapsa p.150).

131 The Lengyel culture was spread over a much larger area, from southern Poland, across Moravia, Lower Austria, Hungary to Slovenia and Croatia, and is composed of several regional types (Bickle 2014). The Lengyel culture, it could be said, replaced or substituted the preceding Linearband Pottery culture that extended over a very similar area. In Slovenia, the Lengyel culture's regional manifestation is termed the Sava Group of the Lengyel culture; under this term, the neighbouring Croatian manifestation of the same culture can be implied.

132 See Marijanović (2007, 35) and Forenbaher, Kaiser and Miracle (2013) for the earliest radiocarbon dates.

shelters, while one-third are open-air sites at various types of locations. Unfortunately, except for Vela spila on the island of Korčula, none of the Early Neolithic sites has been researched in more detail or extensively enough to provide a more coherent image of this period.[133] It appears that the acculturation of the local Mesolithic population played a more significant role in the Adriatic zone than in the Pannonian Neolithic. Many of the Early Neolithic sites in caves also contain Mesolithic strata, and in their early Neolithic deposits a large ratio of hunting animals was present (Marijanović 2007, 30).

On the other hand, the open-air sites included more remains of domesticated sheep, goat and cereals' in later periods. These sites also tended to be close to the areas with cultivable soils, rivers and streams. The Early Neolithic phase at Smilčić (the site of ca. 1.5–2 ha in size with a semi-circular plan) seems to already have a more elaborate structure with roundhouses and ditches (Batović 1979, 491–493). There is also some evidence of cross-Adriatic contacts in this period.[134]

Substantial cultural change emerged with the Middle Neolithic or so-called Danilo culture, which spread across all of the eastern Adriatic coast since the mid-6th millennium BC. This change is evident in much more elaborated and heterogenous pottery, frequently painted or with complex incised relief spiral motifs, appliques, decorated bowls on high legs. Compared to the previous Impresso-Cardium period, the number of sites with evidence of the Danilo culture increased substantially, not only in their number but also in size. However, the ratio between cave sites and open-air sites remained similar. The best and the most considerable evidence came from the sites of Danilo (the eponym site), Smilčić, Bribir. They are all open-air sites with areas between 2 and 4 hectares with more elaborate plans.[135] They can be considered as major centres of the Middle Neolithic settlement in their immediate regions. Moreover, these sites also existed for a larger period of time (Batović 1979, 526). These sites also speak for the increased importance of farming and animal husbandry, whereas the remains of hunting decreased substantially compared to the Early Neolithic.

In the Middle Neolithic, Dalmatia inhabitants also intensified their contacts with neighbouring regions across the Adriatic and Balkan inland (e.g. trading with Spondylus shells with Pannonian areas, obsidian trade with Lipari). Recent radiocarbon dates (Forenbaher, Kaiser and Miracle 2013) corrected the traditional dates to a significant degree. In the first place, it was shown that the Danilo culture (or better to say, Danilo pottery style) lasted for different periods of time in different eastern Adriatic regions. In its core area, i.e. central Dalmatia, it ended at around 5,000 BC and was replaced by the Late Neolithic Hvar culture (i.e. Hvar pottery style).

Hvar culture (the Late Neolithic in Dalmatia) occupies a period of the whole 5th millennium BC. Its pottery style exhibits rich decoration (painting, incisions, spiral motifs), not that different from the preceding period, similar to the Butmir style in central and southern Bosnia and Herzegovina. At present, it seems that the Hvar culture was more restricted to its core area in Dalmatia, whereas in the northern Adriatic various post-Danilo styles remained in use (Forenbaher, Kaiser and Miracle 2013, 601). Its

133 Vela spila is one of the key sites (together with Crvene stijene in Montenegro) for understanding early prehistory in the eastern Adriatic. It contains eight major layers (Epipalaeolithic, Mesolithic, Early, Middle, Late Neolithic, Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age). Better researched cave sites are Markova spilja on the island of Hvar, Škarin Samograd near Šibenik and Jamina Sredi in Istria.

134 E.g. the Campiginian-type stone axe from Markova spilja imported from Monte Gargano in Italy (Batović 1979, 519).

135 In Smilčić, two concentric ditches surrounding the settlement were discovered. In Bribir, houses were rectangular with clay floors (Batović 1979, 531–532).

eponym and still the richest site is Grapčeva spilja on the island of Hvar, researched in the 1950s (Novak 1955). Hvar culture frequently appeared on the same sites of the preceding Danilo culture, and in the cave sites in particular (e.g. Markova spilja, Jamina Sredi, Škarin Samograd), indicating that the caves were in constant use for similar purposes throughout the Neolithic period. Moreover, the open-air sites frequently contain evidence of both cultures (e.g. Smilčić, Bribir, Danilo) speaking to the fact that the same settlement areas or niches not only were in extended use, but also retained similar economic and settlement patterns throughout the 5th millennium BC.

In general in the Eneolithic of Croatia (ca. 4300–2500 BC), and in both major regions, continental and coastal, traditionally defined early Eneolithic cultures (pottery styles) are not very clearly distinguishable from the Late Neolithic ones. Most of the authors speak of a relatively smooth transition concerning the material culture in the first centuries of the new period. Significant changes emerged towards the end of this transitional or early period, in the first half of the 4th century BC.

Three larger cultural groups Lasinja, Retz–Gayary and Baden c all spread over much wider territory between Moravia, Lower Austria, western Transdanubia and Sava Valley in Slovenia and Croatia in the south – were also present in most of continental Croatia in various regional forms. The earliest is the Lasinja group, which is generally considered a continuation of the Late Neolithic Lengyel and Sopot cultures into the Eneolithic period. In Croatia, it covers a large territory from the northern Lika region across Northwestern Croatia and Slavonia in the east. So far, the settlement evidence of the Lasinja culture speaks of smaller villages or hamlets with a smaller number of houses relatively widely dispersed (Čataj 2018, 28). Radiocarbon dates from the eastern Slavonia suggested its emergence at around 4350 BC and its duration until around 3800 BC.[136] It retained several traditional Late Neolithic features, e.g. general settlement pattern, economy, and many elements in its pottery. It is important to note that on the Lasinja sites in Croatia no metal objects or objects indirectly associated with metallurgy have been found so far. As in Slovenia, the Lasinja group was gradually replaced by Retz–Gajary culture followed by Baden culture.

The Retz–Gajary group is distinguished by its furrow-incised pottery decoration (Furchenstich), which was very common on the much larger territory; it extended from Moravia and southwestern Slovakia, lower Austria, western Hungary down to the Sava valley in the south, reaching continental Croatia and Slovenia. In Croatia, this group is dated between ca. 3,900 and 3,500 BC (Balen 2008, 20). While the different pottery style compared to the previous Lasinja culture was quite distinctive, other aspects reveal much smaller differences. In terms of the settlement, the Retz–Gajary sites are in similar local settings, predominantly in plains. In the earlier literature, this culture was traditionally considered as nomadic or semi-nomadic cattle-breeders, but more recent discoveries speak of more sedentary forms of life and larger villages (Čataj 2018b), while the settlement at Hrnjevac is one of the earliest settlements on an elevated position in the continental Croatia (Čataj 2018b, 52–53). On some Retz–Gajary sites outside Croatia, traces of metallurgy were found (e.g. in Slovenia).

The Baden culture – the radiocarbon dates from Croatia put it the second half of the 4th millennium BC (Balen 2018, 68–70) – extended over similar territory in Croatia as the preceding Retz–Gajary culture, but with much more significant clustering of sites in eastern Slavonia along the Danube (e.g. Vučedol, Sarvaš, Bapska, Aljmaš). The most diagnostic and typical for Baden culture are black-polished vessels with a high, almost metallic sheen, with cylindrical necks

136 For new radiocarbon dates of the Lasinja culture, see Balen (2008).

with one handle. Another typical form is the so-called *Fischbutte* (vessel with an elongated spindle-shaped neck) (Balen 2018, 76–77). Many of the Baden culture sites were found on multi-period sites occupied in the earlier and also later Eneolithic. For this reason, the internal structure of settlements is not well known. However, at Saloš near Slavonski Brod, where an area of 16,500 m^2 was researched, 34 large pits were discovered (6–20 m^2 in size), with some of them containing up to four 'rooms'. Saloš also contained several finds pointing to developed metallurgy (kilns, moulds, casting vessels) (Balen 2018, 74). Throughout the whole 4th millennium BC, the dominant type of subsistence was mixed farming, with a high proportion of cattle in animal husbandry. Concerning subsistence, the Baden culture did not differ much from the preceding Retz–Gajary culture.

Towards the end of the 4th millennium emerged a significant change in pottery styles – pottery with furrows, stamps and incisions filled with white incrustation, which is also one of the primary criteria for defining the Late Eneolithic (ca. 3200–2500 BC) in this part of Europe. In Croatia, two cultural groups are highly distinguished for this style – the Kostolac and Vučedol. Both groups extended over much larger areas; the Kostolac group was present mostly in the wider Danube area, from Transdanubia to northern Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. The Vučedol group with its regional variants extended further to the west (Slovenia) and south, reaching the Adriatic coast.

In general, the density of settlement increased in the Late Eneolithic. In Croatia, its sites are significantly clustered in central and eastern Slavonia (ca. 50 sites Đukić 2018, 90–92), with many sites 'discovered' in revisional analyses of already excavated materials. One widespread feature of the settlements containing the Kostolac-type materials is their defensive character; they are either on naturally protected locations or defended with ditches and ramparts. Another significant feature is the clustering of smaller settlements around major centres, e.g. Sarvaš or Vučedol (Đukić 2018, 93). Recent research of the site of Đakovo–Franjevac, with an area of 38,000 m^2, revealed very good evidence of the architecture and settlement structure with several multi-room objects, wooden roof constructions, internal wooden enclosures, and large pits used for burials (Balen 2011). The most distinctive feature of the Kostolac-type pottery is the decoration of various forms of vessels with white incrustation.

Rich decoration in a similar style is also typical for the subsequent Vučedol culture dated between ca. 3000 and 2500. The density of settlement is similar to that of the Kostolac group, because the Vučedol settlement tended to occupy the settlements already occupied in the previous periods (Miloglav 2018, 116). Another common feature of the Kostolac culture is the ditches or palisades enclosing the settlements or elevated locations. The core area of this culture in Croatia is in eastern Slavonia, with top sites (e.g. Vučedol, Sarvaš, Vinkovci–Tržnica) between the Danube and Sava rivers. The best-recorded plan of settlement structure is from Vučedol (so far the largest site of this culture), with tightly packed rounded houses with cycles of destruction and construction on the same places, like at tell sites. In farming, the Vučedol culture did not exhibit any particular changes compared to the earlier periods. Cereals (wheat, barley) dominate among the cultivated plants and cattle in animal husbandry.

The Vučedol culture is distinguished for its advanced metallurgy, with traces were discovered on many Vučedol culture sites (kilns, moulds, and metal objects, among which the flat fan-shaped axes are the most attractive pieces). A high level of metallurgical activities is also documented with hoards that contained moulds, pieces of weapons or tools. The most distinctive feature of the Vučedol culture is richly decorated pottery with geometric motifs – triangles, rhombs, rosettes, circles, chess-boards – filled (incrusted) most frequently with a white

material. A significant number of types of vessels (and other clay objects such as, for example, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines) are decorated in this way, usually on their most visible parts. This kind of decoration is spread over a much larger area than in the broader Pannonian and western Balkans area, but it is in the Vučedol culture when it reached its peak in the late Eneolithic. The Vučedol pottery style dominated almost all continental Croatia (and partly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia and Hungary,) and is echoed in the Adriatic areas.

So far, nothing has been said here about the Eneolithic burials in continental Croatia. The evidence is still very scarce and limited mostly to individual burials or smaller groups of buried people. At present, it seems that in the Lasinja culture the deceased were inhumated in an extended or crouched position. In other cultures (Retz–Gajary, Baden, Kostolac, Vučedol), bi-ritual burials were practiced, and there is no clear geographic or temporal pattern. The skeletons were laid down in a crouched position, while the cremated remains were put in urns. In a few cases, earthen barrows were raised above the graves.

The Eneolithic period in Adriatic Croatia is less known than in the continental parts. The main reason is that almost all sites are in caves and rock shelters, already occupied in previous periods. Their Eneolithic phase was recorded primarily on the base of pottery assemblages. In addition to this, only in a few cave sites, more extensive areas were excavated. At the present state of knowledge, the Early Eneolithic in this area (i.e. based on pottery assemblages and evidence of the use of sites) reflects the Late Neolithic tradition of the Hvar culture. Moreover, no dominant pottery or other material culture style has been recognised for the whole of the Adriatic area, but rather the appearance of more regional and local manifestations in the material culture has been found.

However, despite limited evidence (in terms of the number of sites and their limitation to the cave sites), the Nakovana culture is defined as the earliest proper Eneolithic culture in Adriatic Croatia. At present, there are some 25 sites with pottery attributed to this culture (Forenbaher 1999, 376), extending from Istria to the Montenegrin coast. (e.g. Javorike on Brioni islands, Grapčeva spilja on Hvar, Vela spila on Korčula, Nakovana, Gudnja). There are only a few open-air sites, and none of them excavated in more detail (e.g. Buković–Lastvine, Javorike). In most cases, the Nakovana culture sites did not contain the Nakovana-style pottery exclusively, but also the pottery of some other earlier or later styles. Indeed, this culture's content is limited to the diagnostic pottery with vertical channelling or grooving, most often biconical bowls with cylindrical necks and rounded or angular shoulders (Forenbaher 1999, 373). According to the radiocarbon dates (see Table 2 in Forenbaher 1999, also p. 380), the time span of the Nakovana culture seems to cover the period between 3600 and 3000 BC. Almost all Nakovana culture sites are in karstic terrains and very close to the sea, and the subsistence patterns reveal the predominance of sheepherding.

The period after the Nakovana culture (between 3,000 and 2,500 BC) is even less known, and does not reveal any particularly dominant culture or pottery style in Adriatic Croatia. In the local archaeology, this period of the 3rd millennium BC is frequently described as the Vučedol-influenced Adriatic culture or style (Forenbaher 2018). Again, this culture was distinguished based on diagnostic pottery in multiperiod sites, mostly caves.

The Early Bronze Age in continental Croatia, especially in the Pannonian parts, is attributed to the Vinkovci culture, which spread after the mid-3th millennium BC from the Balaton Lake in Hungary to the Sava river in Croatia. As was often the case in the Pannonian area, also the Vinkovci group frequently settled the same areas and even sites already occupied in the previous period (i.e. Vučedol culture). In this sense, not many changes can be observed in the settlement

patterns or subsistence patterns compared to the Late Eneolithic. All major sites are of the tell-type on riverbanks, such as Ilok, Vučedol, Vinkovci, Osijek, Sarvaš (Ložnjak Dizdar and Potrebica 2017, 29). Graves in the Vinkovci culture are only rarely discovered (e.g. Vinkovci, Osijek, Drljanovac, Josipovac Punitovački, Selci Đakovački), mostly as single cremated graves in urns.

In the later periods of the Early Bronze Age (roughly after 2000 BC), there emerged in Slavonia another three pottery styles, frequently replacing the Vinkovci culture on the same sites. These are the Vatin culture and the so-called Transdanubian incrusted pottery in eastern Slavonia, and Litzen pottery (Corded Ware) in central and western Slavonia and northwestern Croatia. They are all considered regional manifestations of the broader cultural complexes, which lasted until around 1700 BC.

The transition to the Middle Bronze Age (1700–1300 BC) was not marked by any radical changes in settlement or economy. All core settlement areas from the Early Bronze Age continued to be occupied with a similar type of small village settlements, which mostly lived of agricultural resources from their immediate vicinity. In many respects, the pottery styles to a large extent also either continued or evolved from the earlier forms (e.g. Vatin culture) – such as the Vatin–Belegiš style or phase (Ložnjak Dizdar and Potrebica 2019, 51) – as did the burial of cremated human remains in urns. Concerning the metallurgical record, the Early Bronze Age trends continued and further developed in the Middle Bronze Age. Bronze objects are mostly found in hoards (e.g. Lovas, Vukovar) which contained bracelets, daggers, battle axes and pieces of golden jewellery. The Transdanubian incrusted pottery tradition was preserved in the Dalj–Bijelo Brdo group of eastern Slavonia sites. The cemetery at Bijelo Brdo is particularly interesting because inhumation and cremation burial were practised simultaneously.

The Late Bronze Age represents a period of much greater cultural homogenisation within the Urnfield cultural complex (and its local variants), which in Croatia extends across the whole continental zone and is strongly echoed in the Adriatic region. This period sees the extensive use of metal objects, hoarding and large settlements with large flat cremation cemeteries. The cultural changes that emerged with the Urnfield culture were remarkable, with a significant increase in the number and size of sites, the number of objects deposited in graves, number of metal objects, and last but not least, not only evidence that similar metal objects circulated over large areas in this part of Europe, but that spiritual life and religion exhibited much larger supra-regional similarities with neighbouring regions than before.[137] The Urnfield culture in Pannonian Croatia appeared around 1300 BC and lasted until around 800 BC.

The earliest regional group was the Virovitica group (1300–1100 BC), mostly known from the cemeteries with cremated burials in urns from northwestern Croatia. More than 100 graves in urns were found in the eponym site, but most of them were destroyed. Other cemeteries of this group (e.g. Sirova Katalena, Moravče near Sesvete) are known from only a few graves. Partly in parallel with the Virovitica group, or later, developed other regional groups of the early Urnfield culture in Croatia. This included the Barice – Gređani group, which extended along the Sava river and is distinguished mostly for not using urns to deposit cremated remains in graves, and the Belegiš II group in eastern Slavonia, distinguished by pottery decoration. Particularly important evidence for the Urnfield culture in continental Croatia comes from numerous hoards with metal objects. Between 1300 and 1100 BC, hoards are clustered in two major areas: northwestern Croatia (ca. 12 hoards) and central and eastern Slavonia (ca. 22

137 Due to a great number of sites and complex regionalisation, a more detailed presentation of the Urnfield period exceeds the scope of this book. For this topic, see Vinski-Gasparini (1973; 1983), Ložnjak Dizdar and Potrebica (2017), Dizdar, Dizdar-Ložnjak and Mihelić (2011).

hoards).[138] These hoards contained a wide variety of objects made mostly of bronze, e.g. axes, daggers, knives, helmets, sickles, jewellery, pieces of dress, vessels, etc. Through time, and especially after 1000 BC, the number of hoards diminished, as well as the number of types of objects deposited in them. The reasons for hoards are still not very clear, but some of them were associated with religious practices.

In contrast, some other hoards (probably those containing ingots and 'scrap metal') might be associated with exchanging bronze raw materials. The later phase of the Urnfield culture (1100–800 BC) is marked by an increase in the number of settlements and cemeteries, their density and size. Two major regional groups developed, the Dalj group in eastern Slavonia, between the Lower Sava, Lower Drava and Danube, and the Velika Gorica group in northwest Croatia.

The Late Bronze Age period is also marked by increased social ranking, the emergence of regional centres, and intensified farming associated with a demographic increase. Significant changes in the social ranking must have represented the control of the long-distance exchange, sources of metal ores and rituals.

On the other side of Croatia, along the Adriatic coast and its hinterland, the development of the Bronze Age took a different path than in continental Croatia. The most substantial change was in settlement patterns, with the emergence of hillforts and burial rites involving the construction of large barrows over graves. It seems reasonable that both the construction of defended hilltop settlements and large stone barrows were associated and contemporary phenomena. In Dalmatia, these traits emerged with the regional group called the Cetina culture towards the end of the 3rd millennium BC, which replaced the Late Eneolithic post-Vučedol style of the Ljubljana Adriatic culture. The approximately 100 Cetina culture sites are concentrated mostly in central and southern Dalmatia and adjacent areas of southern Bosnia and Herzegovina.[139]

They are distinguished by their numerous cemeteries of stone barrows containing skeletal or cremation burials. Usually, in barrows, only a single (crouched or cremated) burial was deposited in a stone 'box'. The settlements of this culture are still not well known. Based on the stone barrows' distribution and clustering, it is possible to assume the major settlement niches, but very little is known about the settlements themselves. The pottery of this culture appears on some hillforts from later periods but with no precise contexts. The Cettina-type pottery was also found in cave sites (ca. 25% of sites, Forenbaher 2018, 131), which also contained evidence from several earlier or later periods (e.g. Škarin Samograd). There is also evidence of the Cetina-style pottery being found in more distant areas such as Puglia in Italy and even the Peloponnese (Forenbaher 2018, 131). Metal objects are still very scarce in this period on the Adriatic coast, and are limited mostly to a few daggers, axes and pieces of jewellery. Concerning the metal finds, the most important sites are from two barrows from Montenegro (Velika gruda and Boljevića gruda). As for the Cetina-style pottery, its best and the most refined pieces exhibit the supra-regional tradition of incised, impressed and incrusted decoration, which probably evolved from broader Late Eneolithic rich decorative styles.

However, it is with the Cetina culture that the Adriatic prehistoric landscapes were significantly transformed. Large stone barrows and hillforts with stone ramparts were the earliest large monumental structures that will only increase in their number in the following centuries, creating one of the most significant long-term landscape features that essentially lasted until the arrival of the Romans. Dry-stone-walled

138 Based on data from Ložnjak Dizdar and Potrebica 2017, 87). For a more detailed insight into most of the hoards in Croatia, see Vinski-Gasparini (1973).

139 See list and map of sites in Forenbaher (2018, 130, fig. 8, for radiocarbon dates fig. 14).

hillforts and barrows are trans-cultural phenomena that mark the Bronze and Iron Ages of the eastern Adriatic. In these periods, the number of hillforts in Adriatic Croatia alone has probably reached close to 1,500.[140]

In the Middle Bronze Age, Istria emerged as one of the principal regions of development. Situated at the crossroads of the northern Adriatic, Alps, northeastern Italy and northern Pannonian and Balkan areas, Istria became an important 'bridge' between the Mediterranean and continental worlds in this part of Europe. In the 19th century BC, there started to appear complex well-defended hillfort settlements such as Monkodonja. The site comprises two walled areas, inner (acropolis) and outer areas with highly elaborated entrance gates.[141] Monkodonja was, as it seems, one of the principal settlements in the Middle Bronze Age between 1800 and 1400 BC in Istria. Its pottery assemblage demonstrates its close incorporation in the exchange and cultural networks in the broader northern Adriatic area.[142] In Dalmatia, in the Middle Bronze Age, the construction of hillforts was further intensified in all settlement niches. The barrows were clustered in groups (e.g. in cemeteries) and arranged across the landscape to serve as spatial or territorial markers of borders, passes, pathways, etc., indicating, together with hillforts, the formation of stronger and larger communities. In the 2nd millennium BC, the Adriatic was also a sphere of interest for Aegean Bronze Age civilisations. The earliest contacts were probably established towards the late Middle Bronze Age, which only intensified through time and substantially influenced cultural developments in the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland.

Another substantial developmental boost came with the Late Bronze Age (ca. from the 14th/13th century BC onwards) from the Pannonian Basin's spreading Urnfield culture. This influence may not be very much present in terms of population in the eastern Adriatic but strongly influenced regional groups and polities, as documented in Greek and Roman historical sources (e.g. Histri, Delmati, Liburni, Japodes). In older archaeological bibliography, they are frequently referred to as Illyrians or Illyrian peoples. All these peoples who settled along the coast were also intensively engaged in seafaring. This is demonstrated by the numerous grave objects originating from Italy (i.e. Etruria, Picenum, Apulia) and the Aegean area. The formation of the earliest polities gave rise to large 'central' hillforts (e.g. Nadin near Zadar or Varvara in Bosnia and Herzegovina). Burial rite remained bi-ritual, cremation in urns in flat cemeteries and inhumation under stone barrows. Intensive circulation of metal objects (and their production) can be deduced from relatively numerous hoards and grave inventories. The formation of larger coastal polities at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC further boosted seafaring development. In the next centuries, it was these polities that controlled the navigation in the Adriatic.

The Early Iron Age in continental Croatia is generally considered the period when local polities – which developed out of the Urnfield culture regional groups – formed stronger hierarchical societies (traditionally referred to as chiefdoms) led by warrior elites in the context of the broader Eastern Hallstatt culture in Central Europe. The evidence comprises the so-called 'princely burials' with rich grave goods, frequently with the Greek-type objects or those imported from the Greek area. The most illustrative case in Slavonia is the hillfort site of Kaptol–Gradca near Požega (in the Papuk hilly region),[143] with monumental earthen barrows. The largest such barrow (ca.

140 Together with southern Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and northern Albania, Adriatic Croatia accounts for more than 3,000 hillforts and is probably the richest hillfort landscape in Europe.

141 For the architecture and plan of the settlement, see Hänsel, Mihovilić and Teržan (2015).

142 For analysis of the Monkodonja pottery assemblage, see Helmut Kramberger (2017).

143 It is several sites of barrow cemeteries that are frequently labelled Kaptol. The settlement Kaptol–Gradca occupies an area of ca. 7 hectares (Potrebica 2019, 498).

75m in diameter, 8m high) was found at Kaptol–Jalžabet (Potrebica 2019, 489). Still, most of the Iron Age sites must have been in the lowland areas which dominate Slavonia, and very probably many of them were destroyed due to the intensive farming.

The earliest incursions of Celts in the Danube were towards the end of the 4th century BC. A few decades later, they also settled in Pannonian Croatia, in two areas in particular. In western Croatia were Taurisci, which also settled in central Slovenia, with their major settlement in Sisak. In eastern Slavonia were Scordisci, whose territory extended eastwards to Belgrade and the Lower Morava Valley. In Croatia, their major settlements were in Osijek and Vinkovci. Celts frequently occupied the Early Iron Age settlements and also used their necropoleis. They introduced several cultural changes, highly visible in new styles and technology of pottery production, types of weaponry, jewellery, different burial rites, and last but not least, in the minting of coins. Celtic political and military dominance, coupled with more advanced technology in producing various types of objects, also made several aspects of the Celtic culture accepted among the indigenous Early Iron Age population, creating a specific regional La Tène cultural syntheses. In western Croatia, the principal 'Celtic' stronghold was Segestica (later Siscia, today Sisak) at the confluence of the Kupa (Kolpa) and Sava rivers, which was founded in the late 4th century BC (Buzov 1996, 48). The Romans conquered it first in 119 BC and finally in 35 BC.

In Adriatic Croatia, the Iron Age could be easily actually considered as the protohistoric period. Intensive contacts with Greeks and later also Republican Rome caused significant cultural and social transformations in regional polities – e.g. formation of large proto-urban central places, accumulation of great wealth and political power of the elites, and eventually also a formation of larger territorial 'kingdoms' or 'princedoms' (as they are reported in ancient written sources) which in many respects emulated the early states (e.g. active 'international' diplomacy, minting their own coins, building extraordinary architecture, etc.). These centres were established in the Early Iron Age, if not even in the Late Bronze Age. They became the first local proto-urban centres during the Late Iron Age: e.g. Nesactium (Istria), Metulum (Viničica near Josipdol), Nedinum (Nadin near Zadar), Delminium (near Tomislavgrad), Daorson (Ošanići in southern Herzegovina). Celts did not conquer and settled on the eastern Adriatic coast.

Moreover, the penetration of the Greeks into the eastern Adriatic was limited compared to the opposite side of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. Before the 4th century BC, Greeks in the northern and central Adriatic limited their presence mostly to large trading emporia (e.g. Adria and Spina, near the River Po delta). However, at the beginning of the 4th century BC, the Greeks finally established two colonies on the Dalmatian islands – Syracuse established a colony of *Issa* on the island of Vis, while, a few years later, the Knideans had their colony of *Pharos* on the neighbouring island of Hvar.[144] Later, Issa also established some secondary colonies (e.g. at Lumbarda on the island of Korčula)[145] and several emporia on the mainland, *Tragurion* (Trogir), *Epetion* (Stobreč near Split). The presence of Greeks and their political and cultural influence gave an additional boost to the development of strong regional princedoms and proto-urban settlements.

The Romans fought several wars against the 'kingdoms' from the eastern Adriatic to secure safe seafaring and eastern mainland borders.

144 The most impressive and exciting remainder of the Greek colony at Hvar is Starogradsko polje (Starigrad field) – some 20 km^2 of the cultural landscape with the ancient Greek land division is still reflected today in the position of field roads, field boundaries, walls, and cairns. In 2008, Starogradsko polje vas put on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

145 From Lumbarda came another extraordinary find – the so-called Lumbarda Psefysm, a unique epigraphic document describing the land division between the Greek colonists (Zaninović 2001; M. Solarić and N. Solarić 2009).

The Roman occupation of the Croatian lands along the Adriatic coast gradually advanced from north to south, from the beginning of the 2nd century BC to the end of the 1st century BC, during which they founded colonies (towns) in Pula (*Pola*), Zadar (*Iader*), Split (*Salona*), Vid near Metković (*Narona*) and municipium at Cavtat near Dubrovnik (*Epidaurum*). Except for Pola (Istria was part of the 10th region of Italy), all other Roman towns were in the Roman province of Dalmatia with its capital in Salona. In the following centuries, several other settlements received municipal status (e.g. *Aequum* (Čitluk near Sinj), *Burnum* (Ivoševci), *Metulum* (Viničica), *Parentium* (Poreč)). In addition to them, there were also some twenty lower-level urban settlements (*civitates Romanorum*), making Dalmatia the most urbanised Roman province in Illyricum.

Continental Croatia was ultimately conquered somewhat later, in a series of Octavian's military expeditions (35–33 BC), and after crushing the rebellion of the Delmati and Pannonians (AD 9). Here Roman urbanisation started later due to prolonged military administration of the territory. The first two municipal centres were established in Sisak (Siscia) by Emperor Vespasian and in Ščitarjevo near Zagreb (*Andautonia*, 1st century AD), and later, during the reign of Hadrian also in Osijek (*Mursa*) and Vinkovci (*Cibalae*), which were all former centres of the Celtic Taurisci or Scordisci. Here, it is important to note that in the first decades of the 2nd century AD, the Roman limes (frontier line of forts, watchtowers and other military structures) on the Danube was completed, allowing the establishment of civil administration in the region. Continental Croatia belonged to two Roman provinces, the western part to Pannonia Superior (Upper Pannonia, capitol: *Carnuntum* near Vienna, Austria), and the eastern part to Pannonia Inferior (Lower Pannonia, capitol: *Sirmium*, today Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia).

Of the Roman urban sites, Salona is especially worth mentioning here. During its six centuries of existence, it developed into a metropolis with probably more than 50,000 inhabitants at its peak in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. In the Late Roman period, a strong Christian community grew, which in the 4th century started to raise exceptional basilicas, an episcopal palace and other monumental buildings. With more than 1,000 stone sarcophagi from late Antiquity, Salona is one of the principal places in Europe for the archaeology of Early Christianity. Some 10 km away, another monumental structure was raised – Diocletian's Palace within and around which developed the medieval and modern town of Split. Moreover, some extraordinary architectural remains were preserved from other Roman towns: e.g. the amphitheatre, Sergii's Triumphal Arch, Hercules' Gate and Augustus's temple in Pula, Augustus's temple with 17 large marble statues in Narona, the Basilica of Euphrasius in Poreč (Later Roman period), Amphitheatre at Burnum, Roman palaces on the islands of Brioni (Verige) and Mljet (Polače). On the other side of Croatia, in the northwest, the Roman spa with numerous sculptures at Aquae Iassae (Varaždinske Toplice) is particularly worth noting here.

In Dalmatia, soon after its transformation into a province began the construction of the principal roads (*viae publicae*). During the rule of the Provincial Governor Publius Cornelius Dollabela (AD 14–20) alone, 885 km of roads were constructed connecting Salona with inland Dalmatia (today Bosnia and Herzegovina),[146] linking mining areas with the coast on the south and Sava river on the north.[147] Another vital road was the *via public*a, which ran parallel with the coast, connecting northern and southern Adriatic. Traffic infrastructure on dryland supplemented several dozens of ports of various size, indicating very intensive navigation for trade along the coast and Italy. Further evidence of very intensive navigation is supplied by several hundred Roman shipwrecks (Bekić and Miholjek 2009), some of which contained astonishing

146 See more in Bojanovski (1974; 1977, 1978; 1981).

147 On the Roman exploitation of mines, see the chapter on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

finds – for example, a 1.9 m tall bronze statue of an athlete Apoxiomenos found in the sea near the island of Lošinj.

The roads, urban settlements and army troops on the Danube limes significantly boosted the countryside's development and agricultural production. Hundreds of villages and similar settlements developed, many of them already existing from the pre-Roman period, whereas in the agers of the towns numerous *villae rusticae* were constructed. Their number was especially high in Istria and Dalmatia, where they were specialised in the production of olive oil and wine, which were not consumed only locally but also exported to the Italian markets. In both regions there are probably more than 100 villas combined. Another type of villa could also frequently be encountered in this area – luxury villas for leisure. Such villas were more frequent in Istria (e.g. Verige and Val Madona on Brioni, Barbariga, Valbandon, Katoro, Sorna near Poreč) and Dalmatia (e.g. on the islands of Murter and Mljet, Stari Trogir near Sevid, Orlić near Knin), but also encountered in Pannonia (Drenje near Zaprešić, Osekovo near Popovača).[148]

The primary source for studying the small objects is the cemeteries of the already mentioned major towns, particularly those in Dalmatia in Zadar.[149] Their necropoleis provide an abundant source of evidence of jewellery, tools, vessels, glass objects, other small objects, and of course, decorated sarcophagi, tombstones, and inscriptions.

The abundance of epigraphic evidence was one of the main reasons for the development of antiquarian activities in Croatia, especially in Dalmatia, in the Renaissance period. According to the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg,[150] there are 5,638 various inscriptions in Croatia dated to the Imperial period (27 BC-AD 476), of which some 90% are from the Croatian part of the province of Dalmatia. None of the neighbouring provinces can match Dalmatia in this regard.

With the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the continental parts of Croatia came under the rule of different migrating peoples (e.g. the Ostrogoths, Gepids, Langobards, Avars, Slavs, etc.). At the same time, the Byzantine Empire remained in control of the coastal areas until the end of the 10th century. Since the beginning of the 7th century, the Avars' presence (along with that of the Slavs) was especially strong in northern and eastern Croatia until Charlemagne broke the power of their *cagans* at the end of the 8th century. The withdrawal of the Avars and Frankish rule enabled intensive colonisation and settling by the Slavs, who soon settled large areas along the Drava and the Danube rivers in the north and central Adriatic in the south.

In the archaeology of the second half of the 1st millennium AD, this dual image – the continuation of the Byzantine (post-Roman) culture on the coast and incoming Germanic peoples, Avars and Slavs – is particularly evident. In the Byzantine sphere development continued in architecture, urban life, seafaring and trade. The primary archaeological evidence came from small urban centres along the whole eastern Adriatic coast, numerous military fortifications aimed at securing coastal navigation and protecting small towns, and from necropoleis of the urban population in Dalmatia and Istria.[151] On the other hand, the Late Roman urban centres in continental Croatia ceased to exist between the late 5th and late 6th centuries, being destroyed or occupied by the arriving peoples.

148 For the Roman villas in Istria and Dalmatia, see Begović and Schrunk (2002; 2003).

149 In the Zadar area, more than 40 Roman cemeteries and sites of individual graves were recorded (Serventi and Jurjević 2012, 196). The map of their distribution is also very indictive for dense rural settlement in the hinterland of Zadar (i.e. the ager of the Roman Iader). The cemetery Zadar–Relja contained more than 900 graves (Serventi and Jurjević 2012, 203).

150 For Epigraphic Database Heidelberg see https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home.

151 On the early Byzantine fortifications in Eastern Adriatic, see Tomičić (1988/89).

The local (post-Roman) population from the first two centuries after the fall of the Western Empire can be discerned from the so-called cemeteries with graves in rows, cemeteries located near Early Christian churches, and cemeteries in more remote and hidden places (Vinski 1971, 50). In most cases, the local population remained in the old (Roman) settlements or their vicinity. Such sites are not large but relatively frequent compared to the evidence of the migratory peoples (Goths, Gepids, Langobards, Avars), which either remained for a very short time on Croatia's territory or controlled it from the outside. Sites exclusively attributed to migratory peoples are scarce, with few small necropoleis at best. More frequent cases are where the 'Germanic' objects (e.g. jewellery, parts of the dress, and similar) were found in the local population's cemeteries. In such cases, it isn't easy to distinguish whether these objects were used by the local population or maybe by some Germanic troops who lived for a certain period of time together with the locals. The Gepids were a people who since the late 5th century were present for almost 80 years in the broader region of Srem and the town of Sirmium, but their archaeological evidence is still scarce.[152] Extremely rare are sites attributed to the Avars. So far, the best evidence has come from the sites of Gradina u Otoku near Vinkovci (22 graves) and Šarengrad–Klopare (32 graves), both in eastern Slavonia (Rapan Papeša and Šmalcelj Novaković 2016; Dizdar, Rapan Papeša and Rimpf 2017). Concerning the archaeological image, the situation is not much clearer in Dalmatia either. Historical sources clearly speak of periods of Ostrogoth and Byzantine rule, but, except for some smaller objects that can be attributed to Ostrogoths, the general image in architecture, urban centres, and the majority of necropoleis speak of the dominant regional Byzantine-type culture.

The situation was additionally complicated with the arrival and settlement of Slavic peoples in the 7th century who came from the north, crossing the Drava and Sava. In the archaeological record, Slavs, sometimes autonomously and sometimes together with Avars, appeared in several places, in Istria, Slavonija, and central Dalmatia, and belonging to different Slavic peoples. The most stable Slavic settlement was in Dalmatia, with the earliest cluster of 7th-century Slavic cemeteries also containing cremation graves (e.g. Kašić near Zadar, Dubravice near Skradin, Donje polje near Šibenik, Knin–Biskupija, Glavice near Sinj) in the area between Zadar, Knin and Šibenik. This settlement might be associated with the Avar and Slavic siege of Salona and its ultimate fall in 614, and continued for a century or more under the Byzantine re-conquest of Dalmatia. By the 9th century, Slavic settlement in the Dalmatian countryside stabilised and the population Christianised, as evidenced by numerous smaller churches raised between the 9th and 10th centuries and necropoleis around them. In this area, the Croats (one of the Slavic peoples) gradually formed their first polity (Goldstein 1995, 91). This transitional period is best recorded in cemeteries at Nin. At Nin–Ždrijac was a large (mostly pagan) inhumation cemetery with 337 graves spanning from the 8th century to the first half of the 9th. Only a few kilometres away, in the town of Nin (Roman *Aenona*), the Church of the Holy Cross was raised in the 9th century on the site of an 8th century (pagan?) cemetery. Soon, a new Christian cemetery was formed around this church.[153] The Slavs (Croats), which settled the Nin area did not come to an empty place but settled with the local post-Roman population. These two populations mixed through time with different outcomes. In the countryside, it seems that the Slavic population was stronger and consequently assimilated the indigenous inhabitants.

In comparison, in the coastal towns with a stronger Romano-Byzantine population and culture, the process seems to be have been the opposite. A crucial force here was the Dalmatian Slavs'

152 There are only some individual objects found on sites in eastern Slavonia; the only 'cluster' is the area of Vinkovci, where several graves were attributed to Gepids (Gračanin 2007).

153 See Belošević (1980 for the Slavic cemeteries in Nin.

Christianisation, where the vital role was played the Franks. They controlled a great deal of Croatia after their victory over the Avars in Pannonia at the end of the 8th century, and became great rivals of the Byzantines in the Adriatic.

It also seems that after the beginning of the 9th century, Slavs (Croats) in Dalmatia became the dominant population. This process is visible in the change of jewellery types in graves – the Byzantine jewellery of the 7th and 8th centuries was in the 9th and 10th centuries replaced by local 'Early Croatian' production after the Byzantine models. Another indicator of this demographic pressure is numerous Croat settlements raised in the vicinity of the Dalmatian (Byzantine) towns and ports (Goldstein 1995, 125).

Croatian Slavs in the 9th and 10th centuries developed stronger local communities (*županije*) joined in regional political entities (princedoms) which, in the following century, were united by local dynasties under the Kingdom of Croatia (in the broader area of Dalmatia). In Pannonian Croatia, the local (Croatian) 'princedoms' developed under the Frankish rule, established after the end of the 8th century and defeat of the Avars.

The best archaeological evidence of the Early Croatian period between the 9th and the end of the 11th centuries (when Hungarians took over the Croatian crown) is again from Dalmatia, the core area of the Croatian kingdom. Archaeological research revealed numerous small churches frequently decorated with an architectural ornament – 'Croatian interlace' – reliefs of interlaced waves, strings, and other geometric forms. Very often local village cemeteries were found around these churches. Some of the prime examples are the Church of Holy Salvation at the spring of River Cetina, churches near Knin, the Church of Holy Cross in Nin and Church of Holy Trinity in Split. A special place is occupied by St. Donat's Church in Zadar, the largest pre-Romanesque structure in Croatia and one of the prime examples of the architecture of the 9th and 10th centuries in Europe. The church was raised by the local community in Zadar and is not attributed to the Croatian settlers.

Since the incorporation of Croatia into the Hungarian kingdom at the end of the 11th century and until the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, most of continental Croatia effectively belonged to Hungary. However, it legally retained the title of the Croatian kingdom, kept its 'parliament', and had its viceroy. Large parts of Istria and coastal Dalmatia were gradually annexed to the Venetian state from the 11th century onwards. Central and western Istria belonged to Habsburg Austria. Croatian history, from the high medieval period onwards, was also strongly influenced by Ottoman conquests. The Ottomans in the mid-15th century conquered Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in 1526 also Hungary (including the Croatian lands in Slavonia). In Dalmatia, the Ottoman state bordered on Venetian territories, whereas southern Dalmatia, south of the Neretva river, was most of the time under the Ottoman rule with some coastal towns', e.g. Dubrovnik, given a certain level of autonomy.

To reinforce the defence against the Ottomans, in 1553 the Austrian Court established the Military Frontier *(Militärgrenze/Vojna krajina),* which in the 17th century extended from the confluence of Sava and Danube rivers at Belgrade in the east, across southern Slavonia along the river Sava, then turned southwards towards northern Dalmatia, where it ended at the contact with Venetian Dalmatia, thus encircling the whole territory of what is today northern and northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Austrian government also settled the immigrants and refugees from the Ottoman lands (i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina) as soldiers against the Turks. The Military Frontier was officially abolished in 1873 when it was united with the 'Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia'. The long-term existence of the Military Frontier, as an autonomous territorial unit under military administration, was of extraordinary historical significance for the identity and subsequent development of Croatia, and its demography and ethnic and religious structure in particular.

In the period between 1500 and 1800 the territory of today's Croatia thus belonged to Venetians (Dalmatia), Habsburgs (Civil Zone and Military Border) and Ottomans (parts of inland and southern Dalmatia).[154] This complex historical situation and geographic borders also enhanced the political, cultural, and linguistic divisions reflected in Croatia today. At the beginning of the 19th century, a strong national movement emerged in Croatia, primarily in the continental region under the Hungarian crown. A similar process also emerged in Austrian ruled Dalmatia.[155] Gradually, Croatia won a certain degree of political autonomy within the Hungarian part of the Habsburg monarchy (the so-called Croatian-Hungarian Settlement from 1868) and started rapidly including other Croatian lands into its national programme.

After the First World War, Croatian territories (except for Istria, some of the islands of the Kvarner archipelago and the town of Zadar, which Italy annexed) were included in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Croatian territory was divided into different administrative units, but in 1939 they were united (along with the part of the present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina) into the Banate of Croatia. The whole period of the Yugoslav kingdom (1918–1941) was marked by high political tensions between Croatian and Royal-Serbian politics. In April 1941, after the Third Reich and its allies invaded Yugoslavia, a fascist marionette state was formed in Croatia (the Independent State of Croatia), controlled by Germans and Italians. This 'state' included most of today Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Italy occupied central Dalmatia.[156] After four years of war, the Croatian Liberation Movement (part of the Yugoslav Liberation Movement led by Tito and the Communist Party) freed Croatia from the Italians, Germans and local quisling troops and re-established Yugoslavia, in which Croatia became one of the constituent republics. In this process, new territorial changes were introduced. Parts of Srem were given to Serbia, while Bosnia and Herzegovina were exempted from Croatia's pre-war Banate. On the other side, a large part of Istria and some Dalmatian territories, which before 1941 were parts of Italy, were incorporated into the Republic of Croatia in the Yugoslav federal state.

In 1991, at the same time as Slovenia, Croatia declared independence. But, in contrast to the former, the declaration of independence led to a civil war in Croatia (and later in Bosnia and Herzegovina), in which the local Serbian population (largely orchestrated by Milošević's regime in Serbia), in territories where they formed a majority of the population, entered into armed conflict with Croatian forces and temporarily held about a third of Croatian territory under their control. In 1995, Croatia regained full control over its territory, and in 2013 became a member of the European Union.

Antiquarian tradition in Dalmatia (13th–19th centuries AD)

Of all the countries of southeastern Europe, Croatia unquestionably has the longest and richest tradition of antiquarian studies, where the local early archaeological, historical and epigraphic activities are entirely comparable with those in Italy and France. The reasons for this high level of development are many, but here I will list three. The first is the exceptional wealth and excellent state of preservation of the Roman monuments and sites in Dalmatia and Istria. Aqueducts, theatres, amphitheatres, arches, hundreds of stone sarcophagi, basilicas, early Christian churches, palaces and mausolea such as those in Split, Pula, Poreč, Zadar were parts of the everyday image of Dalmatian and Istrian towns

154 A large number of Croatian people also lived in the neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina, which remained under Ottoman rule until 1878.

155 After 1867, when the Austrian Empire adopted the system of 'dual' state organisation (Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), all Croatia, except Dalmatia, belonged to the Hungarian part.

156 There was also a territory occupied by Hungary, the Baranja region, north of the Drava river.

for centuries. The second reason is centuries of Venetian rule in Istria and Dalmatia, which firmly tied these lands with Italy and its culture and science, and created local centres of high culture and knowledge. But the culture in these lands was not just an extension of Venice to Adriatic's opposite shores. Indeed, the high achievements of Italian culture also boosted the development of a genuine local Slavic (Croatian) Renaissance and development of the Slavic language, literature and humanities in general. Finally, one should not ignore the influence of the Byzantine scholars who fled to Italy (and to the Venetian eastern Adriatic) after the fall of Constantinople in AD 1453. The Republic of Dubrovnik in particular maintained excellent diplomatic and merchant liaisons with Constantinople. And there were also scholars, natives from Croatian lands, active in the European courts, universities, and diplomacy. They may not have been so tied to their country of birth, their legacy being more internationally valued, but nevertheless, they belonged to a broader cultural and scholarly *milieu* to which belonged Croatian lands since the medieval period.

The earliest evidence of antiquarian activities in Dalmatia comes from the towns of Zadar, Trogir, and Split, major Venetian urban centres on the eastern Adriatic coast, along with Dubrovnik, a semi-independent 'municipal republic', all being strongly permeated by the Italian cultural matrix, but which through time also developed a local Slavic Renaissance. The first known local historian was Archdeacon Thomas (Toma Arhiđakon/Thomas Archidiaconus Spalatensis, 1200–1268), priest, politician and chronicler of the town of Split, who provided several observations on the Diocletian's palace and the nearby ruins of the Roman town of Salona. His major work was *Historia Salonitanorum pontificum atque Spalatensium* ('History of Bishops from Salona and Split'), a history of the Church from the early Christian period onwards.[157] Archdeacon Thomas starts his *Historia* with the pre-Roman period and continues until his own time. The earliest periods are based on historical accounts of earlier authors. For us, especially significant is his chapter on Diocletian's Palace. The wealth of the Roman ruins from Dalmatia did not slip the attention of some of the most famous antiquarians, such as Ciriaco Pizzicolli (Cyriacus of Ancona, 1391-1452).[158] He visited eastern Adriatic towns several times (i.e. Pula in Istria around 1420; Zadar, Trogir, Split, Solin, Korčula in 1435–1436, Dubrovnik 1443)[159] and collected numerous inscriptions, which were published under the title *Epigrammata reperta per Illyricum a Cyriaco Anconitano* much later, in 1660, by Carlo Moroni, which is one of the earliest catalogues of Roman inscriptions in European archaeology in general. Ciriaco de Pizzicoli kept close contacts with local scholars, especially with Giorgio Begna (Juraj Benja)[160] (?–ca. 1437) from Zadar and Pietro Cippico (Petar Cipiko)[161] (?–1440) from Trogir (Špoljarić 2019, 83, 87).

157 For Croatian translation, see Arhiđakon (2003).

158 Ciriaco de Pizzicoli (AD 1392–1452, also known as Ciriaco d'Ancona or Kyriacus Anconitanus, is generally considered as the pioneer of systematic antiquarianism. He was a merchant and diplomat who travelled extensively around the Mediterranean and recorded ancient inscriptions. His major work, six volumes of *Rerum antiquarium commentaria* was destroyed in a fire in 1514. Only fragments are preserved, published by some later author. See more on Ciriaco de Pizzicoli in the account of his contemporary Francesco Scalamonti (1996).

159 Ciriaco maintained important diplomatic links with Dubrovnik municipal government. To honour him, the municipal government of Dubrovnik commissioned two inscriptions from him honouring the major works of the architect Onofrio (who designed the Big Fountain and Rector's Palace) (Kokole (1990), From materials which he collected in Trogir and Zadar, Ciriaco compiled two codexes of inscriptions (*Codex Tragurius and Jadestinus antiquus*) which are kept in Venice, Rome and Paris (Zaninović 1993, 16).

160 Benja's major work is *De viris illustribus.Georgius Begna excripsit suo optimo et amantissimo amico Petro Cepioni Tragurino. Jadere MCCCCXXXIIII*, kl. fbr.), a codex of various manuscripts also containing notes on local antiquities. Benja was also in contact with other known antiquarians of his time, such as Niccoló Zancani and Lorenzo Giustiniani (Kolumbić 1983).

161 His son, Coriolan Cippico, also undertook voyages and described many ancient Greek monuments in *De bello Asiatico Coriolani Cippici Cepionis... libri tres. Opera Joannis Cippici nunc iterum impressi. Venetiis: Apud J. A. Rampazettum*, 1594; *De origine et rebus gestis Turcorum libri*

A very strong Renaissance centre was Dubrovnik (*Ragusa*). Some of the Byzantine scholars settled in Venetian Dalmatia, among them Xenophont Philelpho, who became a Secretary of the Dubrovnik Republic (Neralić 2014, 297). He was also known for teaching about ancient monuments and maintain good contacts with the Greek scholars' community in Florence. Janeković-Römer (2006, 12) noted that in 1490 the Dubrovnik town council also attempted to bring a certain Demetrius Graecus to teach the Greek language, and there are some indications that this was none other than Demetrious Chalkokondyles, the leading Greek scholar in Italy, also known for publishing the first printed editions of Homer. From Dubrovnik also came Ivan Stojković (*Yoannes Stoycus* or *Ioannes de Ragusio*, 1395–1443), a Dominican priest, professor at the Sorbonne, and a diplomat at the Vatican, Sigismund's Imperial Court, and the Byzantine Court. During his stay at Constantinople, he managed to organise translations of many Greek texts about the Islamic religion and world. Upon returning to Europe, he brought a collection of texts and manuscripts, including Strabo's *Geography*, Plato's *Phaedrus*, and materials for the major edition of the Ptolemy's G*eography* and a critical edition of the Bible, which was later edited by Erasmus of Rotterdam.[162] Another scholar from Dubrovnik who maintained contacts with Ciriaco de Pizzicoli was Marin Rastić (Marino de Rastis Ragusino), collector and researcher of ancient inscriptions (Lučin 2011, 30-31). However, the most well-known scholar from this town was Marko Marulić (1450–1524), one of the founders of literature in the Croatian language, who wrote an essay on epigraphy (*In epigrammata priscorum commentarius)* in which he published 142 inscriptions from Italy and Dalmatia (Marulić, *Hrvatska enciklopedija;* Lučin 2011). It also seems that Marulić possessed a collection of ancient inscriptions from Salona (Zgaga 1990, 8).

We continue our brief survey of early scholars with Šimun Kožičić Benja (Simon Begnius; ca. 1460–1536), the bishop of Modruš (Simon Modrusiensis, a distant relative of Juraj Benja), translator of old Glagolitic texts.[163] Šimun Kožić Benja was one of the earliest printers of texts and books in the Croatian language. Concerning the history of Croatian archaeology, his manuscript of sources for the ancient history of Dalmatia (*Monumenta vetera Illyrici, Dalmatiae, Urbis et Ecclesiae Salonitanae ac Spalatensis)* is of particular importance. Ivan Lucić (Ioannes Lucius, before 1604–1679), a historian and cartographer from Trogir), holds a special place in early Croatian historiography. He published an influential work *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex* (1666) which covers the history of the area from Roman times to the late 15th century. This study is considered the first systematic and critical historical study in Croatia. In 1673, he also published a work on Roman inscriptions – *Inscriptiones Dalmaticae*.

It therefore, makes perfect sense that Dalmatian scholars were also the first to develop the notion of the early 'national' history of the Slavs. Vinko Pribojević (Vincenzo Pribevo/Vincentius Priboevius; born in the mid-15th century, died after 1532), a historian and Dominican priest from Hvar, gave a political speech entitled *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (On the origin of the Slavs) in his birth town in 1525.[164] In the speech, he drew a link between the Slavs and ancient Illyrians and their glory. Pribojević was one of the first promoters of the pan-Slavic idea, and his discourse inspired Mauro Orbini (1550?–1611), another historian from Dubrovnik, nicknamed 'Dalmatian Thucydides', who published the book *Il regno de gli Slavi* (The Kingdom of the Slavs) in 1601 in Pesaro, Italy. He frequently

decem... Adiecimus... de rebus Turcorum adversus Christianos et Christianorum contra illos... gestis diversa opuscula. Basileae: Per I. Oporinum, 1556.

162 On Ivan Stojković see more in Janeković-Römer (2006) and Šanjek (2015).

163 The Glagolitic alphabet and script, together with Cyrillic, were invented in the 9th century by missionaries Cyril and Methodius from Thessaloniki. The alphabet was aimed at Slavic languages and in its original form existed for some three centuries.

164 The speech was published in Latin in Venice in 1532; the Italian version was published in 1595. The translation into Croatian, edited by Grga Novak, was published in 1992 in Split (Pribojević 1992).

referred to Flavio Biondo, a famous Italian antiquarian from Forli (Orbin 1968).[165] Another important figure in this regard was Faust Vrančić (1551–1617), a native from Šibenik, Dalmatia, historian, Bishop of Csanada in Hungary, secretary of Emperor Rudolph II, and member of the circle of intellectuals at the Royal Court in Hradčani, Prague (Tycho de Brache, Johannes Keppler, Jacopo de Strada) (Kurelac 2005, 175). Vrančič was the author of the first dictionary of the Croatian language.[166] In 1606 he published an essay *De Slowinis seu Sarmatis,* proposing a Sarmatic origin of Slavs, and another manuscript titled *Illyrica historia.* This unfinished work is a compilation of ancient sources and quotes about ancient Illyricum by 32 authors (24 Latin, eight Greek) (Kurelac 2005, 179).

That Dalmatia was well integrated into the Mediterranean Renaissance since the 15th century can be seen in the numerous cases of Dalmatian scholars and artists working abroad. One such case was Vinko Paletin (Vincenzo Paletino, Vincentius Cosulensis; 1508–1571/2), a native of Korčula, Dominican priest and philosopher, who made his career in Spain and with the conquistadors of Mexico. Paletin was an expert in navigation and produced one of the best maps of Spain (1550 or 1551) at that time. He joined the Spanish expedition of Francisco de Montejo Snr. to America, where he stayed between 1537 and 1546 (Lapaine *et al.* 2003, 87). His best known work is a treatise in which he justifies the Spanish conquest of the New World (*De iure et justitia belli contra Indos*), which also includes descriptions of the Chichen Itza and some other Mayan monuments (e.g. pyramids, temples, palaces). [167]

The second 'centre of excellence' in early antiquarian and historical science was located in Istria, which was at the time divided into Venetian and Austrian parts. Some of the early Istrian scientists associated with the town of Koper have already been mentioned in the chapter on Slovene archaeology. However, the cartographer Pietro Coppo (Petar Kopić, 1469/70–1555/56) from Izola, Slovenia, merits being mentioned again. He was the author of one of the first maps of Istria (1525) and manuscripts on its history (*Del sito de l'Istria*, Venice, 1540). Coppo's maps were used by Abraham Ortelius in his world-famous '*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*'. The most influential study on the history of Istria was written by Giacomo Filippo Tomasini (1595–1654) – *De' commentarii storici-geografici della provincia dell'Istria libri otto con appendice*. Tommasini, a bishop from Novigrad in Istria, not only compiled earlier sources and text, as was frequently the case in his times, but also made several field trips and collected data from local people. Unfortunately, his widely known manuscript remained unpublished until the edition of Domenico Rosetti in 1837 in the Trieste journal *Archeografo Triestino*.

Due to the abundant remains of ancient architecture and other monuments, Dalmatia and Istria also attracted foreign scholars. Jacob Spon (1647–1685), a world-known antiquarian from Lyon, and George Wheler (1650–1723), an English clergyman, made a stop in Dalmatia during their trip from Venice to Constantinople (1675–1676) and visited several sites, including Diocletian's Palace. They published details of their journey

165 Orbini presented not only the history of Slavs in Dalmatia but also of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, continental Croatia and Bulgaria. This work was very popular among Slavic rulers in Europe because it follows the pan-Slavism idea and glorifies the distant Slavic past. Peter the Great had a short version of Orbini's text translated and published in St. Petersburg in 1772.

166 Faust Vrančič is better known as a naturalist and inventor of items such as a parachute, flat spring, a windmill with a horizontal rotor, a mill using tidal changes, and a bridge made of bronze (*Machinae novae Fausti Verantii Siceni, Florence 1595).*

167 Based on the depiction of soldiers, their armour and incised 'text' (in letters he assumed to be of the Carthaginian origin), Paletin argued that Carthaginians built the monumental architecture. Bošković A. (1997, 203) and Laird and Šoštarič (2019, 197–198) add another argument for the Paletin's Carthaginian interpretation – his description of the temple at Chichen Izta and soldier images resembled very much the description of the Temple of Iuno in Virgil's *Aeneid*.

in the book *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatia, de Grece, et du Levant* (Spon 1878). In Istria, the city of Pula had become an important place for the study of Roman architecture, and from the 16th century onwards many scholars from all over Europe paid study visits to it.[168]

Along with the West's increased interest in the Ottoman countries in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, another group of intellectuals emerged in Dalmatia interested in regions bordering with the Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina – the travellers who explored Dalmatian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian hinterlands. The most well known of these was undoubtedly Alberto Fortis (1741–1803), an Augustinian priest born in Padua. Fortis travelled extensively across Europe and visited Dalmatia several times in the period between 1765 and 1791. The result of his travels was the book *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, published in Venice in 1774. In this travelogue he collected copious accounts on the archaeology, history, ethnography and geography of the Dalmatian mountainous hinterland.[169] Worth noting here is Vitaliano Donati (1717–1762), the teacher of Alberto Fortis, botanist, archaeologist, and collector of Egyptian antiques from Padua. In his work *Della storia naturale marina dell Adriatico* (Venice 1774), he also lists the underwater archaeological remains from Diklo, Zadar and Vis. Alberto Fortis followed Donati's practice of observing submerged antiques.[170]

168 Among them were: Andrea Palladio (1508–1580), famous Venetian architect; Inigo Jones (1573–1652), English architect; Jacob Spon and George Wheler; James Stuart (1713–1788), English painter; Gianbattista Piranesi (1720–1778), Italian graphic designer and painter; Julian David Le Roy (1724–1803), French architect; Robert Adam (1728–1792) English royal architect; Louis François Casas (1756–1827), painter; Thomas Allason (1790–1852), English architect. For more details on the travellers and scientists who visited Pula and Istria, see Kečkemet (1966–1969).

169 The digitised version of *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, edited by Eva Ivani (2010), can be obtained at http://www.viaggioadriatico.it/biblioteca_digitale/titoli/scheda_bibliografica.2010-09-08.0871920231. See Pizzamiglio (2010) for a biography and other works of Fortis.

170 John Strange edited and published in 1775 and 1779 two papers of A. Fortis in the *Journal Archaeology of the Society of Antiquaries* (Granić 2015).

In this short chapter on early antiquarian activities in Dalmatia, covering mostly the period between the 15th and 18th centuries, my intention was not to go into great detail as this would be beyond this book's scope. I have not mentioned many other scholars and texts here, but instead limited myself to the most important and influential. However, already this short presentation demonstrates the excellent local scholarship, fully informed about the achievements and knowledge in other parts of Europe. This fact was probably less known outside of the circles of highly specialised connoisseurs of the history of culture, literature, and civilisation in general, of Croatian and neighbouring Slavic and Italian lands in the last six centuries.

Of all the scholars I have mentioned here, none of them was solely an antiquarian. They were scholars of much broader profiles and with very dynamic careers: historians, philosophers, theologians, naturalists, jurists, geographers, politicians and diplomats, but most of them were heirs of and contributors to European humanism. Antiquarian 'science', combined with history, philology, philosophy, and natural sciences, contributed essential components of what would become the science of archaeology in the 19th and 20th centuries. In Croatia's case, archaeology had a very firm basis and tradition in local scholarship on which it could rely.

The emergence of modern archaeology: museums, academia and the Croatian national archaeology (1750–1918)

The beginnings of 19th-century archaeology in Croatia are marked by the figure of Matija Petar Katančić (Mathius Petrus Katancsich, 1750–1825), a Franciscan priest, who for a short period of time was also a professor of antiquities at the University of Budapest and curator of the university library (1795–1800). In many respects, Katančić can be considered one of the pioneers of modern Roman provincial archaeology in

Central Europe. His major works included philological research on the old homeland of Croats (*In veterem Croatorum patriam indagatio philologica,* 1790), a philological and geographical study of Pannonia in ancient times (*Specimen philologiae et geographiae Pannoniorum,* 1795 – Hrvatska enciklopedija), and numismatics research (*Elementa numismatice*, 1799).[171] He was also the author of works essential for the development of Croatian historical geography and ancient history (*Orbis antiquus ex tabula itineraria*, 1824-1825, and *Istri adcolarum geographia vetus,* 1826-1827). The latter text contains the first textbook on epigraphy, *Geographiae epigraphicae proemion*. Katančič is also known for his thesis of the autochthonous origin of Croats as descended from the ancient Illyrians.

Rich traditions of antiquarian and historical investigations in Croatia led to the establishment of archaeological institutions in Dalmatia very early on. The earliest museums were private collections, and these were quite numerous. One such collection, which is often referred to as almost a proper museum, was owned by the Dubrovnik family Aletin (also Aletić/Alethy/Alletti Natali). In the mid-18th century Antun Aletin (1716–1774) founded a museum with a library, numismatic collection and collection of *naturalia* (Zgaga 1990, 8). The town of Split had its first museum already in 1750, the Archbishop's Museum (also named *Museum Spalatinum*), which housed ancient inscriptions and objects from Salona. It can be considered one of the earliest 'public' archaeological museums (a *de facto* lapidarium) in this part of Europe.[172] In Zadar, a local medic Ante Danieli Tommasoni possessed the largest collection of Roman sculptures in Dalmatia, including eight imperial statues discovered near Zadar in 1768.[173]

In Istria, in 1802, during Napoleon's rule in Dalmatia, French Marshall Auguste de Marmont established the first collection of ancient monuments in the Temple of Augustus in Pula. In Dalmatia, in 1820, following the visit of Austrian Emperor Franz I two years before, the Provincial Government established the Archaeological Museum in Diocletian's Palace in Split. In 1832, the Austrian government issued a decree to establish the National Museum of Dalmatia in Zadar. Thus, with its wealth of archaeological remains and excellent infrastructure (two public and several private local museums), the Dalmatia of the mid-19th century was among the most advanced regions in Europe in terms of the degree of development in (Roman) archaeology outside Italy. Another important instrument in achieving this was the journal *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata,* launched in 1878.

The institutionalisation of archaeology in continental Croatia took a different pace and direction compared to that in Dalmatia. In the cultural-historical sense, Croatia's continental areas were much more oriented towards central Europe and its centres in Vienna, Budapest and Prague. Dalmatian antiquities also attracted scholars in continental Croatia; only later, in the second half of the 19th century, did the focus broaden to include archaeological sites in its continental part. We know of private collections with local ancient materials from the Roman towns of *Cibalae* (Vinkovci), *Mursa* (Osijek) and *Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica, today in Serbia) owned by, among others, Bishop Antun Mandić and Ivan Labaš Blašovečki, the Major of Varaždin. In this short account of Croatia's earliest museums, one

171 He also edited for print a series of important historical works supplemented with his geographic comments: Pliny, Ptolemy, Herodotus, Strabo, and Homer, published between 1804 and 1813.

172 This statement also depends on the definition of a museum and the historical development of the concept of the museum as we know it for some two centuries. More on this subject concerning Croatia may be seen in Vujić (2007).

173 According to the catalogue published in 1818, this collection comprised some 300 statues, 6,000 coins, numerous inscriptions and a library. Later on, the collection was sold to Italy. Today the objects from this collection can be found in several museums in Europe (e.g. in Zadar, Vienna, Aquileia, Milano, Copenhagen).

should also not ignore Mijat Sabljar (1790–1865), considered the pioneer of museology in Croatia. For some years, he served in Trsat near Rijeka as a keeper of Count Laval Nugent's private museum, which kept objects from the count's excavations in Italy. Sabljar also lobbied intensively for the establishment of the National Museum in Croatia. Over the years he accumulated a rich collection of antiquities, coins, minerals, molluscs and so on, which he later donated to the National Museum, and where he served as curator for numismatics.[174]

The first major national institution in Croatia was the National Museum, founded in 1846 in Zagreb.[175] In 1866 it was divided into the Department of Archaeology and the Department of Natural Sciences.[176] This museum was a great national pride of Croatians.[177] In the beginning, most of its collections came from donations. One year after the new building's inauguration, it already hosted 13 different collections, including two archaeological ones, '*Sbirka numizmatička*' and '*Sbirka archaeologička*' (Solter 2013, 19), both established by Mijat Sabljar. From 1867, when Šime Ljubić started work at the museum, archaeological activities intensified further.[178]

From the 1870s, museums started to emerge across Croatia in places rich in historical and archaeological sites, especially in coastal regions, such as Dubrovnik (1872), Osijek (1877), Poreč (1884), Knin (1893), Rijeka (1893), Pula (1902), Zagreb (municipal museum in 1907), Cres (1910), and Nin (1910).

One of the crucial achievements of Šime Ljubić concerning the development of archaeology was the foundation of the journal *Viestnik narodnoga zemaljskoga muzeja u Zagrebu* in 1870, which, under the name *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, continues to be published today and is considered one of the prominent archaeological journals in Croatia.[179]

In 1850, the first archaeological scholarly society in Croatia was established – *Družtvo za jugoslavensku povestnicu i starine* (Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities).[180] Its initiator was Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816–1889), a politician, historian and writer. In 1851 the society published the first issue of its journal *Arkiva za povestnicu jugoslovensku* ('Archive for Yugoslav History'), and in 1875 the instructions for research and keeping antiquities.[181] The society organised a network of collaborators on local levels which informed it about discoveries, the state of historical heritage, local collections, etc. (Solter 2013, 23), analogous to the Central Commission in Vienna. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski soon, in 1855, became a Conservator of the

174 Hrvatska enciklopedija, http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=53906.

175 The first attempts at establishing the National Museum were much earlier, at least from the beginnings of the 19th century. Already in 1812, this had been attempted by Josip Sermage, Canon of Zagreb (Solter 2013, 13). The Illyrian Movement also lobbied strongly for a museum.

176 For more on the history of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb see in Solter (2013).

177 In the opening year, the museum was visited by more than 4,800 visitors, more than a quarter of the population of Zagreb at that time (Solter 2013, 19).

178 Šime Ljubić (1822–1896), historian, archaeologist, assistant to Petro Kandler (the Central Commission's conservator in Trieste), head of the Archaeological Museum in Split, and high school professor in Split, Rijeka and Osijek, in 1867 moved to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Head of the museum between 1871 and 1892. His major works included mostly essays on Croatian and Dalmatian history, and relations with Venice. In 1860 he published *Studi archaeologici sulla Dalmazia*.

179 In 1870, the journal changed name to *Viestnik Narodnog muzeja*, and in 1879 was re-named to *Viestnik hrvatskog arheologičkog društva*.

180 In those days, the pan-Slavic attribute 'Yugoslav' denoted primarily South Slavs in the Austrian Empire, but in certain contexts also Croats. In 1850 Croatia was still not administratively united. Istria and Dalmatia were Austrian provinces, Slavonia and northwestern Croatia (Croatia *sensu stricto*) were under Hungarian administration, and the Military Frontier still existed with its special status in the Empire. In this context, the 'Yugoslavs' were frequently Croats but not exclusively.

181 *Naputak kako se imadu istraživati, sakupljati i čuvati starine u Hrvatskoj, Dalmaciji i Slavoniji (Instructions on how to research, collect and keep antiquities in Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia),* Zagreb 1875.

Central Commission for Croatia and Slavonia. In 1878, the Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities ceased to exist, but the *Hrvatsko arkeologičko družtvo* (Croatian Archaeological Society) was established in the same year thanks to the efforts of Šime Ljubić.

The beginnings of academic archaeology in Croatia are dated to 1877 when Isidor Kršnjavi (1845–1927), newly appointed professor of art history and archaeology, introduced the first archaeology curriculum at the University of Zagreb. Kršnjavi was an exceptionally well-educated scholar; he completed his doctorate in art history in Vienna (1870) and then a doctorate in jurisprudence at the University of Graz (1891); he also attended courses in classical archaeology at the University in Munich. He taught classical archaeology and the history of art at the University of Zagreb and published the first textbook in archaeology written in a South Slavic language.[182] The studies in archaeology became a single subject in 1893 when the Institute of Archaeology was formed and separated from art history studies. Some archaeological topics were also taught by Franjo Maixner and Franjo Petričić, both professors of classics (Periša, in press).

A separate curriculum in archaeology was designed and put into practice in 1896. Josip Brunšmid (1858–1929), curator at the National Museum in Zagreb since 1893, was appointed as professor. Brunšmid studied history, geography, classical archaeology and epigraphy in Vienna,[183] where he also received his doctorate (1895). In the history of Croatian archaeology, his expert contribution to the formation of modern archaeology in Croatia is considered crucial, especially in terms of prehistoric archaeology, the archaeology of the Roman provinces and medieval archaeology. His research interests and career followed a pattern typical for many scholars from southeast European countries at the end of the 19th century. After completing his studies, Brunšmid started his professional career first in the National Museum in Zagreb (1893) and, a few years later, continued it at the University of Zagreb. At the time, museums in most countries of central and southeastern Europe represented central research institutions. They also often took part in the protection of archaeological and historical monuments, and their staff taught at universities. Brunšmid was an unusually active scientist and professor. He directed numerous fieldwork projects across the country, and his archaeological expertise spanned all archaeological periods and site types,[184] though he taught almost exclusively ancient archaeology at the university. Following his death, Viktor Hoffiler, a scholar of broadly similar interests and reputation, succeeded him.[185]

Two other scholars from the time before the First World War who were remarkably influential and earned worldwide recognition were Frane Bulić and Dragutin Gorjanović-Kramberger.

182 *Oblici graditeljstva u starom vieku i glavna načela građevne ljepote / Construction forms in ancient times and major principles of architectural aesthetics* (Kršnjavi 1883). Some other Kršnjavi's accomplishments in teaching archaeology include the compilation of a collection of more than 200 gypsum copies of famous ancient sculptures, among which most spectacular is the more than 160 m long Parthenon frieze. Rare are museums or universities of the world in possession of such a collection that even today represents exquisite material. Only two complete copies exist, one in Zagreb and the other in Basel, Switzerland. More on Kršnjavi's museum work can be found in Vujić (2012), and on the gypsum copies of ancient sculptures and the Parthenon frieze in Matijaško (2012).

183 The University of Vienna was the most important academic centre for southeastern Europe, and numerous local archaeologists were trained there. More than half of the archaeology professionals, who worked in the western Balkan countries before 1941, acquired a degree from this university. For more on this, see in Novaković (2012).

184 Among his major research projects are the early Slavic cemetery at Bijelo Brdo near Osijek, the Bronze and Iron Age necropoleis from Slavonija and Lika. His major publications include: "Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechischen Städte Dalmatiens" (1895.), "Colonia Aurelia Cibalae" (1902.), and "Antikni figuralni bronsani predmeti u Hrvatskom narodnom muzeju u Zagrebu (1913–14).

185 For further details on J. Brunšmid and V. Hoffiler, see Kolar-Dimitrijević and Wagner (2008).

Frane Bulić (1846–1934), a priest, studied philology and archaeology at the University of Vienna, was a curator at the Archaeological Museum in Split (1882), and from 1883 the museum's Director. Bulić also served as conservator of the Central Commission for the Protection of Historical Monuments in the Austrian province of Dalmatia. His research scope was vast and diverse, but in general it stemmed from the long tradition of historical, antiquarian and archaeological research in Dalmatia. In his more than fifty-year career, spanning from the 1880s to 1930s, he excavated an unprecedented number of sites and monuments, founded scholarly journals, led the restoration of some of the most famous monuments in Dalmatia, and acted as a mentor to many younger Croatian (also Slovene) archaeologists. However, his name remains most closely associated with Salona, capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia, research into Diocletian's Palace in Split, and Early Christianity archaeology.[186] In 1894, he organised the first world congress of Early Christian archaeology in Split and Solin. Bulić is also to be credited for his contribution to the development of archaeology of the early Croats and the foundation of the journal *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata* (1878), published by the Archaeological Museum in Split.[187] He was also the founder of Bihać, the society for research into Croatian history (1894).[188] Without any doubt, Bulić was the most world-renowned Croatian archaeologist and historian before the Second World War.[189] More about his work and legacy could be seen in *Don Frane Bulić – kalatog izložbe* (1984).

Dragutin Gorjanović-Kramberger (1856-1936) was a scholar with an entirely different profile. He studied geology and palaeontology in Munich and Tübingen, and became the head of the Mineralogy Department of the National Museum in Zagreb (1880) and a professor at Zagreb University (1884). In 1899, he explored the cave in Krapina in northwest Croatia, where he discovered numerous Neanderthal remains, and the results of his research had a significant impact on the research of early humans in Europe.[190] What also put Gorjanović-Kramberger amongst the top scientists in this field were key innovations in methods and the exceptional quality of his investigations at Krapina. Detailed analysis of the osteological remains enabled him to point out the differences between the Neanderthals and modern humans. His fluorine dating method also represented a significant innovation and is regarded as one of the earliest techniques of absolute dating developed in archaeology and palaeontology in general. Moreover, Gorjanović-Kramberger was also a pioneer in applying X-ray analyses to early osteological material, only a few years after Röntgen's discovery.

In 1906, Gorjanović-Kramberger published an extensive monograph on the finds from Krapina; at the time, this was thought of as one of the most complete and influential studies in human palaeontology in Europe, and it assisted significantly in the promotion and implementation

186 After Bulić's decades-long excavations of Salona, this site became the second most important archaeological location in Europe, second only to Rome, for Early Christian archaeology. Bulić produced of two series of monographs, *Forschungen in Salona*, three volumes (Austrian Archaeological Institute, Wien) and *Recherches a Salone,* two volumes (in collaboration with Danish Foundation Rask-Oersted).

187 The journal is still published today under the Croatian title *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* (since 1920).

188 At the end of the 19th century, there were three Croatian archaeological societies, the Croatian Archaeological Society (1878), Knin's antiquarian society (1887) and Bihać (1894).

189 He was a member of numerous international scholarly societies, such as the German Archaeological Society in Berlin, Rome and Athens, Yugoslav (i.e. Croatian) Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Pope's Academy in Rome, Imperial Russian Society in Saint Petersburg, Anthropological Society in Vienna, French Institute in Paris, Royal Academy of Archaeology in Brussels, and the Serbian Royal Academy.

190 D. Gorjanović-Kramberger, *Der diluviale Mensch von Krapina in Kroatien, Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien,*1899, 1901–02, 1904–05.

of the theory of human evolution.[191] The Palaeolithic and palaeoanthropological studies in central European countries were conventionally the domain of geology and palaeontology. Thus, in the history of science in Croatia, the work of Gorjanović-Kramberger lies at the intersection of several disciplines, prehistoric archaeology, palaeoanthropology, palaeontology and geology. As such, the humanities tradition tended to consider Gorjanović-Kramberger less a mainstream archaeologist and more as a naturalist. In any case, he was a brilliant scientist of world renown, as confirmed by the fact that UNESCO declared 2006 as the year of Dragutin Gorjanović-Kramberger.

Croatia is the only state of former Yugoslavia that succeeded relatively early, at the end of the 19th century, in developing its 'national' archaeology (i.e. the archaeology of the Croatian Slavs). The first steps in this direction were taken in the 1880s and 1890s in Dalmatia by Stjepan (Lujo) Marun (1857–1939), a Franciscan priest and self-taught archaeologist who conducted excavations of the early medieval church in Knin–Biskupija, established a Society of Croatian Antiques (1887) and, later on, also founded the first museum of Croatian national monuments (1893) in the town of Knin, one of the early medieval capitals of the Croatian kings. His efforts were essential in the further advancement and institutionalisation of Croatian national archaeology. In 1895, he founded *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, the first journal specialised in the Middle Ages in Croatia. In the years to come, he carried out numerous archaeological and topographical investigations of various scopes, considered as a sort of an archaeological roadmap of early Croat's archaeology in Dalmatia. His work thus became one of the pillars for the further development of national archaeology.[192]

The Service for the Protection of Cultural Heritage developed in two directions. The first such service was already established during the Illyrian Provinces at the beginning of the 19th century, when the French administration appointed Pietro Nobile, an Italian architect from Trieste and a connoisseur of ancient architecture, to the position of Chief Provincial Engineer, also responsible for historical monuments, work he continued after the end of French rule. He restored some major monuments in Pula (i.e. the amphitheatre, the temples of Augustus, Diana, Arch of Sergii, Hercule's Gate, and the Nymphaeum), and also excavated the amphitheatre in Pula and Diocletian's Palace in Split. He was the author of the *Projet relatif aux Antiquités Architectoniques d'Illyrie*, a document submitted to the French administration on implementing Italian restoration and research practices in Istria and Dalmatia, and a proposal for the establishment of the scholarly archaeological society in the Illyrian Provinces (Špikić 2007).

The next phase in the development of heritage protection service was associated with the establishment of the Austrian Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Historical and Art Monuments in 1850. In the Austrian parts of Croatia (Dalmatia and Istria), the commission's offices were formed more-or-less simultaneously with those in other Austrian provinces. Of significant importance was the office in Split, with Frane Bulić acting as the provincial conservator. Other archaeologists who collaborated with the Dalmatian Conservation Office were Simon Rutar and Vojeslav Molè from Slovenia and a local archaeologist Ljubo Karaman. At the start of the 20th century, a conservators' office was opened in Pula and managed by Anton Gnirs (1873–1933), a Sudeten German who started his career in Pula as a gymnasium professor (1899) and went to become the provincial conservator for the wider region of Istria in 1901.[193] Despite the very brief

191 By 1929 Gorjanović-Kramberger published more than 80 papers on the Krapina Neanderthals in Budapest, Frankfurt, Zagreb, Jena, Berlin, and other places.

192 For more on L. Marun, see Zekan (2007).

193 During the First World War, the jurisdiction of the Pula office also covered Carniola, because France Stelè (the conservator in Carniola) had to serve in the Austrian army.

period spent in the service (excluding the war years), Gnirs intensively investigated Istria and left behind valuable results.[194]

In continental Croatia, such a service was established just before the First World War in 1910 – the State Commission for the Art and History Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia – and it existed in this form until 1914. Under the directorship of Tadija Smičiklas and with Gyula Szabo's endeavours, this office was predominantly dealing with architectural heritage, whereas archaeology was represented to a very modest degree.[195]

Croatian archaeology between the two world wars (1918–1941)

In many respects, a section on the period between 1918 and 1941 can rightfully be criticised as somehow arbitrary, as the development of Croatian archaeology shows much greater continuity and tradition stemming from the last decades of the Austro-Hungarian state than any other comparable country (i.e. Slovenia, Bosnia in Herzegovina, and partially also Serbia). One could say that not many new archaeological institutions were established between 1918 and 1941 because there were all already there, and all the major 'archaeological' museums, schools, and heritage protection offices were established before the First World War, and some of them had quite a long tradition of 50 or more years. But the situation shows a different picture on local levels wherein medium- and small-sized town museums continued to be established, such as in Požega (1924), Varaždin (1925), Šibenik (1925), Slavonski Brod (1934), Varaždinske Toplice (1937), and Sisak (1942). Moreover, in 1925, the Italian government raised the Municipal Museum in Pula to the rank of Royal Museum.

The museums established between 1918 and 1941 did not systematically include archaeology, but they nevertheless provided the potential for the later development of the archaeological discipline in their regions. The leading scholars, e.g. Brunšmid, Gorjanović-Kramberger, and Don Frane Bulić, who all achieved brilliant careers in the decades before the First World War, continued their work without any particular interruption because of the new political situation. The change of state (from the Austro-Hungarian Empire to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) united Croats more than any previous state, though not wholly. Regardless, the major national Croatian cultural institutions had already existed since the late 19th or early 20th centuries. The same goes for the major scientific journals and publication series. The stable archaeological infrastructure thus consisted of the relatively wide network of museums in Dalmatia and continental Croatia, and the decades-long tradition of the National (later Archaeological) Museum in Zagreb, already founded in 1836. This infrastructure remained solid even in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.[196] In terms of Croats' national politics, the priorities were to reinforce their national status within Yugoslavia and claim Istria, Kvarner and towns of Rijeka and Zadar, which were annexed to Italy after 1918.

And yet, I still define the 1918-1941 years in the 'First Yugoslavia' as a separate period. One of the reasons is to make comparisons with the other countries of former Yugoslavia easier. The period of First Yugoslavia is clearly distinguishable in the case of Slovenia. In the cases of N. Macedonia and Kosovo, the distinction with the situation when these countries were still part of the Ottoman Empire is also very sharp, as well

194 F. Stelè (1932) gives more information on the life of Anton Gnirs.

195 More details on the commission's work in the period 1910–1914 can be found in Horvat (1976/1977).

196 Before 1914, museums were founded in Zagreb, Osijek, Split, Zadar and Knin. They were continuously or occasionally active in archaeology, and continued their work after the formation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In addition to these, museums were opened in Karlovac (1904), Virovitica (1913) and Zagreb (1907, the City Museum) that initially did not include archaeology, but offered important infrastructure for its subsequent development.

as in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where archaeology, being introduced as an Austrian 'colonial' enterprise, in many respects changed after becoming part of Yugoslavia. Serbia and Montenegro were, indeed, the only sovereign states before 1918. While Serbia, to a certain degree, resembled Croatia in terms of the continuity of institutions from the late 19th century, Montenegro was still very undeveloped in terms of its own archaeological disciplinary framework before 1945. In any case, while one cannot easily apply the same conceptual tools (e.g. the same periodisation) for all countries in question, observing different national archaeologies in the same period can be of use. Another reason lies in the fact that with the formation of Yugoslavia, Croatian archaeology definitely became a national disciplinary framework. If before one could still speak of 'Austrian' and 'Hungarian' Croatian lands with different administrative and political settings, after 1918 this is much less the case. Despite being divided into several administrative units, which also included large Serbian and Bosnian (Muslim) populations, these units had no historical background. However, during the 'Yugoslav' period between the two world wars, the Croats were well aware of their identity and national institutions.

The cessation of the Austrian state slowed down some of the institutions previously tied to the central offices in Vienna (for instance, the Service for the Protection of Cultural Heritage). Still, the delay was minor when viewed in the context of the entire archaeological discipline. Indeed, the uninterrupted work of pre-war Croatian institutions was also possible because several specialists from these institutions were already active in promoting Croatia's national emancipation through archaeology and history before the First World War, and they remained active in this sphere after the war. In other words, the extent of discontinuity in archaeological practice and activities of the institutions in Croatia was too small to challenge the development of the institutions, or archaeology as such, as was the case in Slovenia. Furthermore, in the period between the two wars, new museums and cultural institutions, though not archaeological, played significant roles in the general cultural and scientific progress on both local and regional levels. Despite the centralist tendencies of many unstable Yugoslav governments, the political recognition of the Croats as the constituent nation in the Yugoslav kingdom offered even more possibilities for the establishment of national institutions and their structuring at the local level.

The Archaeological Museum could develop relatively freely within the financial and other material affordances it was given, but the Museum of Croatian Antiquities was less fortunate. Whereas initially, it enlarged its collection significantly over a short period, mainly due to the successful work of L. Marun, from 1912 onwards, it had to be moved from one location to another in Knin. In 1933, it was given space at the Knin Fortress to store the archives, but these had to be transferred again during the Second World War, this time to Sinj. However, despite the difficulties in finding support for securing a permanent location for the museum, its staff kept the work going, albeit in unfavourable conditions. Finally, after the Second World War, it was possible to establish the museum permanently. Many local museums also suffered from poor funding and lack of trained staff, but kept a modest level of activities.

Archaeological work at the University of Zagreb continued from the Austrian period onwards mostly uninterrupted, mainly owing to the continuity of Brunšmid's activities. His successor Viktor Hoffiler (1877–1954), a German from Slavonia, completed his doctorate in Vienna, started work in the Archaeological Museum in 1901, taught archaeology at the Higher School of Pedagogy and, in 1926, became a professor at the university and had a similar scientific profile to Brunšmid. Hoffiler expanded the curriculum from Brunšmid's times by introducing prehistoric archaeology, for which he even prepared a textbook (Periša 2014). By doing this and by his quality work on ancient archaeology he further

strengthened the status of the discipline in Croatia.[197] In fact, Hoffiller was the only archaeological professor who did some systematic teaching of prehistoric archaeology as well. During his very fruitful career, Hoffiler excavated many important sites ranging from prehistory to medieval times, primarily in Slavonia and Srem (Bijelo Brdo, Dalj, Sremska Mitrovica, Osijek). His papers on epigraphy and numismatics brought him a solid international reputation (above all for the monograph on the Roman inscriptions from Yugoslavia, co-authored with B. Saria from Ljubljana).[198] Based on his contribution to the archaeological profession, V. Hoffiler received an honorary doctorate from the University of Vienna (1950). In the period between the two wars (1918–1941), Hoffiler taught numerous important archaeologists and other experts who would later become important scholars (e.g. Josip Klemenc, Ivo Bojanovski, Branimir Gabričević, Mate Suić, Duje Rendić-Miočević, Cvito Fisković, Ivan Marović, Ivo Petricioli, Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini, Mladen Nikolanci, etc.). In this sense, the Department of Archaeology in Zagreb was by far the most important university institution in the interval between the two wars in Yugoslavia between 1918 and the 1950s.[199]

The archaeologist who took over the leading role in the Archaeological Museum in Split succeeding Frane Bulić was Mihovil Abramić (1884–1962). He was born in Pula, gained his doctorate in Vienna and was Director of the Archaeological Museum in Aquileia (1913–1919). After 1919, and almost two years of internment in Rome, he returned to Croatia and worked first as a vice-head of the Archaeological Museum in Split. He soon became its Director for the next 25 years (1926–1950). The beginning of his directorship coincided with opening a new museum building that released the great potential for archaeology in Split. However, he still continued his research of the Roman cemeteries in Ptuj, Slovenia, where he excavated in 1911 and discovered the famous Mithraeum.

Most of Abramić's research in Croatia was focused on ancient sites in Dalmatia (e.g. Aenona, Asseria, Burnum, Aequum and Issa). He was undoubtedly one of the scholars who made possible extensive excavations in Salona between the two wars; there, he collaborated with E. Dyggve and Rudolph Egger (see series *Forschungen in Salona* and *Recherches a Salona*). The results of these investigations significantly expanded the knowledge about Salona that had been acquired previously through the work of F. Bulić, and contributed significantly to the presentation of this site to international circles.[200]

With the Italian annexation of Istria (together with western Slovenia, some of the Kvarner and Dalmatian islands and the towns of Rijeka and Zadar) in 1918–1920, the former 'Austrian' institutional structure was replaced with Italian institutions and scholars. The Italian irredentist movement had deep roots in Istria, especially in Trieste and other Istrian towns (e.g. Poreč, Koper, Pula), where numerous local Italian cultural societies and institutes were established in the 19th century.[201] In 1930, the Royal Museum in Pula was established and soon became the central institution for archaeological research in Istria. The other important Italian institution was

197 Moreover, being a curator (later also the Director) at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb since 1901, he had a chance to coordinate two major institutions in Zagreb, if not in the whole of Croatia. In fact, in the year he became the museum Director (1920) he also established the Department of Prehistory there (Periša 2018).

198 For more details on V. Hoffiler, see Kolar-Dimitrijević and Wagner (2008) and Mirnik (1977a; 1977b).

199 Also from the University of Belgrade came several graduates from the 1930s who played an essential role in the post-war renewal of Yugoslav archaeology. But there, the situation was somewhat different. On this, see more in the chapter on Serbia. On the other hand, only one or two of the 1930s graduates in archaeology from the University of Ljubljana worked in archaeology in the period after 1945.

200 See publications *Forschungen in Salona,* I-III, 1917–1928 and *Recherches à Salone,* I-II, 1928–1935.

201 In archaeology, the best known was Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria, established in 1884. This society had a long history of conflict with the Austrian government; see more in Bitelli (1999) and Novaković (1999).

the Superintendency for Cultural Heritage, with its seats in Trieste and Pula, which was primarily responsible for heritage protection and restoration work. Technically speaking, we are dealing here with Italian archaeology and its system of heritage protection, and as such, this is not within the scope of this book. However, in the case of multi-ethnic Istria, where state frameworks were radically changing since the end of the 18th century (Venetian, French, Austrian, Italian governments until 1945, the division between Italy and Yugoslavia, i.e. Slovenia and Croatia, 1954; Free Territory of Trieste 1947–1954), it is difficult to isolate one single cultural or scholarly tradition. They all left traces and influenced each other in different ways. For this reason, I have included this episode with Istria here and in the final chapter on 'Yugoslav' archaeology.

As already noted, in Croatia there were two offices for the protection of the cultural heritage, one in continental Croatia founded in 1910 in Zagreb, and another in Dalmatia in Split, both founded within the 'Austrian-Hungarian' framework. The office in Zagreb was initially intended for the territory of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia only. In 1914, it changed its name to the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments and was then renamed again in 1928 to the Conservators' Office in Zagreb (1928-1946). In the early years, the Commission paid most of its attention to architectural monuments. This did not change much in 1914, after the death of Tadija Smičiklas, the first chair of the commission, who was succeeded by Josip Brunšmid. With this appointment, Brunšmid essentially combined the most important positions in the Croatian archaeology of the time (head of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, professor of archaeology at the University of Zagreb and chair of the Commission for the Protection of Monuments). One of the archaeological members of the commission was V. Hoffiller. The membership in the commission was free of charge, and so was the membership in the conservators' service. However, although archaeologists were well represented in the commission's main body, most activities focused on architectural monuments.[202] During the war (1914–1918), the commission rescued many metal objects that the army sought to melt down (Horvat 1978/79, 24).[203] Besides the Zagreb commission, the Provincial Conservation Office for Dalmatia also continued to exist, with Frane Bulić and Ljubo Karaman being its leading scholars. Thanks to them, this office was much more active in the domain of archaeology than the one in Zagreb. Indeed, it is in the 1920s and 1930s when massive research campaigns in Salona were undertaken.

However, what is valid for the entire Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, i.e. Yugoslavia, also applied to Croatia's territory. The quality of work of the service for the protection of archaeological monuments dropped substantially compared to the previous Austrian era. The main reason was the absence of adequate laws and the minimal human resources and material infrastructure available to the service.[204] Thus, at the beginning of the 1920s, Zagreb's commission virtually had no suitable working conditions, and it was almost dissolved (Horvat 1978/79, 30).

The power of tradition and continuity: development of Croatian archaeology after the Second World War

During the Second World War in the former Yugoslavia (1941–1945), a marionette fascist and dictatorial Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna država Hrvatska* – NDH) was organised in the territory of Croatia under the control of the occupying German and Italian forces. It encompassed most of the former Croatian Banate territory, including most of today's Croatia, Bosnia

202 For more details on this commission's activities, see Horvat (1976/77, 1978/79, 1980/81).

203 Especially active in this rescuing was Viktor Hoffiller, who recorded more than 200 inscriptions from church bells before they were handed over to the army (Kolar-Dimitrijević and Wagner 2008, 92).

204 The first law on the preservation and protection of cultural heritage was enacted as late as 1940.

and Herzegovina, and Srem in Serbia. The Italians occupied Kvarner and northern and central Dalmatia. Since the marionette state under the rule of Ante Pavelić's *Ustashas* (Croatian Fascist military organisation) was a close ally of Germany and Italy, the new 'state' was left some local autonomy. In these circumstances, all major cultural and scientific institutions were allowed to continue their work. The significant changes were more in terms of personnel. Many Jewish, Serbian and Croatian scholars and intellectuals who opposed the new regime lost their jobs, migrated, were prosecuted or joined the National Liberation Movement led by Josip Broz Tito. The Independent State of Croatia's racial laws prohibited Jews and Serbs from studying at the University of Zagreb.[205] However, institutional stability remained, as was not so much the case in Slovenia or Serbia, where the Germans suspended several national institutions such as universities.[206] Moreover, in Italian-occupied Dalmatia all museums and other archaeological institutions continued to work at least until Italy's capitulation in September 1943, when these regions were re-occupied by the Germans.

Relative local autonomy and institutional stability, mostly in Zagreb and some other major towns in Slavonija and Dalmatia, allowed certain (low) level of archaeological activities at the University of Zagreb (mostly studying) and some museums in Split, Zagreb, Osijek, in Conservation offices in Zagreb and Split. At present, we do not know much about the Germans and Italians' specific activities in archaeology in Croatia, compared to Slovenia and Serbia.[207] However, there was probably some plundering of the museums, galleries and private collections.[208] The most massive war damage was suffered in Zadar, which was bombed by the Allies in 1943 and 1944.

After the war and with the new (Communist) regime, the situation concerning archaeology and its institutions changed substantially. The new regime strongly supported education and culture, especially on the local levels. In the next fifteen years (1945–1960), 27 new museums were established in Croatia alone:

1946 – Vinkovci, Vukovar
1947 – Korčula
1948 – Bakar
1949 – Bjelovar, Samobor
1951 – Nova Gradiška, Đakovo, Koprivnica, Novi Vinodolski
1952 – Split (Municipal Museum), Karlovac, Križevci, Ilok
1953 – Virovitica, Županja
1954 – Čakovec, Rovinj
1955 – Pazin
1956 – Sinj, Valpovo
1958 – Čazma, Gospić, Drniš
1960 – Labin, Kutina, Velika Gorica

Thus by 1960 there were altogether 46 museums. While the truth is that many local museums were small and not all equipped with trained staff and adequate venues, they played an important role in educating local people and preserving local heritage (archaeological included). A similar museum 'boom' can be seen in all other Yugoslav republics in the same period.

All pre-war institutions continued their work, while those temporarily closed were re-opened. The significant changes were, again, in personnel.

205 Nevertheless, Periša (in press) found a few individual cases where professors Viktor Hoffiler and Mirko Šeper helped Serbian students to continue or finish their studies in this period.

206 For more details on the Department of Archaeology, University of Zagreb, and Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, see Periša (in press).

207 The only archaeological excavations financed by Ahnenerbe in Croatia that we know of were Rudolph Schmidt's campaigns in eastern Slavonija in 1943 in Sarvaš. But, R. Schmid researched in this region continuously since the late 1930s at Vučedol and Bapska.

208 M. Kolar-Dimitrijević and E. Wagner (2008, 94) report a case of the flag and chessboard that belonged to the Prussian King Friedrich II the Great and which Croatian soldiers took in the Prussian-Austrian wars. The Germans forced the Croatian Historical Museum to hand over these objects. Viktor Hoffiler openly objected, and this was probably one of the reasons for his removal from the museum and university.

Depending on the 'degree of collaboration' (as judged by the new rulers), some people were removed from their positions (e.g. Mirko Šeper) and others suspended for a certain period of time, whilst some were re-appointed (e.g. Hoffiler), and others were appointed for the first time. However, compared to all the other countries presented in this book, the pre-war period continuity was the strongest in Croatia. There were scholars like Viktor Hoffiler, Grga Novak, Mihovil Abramić, Ljubo Karaman, Stjepan Gunjača, and to some extent also Zdenko Vinski, who were crucial in bridging the pre- and post-war periods. The relative institutional stability and regional dispersion of archaeological institutions in pre-war Croatia, as well as the largest number of graduates in archaeology in the pre-1941 Yugoslavia, gave Croatian archaeology much greater continuity in the concept of archaeology than in any other country from the former Yugoslavia. The number of archaeologists in Croatia in the years immediately after 1945 was almost equal to the number of active archaeologists in the rest of Yugoslavia. Moreover, Croatian archaeology also incorporated the 'Italian' institutions from Istria.[209]

Among the scholars who had a great impact on the development of archaeology in the first post-war years was Grga Novak (1888–1978), an ancient historian, assistant of Frane Bulić in the Archaeological Museum in Split, later professor at the Universities in Skopje and Zagreb, president of the Yugoslav (today Croatian) Academy of Arts and Sciences (1958–1978), and a researcher of Grapčeva spilja on the island of Hvar (eponym site for the late Neolithic Hvar culture). Novak, who held many important positions in the academic hierarchy, successfully lobbied and assisted in creating suitable conditions for archaeology and hiring younger scholars.

Among the newly established institutions of crucial importance for furthering Croatia's archaeological profession was the foundation of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar in 1956.[210] From the very beginning, the study of archaeology was possible as a three-year second major combined with history, art history or other subjects at Zadar's Faculty of Philosophy. In 1962, when the Department of Archaeology was established, the archaeological curriculum was extended to a four-year second major. In 1975, it could also be taken as a single major subject (Marijanović 2013). The first professors were Šime Batović (prehistoric archaeology), Mate Suić (ancient archaeology) and Ivo Petricioli (early medieval archaeology). Later joined them Nenad Cambi. Instrumental for implementing the archaeological curricula in these early years was the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, where the most important professors (e.g. M. Suić and Š. Batović) worked. Zadar was precisely the place where archaeology, art history, and ancient history had the greatest potential in Croatia, and they were among the fundamental and most advanced scientific disciplines of the freshly formed faculty. Many renowned scholars from the broader region of Dalmatia were associated with the major institutions in Zadar. Since the 1960s, thanks to the Faculty of Philosophy and the Archaeological Museum, Zadar has been one of the key centres for the development of the archaeological discipline in both Croatia and all of Yugoslavia.

A crucial scholar who started his career in Zadar was Mate Suić (1915–2002), a classical archaeologist and historian who studied with V. Hoffiller in Zagreb. In the period between 1945 and 1956, he worked as the Director of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar and was

209 Among the Istrian museums, the most prominent was the Royal Museum of Istria, established by joining the City Museum of Pula and the regional museum in Poreč in 1925 (the latter was already established in 1884). Interestingly, the first collection of antiquities (mainly from Nesactium) was created in Pula in 1902, when the Societa Istriana di archeologia e storia patria moved to Pula from Rovinj. Besides Pula, under Italian rule there were also museums in Poreč and Rovinj.

210 Between 1956 and 1974, the faculty was a unit of the University of Zagreb; between 1974 and 2003, it belonged to the University of Split, and from 2003 onwards to the University of Zadar.

also a professor at the University of Zadar. In 1968 he moved to the University of Zagreb, where he taught ancient history. His contribution was valuable in research and teaching activities, as well as the organisation of the archaeological discipline in Croatia and Yugoslavia. Among his management achievements he first needs to be credited for reviving the Archaeological Museum in Zadar. Long after 1945, Zadar, which suffered heavy bombardments during the Second World War in which the museum building was destroyed and the library burned, was still largely destroyed as a town. The Italians, retreating from Zadar in 1943, took a great deal of museum inventory, including the inventory books.

The endeavours of Mate Suić were crucial for moving the museum to new venues, first in the building of a newly formed Faculty of Philosophy (1954) and later (1972) to the present venues. Suić was also the founder of *Diadora*, the Archaeological Museum's journal (1960), and the first president of the revived Croatian Archaeological Society. He was also a top expert in ancient archaeology and history, contributing some major reference works on epigraphy, Greek and Roman colonisation, the archaeology of Liburni and the early urbanisation of Dalmatia.[211] For his scientific excellence, he was awarded membership of many Croatian and international academies and eminent societies: the Yugoslav (Croatian) Academy of Arts and Sciences, German Archaeological Institute, International Committee for publishing medieval Latin inscriptions (CILMA), Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum (CIL) Committee, and the Centre for Balkanological Research, Sarajevo.[212]

At the same time, the Department of Archaeology at the University of Zagreb also grew. In the first post-war years, the continuity was secured with Hoffiller, who did not retire until 1951.[213] He lectured in these years in all major courses on classical and prehistoric archaeology. Before his retirement, he succeeded in establishing the Chair in Prehistory (1948). For a short period, Hoffiler was replaced by Grga Novak, at that time professor of ancient history, and Josip Korošec, the guest professor from the University of Ljubljana, Vladimir Mirosavljević, contract lecturer and assistant to Grga Novak, Branimir Gabričević, assistant for classical archaeology, and Zdenko Vinski, Head of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. After a decade of temporary and guest professors and other teachers, the Department of Archaeology started to stabilise in the mid-1950s with the arrival of Duje Rendić-Miočević (ancient archaeology) and Stojan Dimitrijević (Prehistoric archaeology). Zdenko Vinski established a Chair in Medieval and Slavic Archaeology. A few years later, Marin Zaninović also joined the department. However, the leading role for some ten years was by Rendić-Miočević, who contributed significantly to the development of curricula in ancient archaeology. Especially significant was his collaboration with foreign scholars, who he invited to teach in Zagreb (J. Leclant, V. Dumitrescu, W. Hensel, R. Pittioni, M. Wegner, G. Daux, A. Leroi-Gourhan; see in Periša (in press), a clear sign of the opening of Yugoslavia to the West.[214] It is also important to note that

211 For example Suić, M. (1952), Liburnski nagrobni spomenik "liburnski cipus". *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 53, 1950–1951, Split 1952; Suić, M. (1955a), Limitacija agera rimskih kolonija na istočnoj obali Jadrana. *Zbornik Instituta za historijske nauke u Zadru* 1, 1–36; Suić. M. (1955b), Istočna jadranska obala u Pseudo Skilakovu Periplu. *Rad JAZU* 1955, 121–185; Suić, M. (1958), O municipalitetu antičke Salone, V*jesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 1958, 11–38; Suić, M. (1981), Zadar u starom vijeku. Filozofski fakultet Zadar. However, his most important, and in many respects unprecedented, work is the monograph on the development of ancient towns in the eastern Adriatic region (*Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu*, 1976).

212 More on M. Suić, see in Tomičić (2002).

213 Hoffiler, under the pressure of German Wermacht commanders in Zagreb, was first forcibly retired in 1943. At the University, he was succeeded by Mirko Šeper until 1945. After his imprisonment (1945–1947) by the new government, he did not return to the University of Zagreb but continued his career at the Yugoslav Lexicographic Institute.

214 Similar cases of foreign professors in the 1950s were also noted at the Department of Archaeology in Ljubljana.

the University of Zagreb was important for educating archaeologists from other republics of the former Yugoslavia.[215]

In 1961, the first archaeological research institute was founded in Croatia. It first operated as a special organisational unit within the Faculty of Philosophy (the Institute for the History of Art and Archaeology), to become, in 1965, an independent entity (the Archaeological Institute).[216] His first Director was Mate Suić. With the formation of this specialised scientific research institution in the 1960s, Croatia completed its academic institutional landscape, similarly to Slovenia and Serbia, wherein the late 1940s, along with the universities in Belgrade and Ljubljana, central scientific institutes were also founded within national academies of sciences and arts to create national centres of excellence.

The 1960s were marked by the general growth of archaeology in Croatia in many respects. The number of staff at the University of Zagreb rose markedly, enabling a complete archaeological curriculum. The newly established archaeological curriculum also gave a significant boost to archaeology in Zadar. This came after many decades of archaeology being customarily taught by one or two professors and occasional external lecturers, a situation quite typical for many universities in Central Europe before the Second World War. In the post-war period, archaeology students obtained their own departments for teaching and research that employed substantially more staff. Indeed, numerous eminent Croatian specialists have worked at the Departments of Archaeology in Zagreb or Zadar. Besides the older generation, represented by Duje Rendić-Miočević and Branimir Gabričević, and Zdenko Vinski from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, positions at the Department of Archaeology were also given to Vladimir Mirosavljević, Marin Zaninović, Stojan Dimitrijević, Nives Majnarić-Pandžić and Marija Šmalcelj, who notably improved the studies of archaeology and set the frame which, in its general outline, is still in place until today.

The number of newly established museums can also illustrate the successful growth of archaeology from the 1960s onwards. The museum 'boom' from the 1945–1960 period continued, although not at the same level. Still, the number of 24 new local museums and cultural centres, which includes archaeological collections established between 1961 and 1991, speaks for itself.

In the period between 1960 and 1979, 16 new museums or individual collections were founded: in Labin (1960), Velika Gorica (1960), Rijeka (1961),

1961 – Buzet
1962 – Senj, Otočac
1963 – Trogir
1965 – Jastrebarsko
1967 – Ogulin
1969 – Knin, Krapina
1971 – Kalinovac, Daruvar
1973 – Zaprešić, Biograd na moru
1974 – Cavtat, Našice
1975 – Obrovac
1976 – Umag
1978 – Mali Lošinj
1979 – Škrip
1983 – Benkovac
1985 – Slatina
1986 – Omiš
1988 – Zelina

By 1991, Croatian archaeology was in one way or another present in 70 museums. There was virtually no town with 10,000 people or more without its own museum, and even several smaller

215 Until the mid-1970s, in Yugoslavia, it was possible to study archaeology at the Universities of Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, and Zadar's Faculty of Philosophy (from 1957 onwards). In 1974 a curriculum in archaeology was also introduced at the University of Skopje, N. Macedonia. Regarding the number of students, the Universities of Zagreb and Belgrade had the largest cohorts.

216 The Archaeological Institute was later included in the Centre for Historical Sciences of the University of Zagreb (1976) or the Institute of Historical Sciences of the University of Zagreb (1987). Eventually, in 1992, it became a fully independent scientific research institution.

towns had some sort of permanent or temporary facilities. In this sense, Croatia was by far the most developed of all Yugoslav republics.

Less than 25 years after 1945, the number of archaeology professionals rose from 10 to 15 to more than 50 (*Arheo* 1, 1981, 54–56). How highly valued cultural heritage was in Croatia is also illustrated by the fact that from the late 1940s students in Zagreb could take courses on about museum work. In 1984, the Chair in Museum Studies was established at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Zagreb, which soon provided complete undergraduate and graduate curricula on heritage management, protection and presentation. This was and still is the only such curriculum in all the countries of the former Yugoslavia.

Some larger regional museums also gave a boost to the development of academic archaeology. One such case is the Archaeological Museum of Istria in Pula. Its tradition already stemmed from the 19th century, though it was not officially founded as a municipal museum until 1902. Between the two world wars (the period of Italian rule), it developed into the most important museum in Istria. In 1947, it was renamed with its present title. In 1960, a major refurbishment of the museum venues began, which enabled a significant expansion of museum work, displays and the inclusion of the open-air monuments into museum collections and sites. A central role was given to Roman monuments in the town – the amphitheatre, arch of Sergii and forum temple. In the 1970s, the museum had five archaeologists, which made it one of the largest regional archaeological museums at that time, not only in Croatia but in the whole of Yugoslavia, and more archaeologists were only found in the national museums. The museum has published its journal – *Histria archaeologica* – since 1972, and its staff have been engaged in several important projects throughout Istria.

Among the staff who revived the work of museum after the Second World War was Štefan Mlakar (1913–2001), the first archaeologist in Istria after the war, who assisted in the revitalisation of the museum in Poreč, and was credited for intensive research on Roman Pula during the restoration of the town after the bombing during the war, and as a pioneer of underwater archaeology in Istria.[217] Important pioneering works in Slavic archaeology in Istria were done by Branko Marušić (1926–1991), who was also the contract professor for medieval archaeology at the University of Ljubljana. On the other hand, Vesna Jurkić (1944–2012), a specialist in ancient archaeology, achieved remarkable results in promoting the museum and Istrian archaeological heritage in the 1970s and 1980s.[218] During the whole period after the Second World War, the Archaeological Museum of Istria was a genuine 'hub' of archaeology in this region. Its staff were also instrumental in developing other archaeological institutions, such as the recently (2006) founded the University of Juraj Dobrila at Pula, where archaeological topics are included in the history curriculum.[219]

Among the museums that made a significant contribution to archaeology's status in Croatia was also the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split. Its tradition goes back to the 19th century, but the museum had great problems with its venues for seventy years. Finally, in 1976, when the new building was opened, the museum displayed its rich collections and research potential. With numerous field projects, mostly of late Roman, medieval and Slavic Dalmatia, and intensive publishing endeavours, the museum became one of the centres of medieval archaeology in Croatia and Yugoslavia

217 His major works include monographs on the Roman amphitheatre in Pula (Mlakar 1957), the Roman town of Pula (Mlakar 1958) and a monograph on Roman Istria (Mlakar 1962).

218 In 1994 she founded the International Center for Archaeology Brioni-Medulin, a research institution under UNESCO patronage.

219 Most recently, in 2015, at the Faculty of Philosophy (University of Pula), a Centre for Interdisciplinary Archaeological Landscape Research (*Centar za interdisciplinarna arheološka istraživanja krajolika*) was founded.

as a whole.[220] Stjepan Gunjača (1909–1981) and Dušan Jelovina (1927–2008) were the most prominent directors and scholars from the museum whose contributions to the development of the national archaeology of Croatia were essential.

The development of the public heritage protection service was equally successful and fast, and is probably the best example of such a project in former Yugoslavia before 1991. If we take into account the complexity of the development and implementation of legislation, the establishment of institutional networks,[221] and enormous pressure exerted by developments in post-war Croatia (and Yugoslavia as well), one could only admire what was achieved in this field and the level of quality that was reached in less than three decades. Taking into account only the very high number of architectural monuments (e.g. Roman, medieval, castles, civil and monastic palaces and other buildings, along with monuments, historical towns) – Croatia was probably the richest of all the Yugoslav republics – the level of heritage protection service and restoration works was, indeed, admirable. The reasons behind this were a long tradition of such service, dating to as far back as before the First World War, a relatively good museum network at the regional and local level (at the time, museums were an essential element in the protection of cultural monuments) and the significantly improved legislation (federal and republican).

Also instrumental for further advancement of the service was the setting up regional units of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments (today the Conservation Office at the Ministry of Culture), which significantly improved the quality of the service and its presence in the field. Naturally, with the establishment of new regional units more positions for archaeologists became available. In the early years of post-war Yugoslavia, each republic had at least one central Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, and Croatia had three – in Zagreb (1948), Split (1947) and Rijeka (1947) – not only due to its geographical shape but also because of its comparatively rich heritage and tradition. With the decentralisation of the heritage service, there soon followed branches in Zadar (1954), Dubrovnik (1960) and Osijek (1967), and later one in Šibenik.[222] Another important institution that worked in the restoration of monuments and objects was Restavratorski zavod Hrvatske (est. 1966), which greatly expanded restoration workshops at museums such as those in Split Zadar and Zagreb.

In the 1980s, archaeology reached its pinnacle in the former Yugoslavia. Compared to the other republics, archaeology in Croatia was the most developed in terms of infrastructure. In several fields, e.g. classical archaeology, architecture, epigraphy, history of ancient art, Croatian archaeology was the undisputed leader in Yugoslavia, and the figures are quite impressive. In 1989, in a country of 4.7 million, about 160 archaeologists were employed in 68 institutions (54 museums, from local to national, ten institutes for heritage protection, two universities, two research institutes).

What also contributed to the success of archaeology, and especially its penetration to local levels, is decentralisation, which emerges as one of the powerful features of Croatian archaeology. The development of archaeology in Croatia, at least since the 1970s, did not depend on developments in a single main centre, as was the case in Serbia and, to an even greater degree, in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The regular appearance of

220 It is also worth noting that this museum was the only one in the former Yugoslavia traditionally dedicated to national antiquities.

221 Based on the Yugoslav Law on Protection of Cultural Monuments from 1945 (amended in 1960), several new institutions were established: the Institute for Restoration of Artworks (1948), Croatian Restoration Institute (1966), Society of Professionals and Associates of Museums, Galleries and Conservation offices 'Museion' (1946), and the journal *Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora* SR Hrvatske (News of Museum Professionals and Conservators in Croatia 1952).

222 Until the early 1990s, alongside the central office, five regional branches of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Croatia existed. Today, after several reforms in the last two decades, the number of regional branches is 22.

quite numerous archaeological institutions at a regional level became the cornerstone of Croatian archaeology, which in the second half of the 20th century ensured constant development and high quality performance despite the economic and political crises in Yugoslavia, and contributed immensely to the strengthening of the archaeological profession even after 1991.

Already since the end of the 1970s, there have been four regional archaeological centres with strong institutions – in Zagreb, Split, Zadar and Pula. Each of them contributed to archaeological progress in their own regional framework, and at the national and even federal levels. The absence of a strong hierarchy and 'division of work' proved to be an outstanding advantage in many respects compared to the conditions seen in the other national archaeologies in the former Yugoslav republics.

Strong encouragement for such evolution stemmed from the fact that Croatia is extremely rich in archaeological, historical and other cultural monuments of the highest class, even in a broader European context. The well-developed archaeological structure and public service in Croatia, in combination with the copious and highly spectacular sites and monuments that generally, but not exclusively, originated from Roman Dalmatia, resulted in investigations and restoration of several world-famous locations and structures (e.g. Diocletian's Palace in Split, the Euphrasian Basilica in Poreč, both on the UNESCO Cultural Heritage List, the amphitheatre in Pula, the Roman town of Salona and, more recently, the Greek field division at Stari Grad field on the island of Hvar (also on the UNESCO list), the Temple of Augustus in Narona and many others, all of which require very competent scholars.

Over the last six decades, prehistoric archaeology has also made an enormous leap forward. In a relatively short period of only a few decades, the dense network of archaeological national, regional and local institutions contributed to discovering thousands of previously unknown prehistoric sites. This enabled cultural and chronological systems for the Palaeolithic through to the Iron Age in Croatia's territory to be re-defined and updated. Some prehistoric sites – aside from the well-known Neanderthal remains from Krapina – like Vučedol, the Eneolithic settlement above the Danube near Vukovar, or Kaptol near Požega, and the large Iron Age cemetery of monumental barrows, became famous for their richness and cultural importance across the whole of south-eastern Europe. The exceptional wealth of archaeological sites and discoveries re-state the high position and publicly recognised the importance of archaeology in Croatia. In no other republic of the former federation has archaeology received such recognition.[223] In this respect, it is important to re-iterate that, until recently, all archaeological activities in Croatia were financed by public sources and carried out by public (state, regional or municipal) institutions. Even today, when private companies implement a large portion of the archaeological research in preventive projects, the rate of public financing is still very high.

In international cooperation, especially concerning joint collaborative projects, Croatian archaeology already had a tradition before the Second World War. For foreign scholars, the most attractive were, obviously, major Roman sites and monuments, e.g. Salona and Diocletian's Palace. In the 1920 and 1930s Eynar Dyggve, a Danish architect and archaeologist, worked in Croatia, and continued to do so after the Second World War.[224] In Salona there was also Rudolf Egger, an

223 There are currently 225–230 public museums, art galleries and collections in Croatia, an impressive number for a country with approximately 4.7 million inhabitants (data from http://www.mdc.hr/muzeji. Aspx). In comparison, Slovenia has a population of around two million and a much higher GDP, but there are far fewer institutions of this kind, at around 70–80.

224 For his work in researching Salona, he was awarded honorary citizenship of the city of Solin. His major works on Salona include papers published in the series *Recherches à Salone I* (1928) with J. Brønsted*; II* (1933) with F. Weilbach; *Forschungen in Salona* III (1939), with R. Egger; *Salona christiana,* 1934. For a complete bibliography, see L'Orange (1962/63).

Austrian archaeologist and professor at the University of Vienna. However, during the first two decades after the Second World War, foreign scholars were most frequently present at the University of Zagreb (as occasional guest teachers or visiting researchers), some also in joint museum exhibitions and restoration projects. In this first stage, there were not many international research projects in Croatia. Full cooperation only started in the 1980s, again on sites in Dalmatia. Project Hvar (from the late 1908s onwards) is the best example of this.[225] However, the full flourishing of international cooperation emerged in the years after 1991, when Croatia gained independence, and within the gradual process of becoming a full member of the EU.

Concerning the main conceptual guidelines in Croatian archaeology, there are multiple directions of development characterised through the major regional centres. From a historical perspective, two chief components or traditions are in the foreground – 'Dalmatian' and 'continental' archaeology. Today these can be identified in the biographies of two archaeological university departments, in Zadar and Zagreb. This dualism is by no means exclusive, and there are numerous examples of mixing and hybridisation of the two components. With professors moving from one university to another, they also brought their own perspectives on archaeology with them (e.g. Mate Suić moved from Zadar to Zagreb, followed by his student Marin Zaninović, also following the 'Dalmatian' tradition). However, a certain level of duality has been preserved in the character of the two archaeological traditions present in Croatia.

The roots of the Dalmatian tradition reach back many centuries and connect this component of Croatian archaeology with Italian schools for studying antiquities and ancient history. Nowadays, it is mostly oriented towards classical, that is, Roman provincial culture. This has always focused on researching the Roman, Greek and Byzantine sites and monuments, emphasising the study of written, epigraphic, art, and architectural sources. The principal frame of reference is based on ancient history and the history of ancient art. This is not only a consequence of the centuries-long cultural and political link between Dalmatia and Venice and Italian culture, but also of the exquisite wealth of ancient monuments in the wider area of Dalmatia. The ancient regional history provides plenty of important events and underlying historical narratives against which new archaeological discoveries and knowledge can be tested. There were no significant or radical changes and shifts in this field in the 20th century, including the period after the Second World War. What is discernible is the gradual improvement of knowledge and widening of the topics or agendas in classical archaeology and the archaeology of the provinces to include the study of key historical events and processes such as the foundation of Greek and Roman towns, regional military and political history, the development of Roman art and architecture, prosopography, ancient cults and religion and numismatics, as well as new investigations of the economic, cultural and symbolic aspects of the process of Romanisation, settlement patterns, landscape studies, research on identity and so on.

Moreover, a significant local tradition of the archaeology of early Christianity was established within this field. Croatia, and more specifically Dalmatia, is one of the European regions with the most extensive evidence pertinent to this topic. This tradition represents a kind of bridge between Roman and national archaeology (i.e. the archaeology of the early Slavs in Croatia) and benefits from the abundance of remains of sacral architecture.

Examples of several major protagonists can be used to illustrate the Dalmatian tradition's agenda and its impact on the whole of Croatian

225 This project involved collaboration among the Archaeological Museum from Split, Centre for Cultural Heritage Hvar, University of Ljubljana and University of Bradford. Scholars and students also came from the University of Newcastle, University College London, and other universities in the former Yugoslavia.

archaeology. Mate Suić (1915–2002), professor of ancient archaeology at the Universities of Zadar (1956–1968) and Zagreb (1968–1981) and a Director of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (1954–1966), is probably the key figure in the Dalmatian component of contemporary Croatian archaeology. His opus in protohistoric and classical archaeology, epigraphy, history of art, ancient religion, and toponymy brings together practically all of the essential aspects that demonstrate the Dalmatian component's excellence. His most significant piece of work and the climax of his research was the comprehensive synthesis of the development and history of ancient landscapes and urbanisation (Greek and Roman) in the eastern Adriatic, which he systematised in a comprehensive monograph (Suić 1976). This true masterpiece maintained its status as the key reference work in the following decades.

Another equally important scientist of a similar profile and research orientation was Duje Rendić-Miočević (1916–1993) (more in Zaninović 1992). His career began in 1941 in the Archaeological Museum in Split, where after the Second World War he was appointed the Director. He invested great efforts to rescue Salona's archaeological remains and revive the major archaeological journal in Dalmatia (*Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku*), the leading publication in the area for nearly a century. In 1954 he transferred to the University of Zagreb, where he became the chief professor of classical archaeology and the Director of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. He was also one of the founders of the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Zagreb and the University's archaeological journal *Opuscula archaeologica*. His excellence in science made him a member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, German Archaeological Institute, Austrian Archaeological Institute, and Italian National Institute for Prehistory and Protohistory in Florence. He was also a member of the UNESCO International Committee for Greek and Latin epigraphy. During his long career, D. Rendić-Miočević published about 200 papers, mainly dealing with the Illyrians and their contacts with the Greeks and Romans, Romanisation of the eastern Adriatic, and the culture and religion of the indigenous peoples in Dalmatia. The tradition of Suić and Rendić-Miočević continued with the work of Marin Zaninović (1930), also a professor of ancient archaeology at the University of Zagreb.

The routes of development of continental Croatian archaeology in the first half of the 20th century were strongly influenced by the traditional central European idea of cultural history. This was promoted in the broader region by the archaeological school of the University of Vienna, whose prominent figures at the time in Zagreb were Brunšmid and Hoffiller. After the Second World War, cultural history traditions were built upon ideas and concepts deriving from post-war German archaeology. This was particularly the case in prehistoric archaeology.

Continental archaeology was not as uniform as the Dalmatian school; instead, it developed by relying on several directions of the central European school. The tradition of using the natural science disciplines geology and palaeontology were very influential in Palaeolithic archaeology (from Gorjanović-Kramberger to Mirko Malez). Only some two or three decades ago was this area of research taken over by an archaeologist who, in addition to the embedded dominant discourse of natural science, introduced elements of anthropology and other disciplines studying human culture.

A much more significant shift in development occurred in the archaeology of the Neolithic and Eneolithic. Here, a distinct, systemic approach was inaugurated by Stojan Dimitrijević (1928–1981), a professor at the University of Zagreb, who continued his specialisation at the University of Heidelberg with Vladimir Milojčić (1918–1978), one of the leading specialists in Europe of the 1950s and 1960s for southeast European and Aegean prehistory. Dimitrijević's approach emphasised the analysis of morphology and style of

pottery as the basis for determining regional typo-chronological groups and cultures of the Neolithic and Eneolithic of the western Balkans and Slavonia. The level of systematisation brought by Dimitrijević was almost non-existent in Croatian archaeology before his major publications, which were entirely in line with the current archaeology of cultures and were a dominant tendency in the central European idea of prehistoric archaeology. His view can be described as a mixture of German positivistic archaeology and Childe's early ideas, emphasising diffusionism. With his papers and the typo-chronological system, Dimitrijević became an expert in the Neolithic and Eneolithic of the western Balkans, and his concepts were relatively widely accepted in Yugoslavian archaeology.[226] This tradition has only recently been supplemented by topics that encompass other aspects of the early farming cultures and communities (such as early metallurgy, symbolic systems and social structures). Another scientist who made a significant contribution to Neolithic archaeology (and in the research on other prehistoric epochs) in Dalmatia was Šime Batović. Similarly to Dimitrijević, he also proposed the main chronological and typological schemes for prehistoric periods, but his work remained mainly focused on the narrow Adriatic region.

The Bronze and Iron Age archaeology in Croatia was systematically built after 1950. It is, perhaps, this field where one can get the best impression of the integration of the two traditions, or schools, of Croatian archaeology. The central European archaeological school is represented by the approach introduced into German archaeology in the 1940s by Gero von Merhart from Marburg and his students at the time. This view is primarily based on the analysis of the material culture, but with cautious use of historical analysis in the interpretation.[227] Slovene archaeologists, who in the 1950s were in close contact with Merhart's successors, played a significant role in introducing this approach, above all France Starè, a guest professor from Ljubljana. Later on, this direction was followed and further developed by K. Vinski-Gasparini and Nives Majnarić-Pandžić. Another approach stems from the local tradition of ancient history, that is, the study of communities of protohistoric periods based on historical and epigraphic sources. This school offered an important contribution by integrating linguistic and philological studies in its research, along with their application to the protohistoric period. Indeed, the most influential promoters of this approach were the already mentioned Mate Suić and Duje Rendić-Miočević.

The early Slavic (or early Croat) archaeology is a particular chapter in the history of archaeology. In this sphere, Croatia had the longest tradition of all the national archaeological schools of former Yugoslavia, originating from the end of the 19th century. However, the onset of genuine, systematic research, including clear, critical reflection on the archaeological evidence and setting-up of the concept of early medieval archaeology, can be placed in the period after the Second World War. The crucial role in Croatia (and at the same time also in Slovenia and Yugoslavia in general) was played by Zdenko Vinski (1913-1996), from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. His major contribution was in the thorough distinction of the cultural traditions of the Late Roman and Byzantine manifestations from the early Slavic ones. This work laid the foundations for the well-grounded critical approach and standards of the national archaeology of the Slavic peoples. It also brought the Dalmatian tradition of early Croatian archaeology out of its 'confinement' within a strictly national

226 Some of the extremely influential works by Dimitrijević include his overviews of the Neolithic and Eneolithic cultures within the series *Prehistory of Yugoslavian Countries* (*Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja*, vol. 2 – Neolithic, vol. 3 – Eneolithic) in which he established a reference system for the two periods in the regions of the then western (continental) Yugoslavia. See Dimitrijević (1979a-f).

227 More details on this school are given in the chapter on Slovene archaeology, where the activities of Stane Gabrovec are described.

framework. It enabled it to develop into one of the competent regional schools with important institutions, such as the Museum of the Croatian National Monuments, and prominent scientists (e.g. Janko Belošević from the University in Zadar). One should not forget that for several decades after the Second World War this was still a highly politically charged topic, concerning both the archaeologies of the neighbouring countries (Italy, Austria, Hungary) and the republics and nations within Yugoslavia.

In terms of more recent aspects of the development of theoretical and critical epistemology, the elements that could potentially be designated as processual or post-processual could, until recently, rarely be found in Croatian archaeology. International cooperation with European archaeologists was considerable, and the traditional international partners in Croatian archaeology used to come from either central European institutions or from the Mediterranean area, where the topics being considered were pertinent to the Anglo-American schools' theoretical discourse. It is only in recent times, with the intensification of contacts with British and American archaeologists who have excavated in Croatia, that elements of this discourse have started to emerge.[228] Compared to Slovenia, where the truly new (processual and post-processual) trends can already be followed from the beginning of the 1980s, Croatian archaeology showed a somewhat more conservative attitude. However, it was still advanced enough not to be labelled old-fashioned anymore. In fact, the 'mainstream' Croatian and Slovene archaeologies remain very similar, given their modern-day conceptual development.

Croatian archaeology after 'Yugoslavia' (1991–)

Immediately after declaring independence in 1991, war broke out in Croatia (later also in Bosnia and Herzegovina) in the territories with a Serbian majority. The nation's cultural heritage suffered extensive damage in the years of war, 1991-1995, and thus the restoration of monuments was one of the chief priorities for all of the heritage-related disciplines after the conflict. The 1990s were definitely far from ideal for the development of archaeology, above all due to the war amidst which communication with the institutions from the largest part of the former Yugoslavia ceased for some years. Additionally, many relationships in archaeological research became tense because of some actions taken by Serbian institutions.[229] Further, the Croatian government exerted intense ideological pressure on many historical sciences, including archaeology,[230] requiring them to create new narratives about Croatian history. One of the consequences of such a situation in Croatia (and in other countries from the former Yugoslavia) was a significant rise in pseudo-archaeology and pseudo-history. For the most part, pseudo-archaeology was nationalist, even racist, and thus contributed in its own way to the ethnic and religious conflicts. Still, despite the highly charged atmosphere and strong pressure from the highest political circles to create an 'alternative' past, professional Croatian archaeology managed to preserve its scientific integrity and credibility. It resisted the attempts to undermine the fundamental academic interpretations of the national past. This was mostly possible thanks to the high quality

228 Croatia, in recent decades, probably holds the top place among all of the countries of former Yugoslavia in terms of the international teams from Germany, Italy, France, the UK, and the USA with which collaborative research had been conducted. The presence of foreign scientists has increased from the 1980s onwards in particular. One of the recent important international events was the 13th Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologist, held in Zadar in 2007.

229 Among these is the removal of the displayed objects from the Museum in Vukovar on behalf of the National Museum in Belgrade during the Serbian occupation of the town.

230 The Croatian president at the time, Franjo Tuđman, a historian by profession, on many occasions publicly promoted pseudo-archaeological ideas about the Iranian (prehistoric, non-Slavic) origin of the Croats.

and long-lasting tradition of the archaeological discipline that, over decades, developed into a competent participant in international scientific discourse. Its stability is demonstrated by the fact that, after 1991, there have been no major ideological or epistemological upheavals in Croatian archaeology.[231]

In the period from the late 1990s onwards, once the new state was stabilised after the war of 1991-1995, Croatia began its process of gradually joining the European Union, opening extensive possibilities for its development in all major sectors, science, culture and education included. With independence, several reforms were needed to adjust to the new state and social regime. In the fields pertinent to archaeology, these changes were not as radical as in some other sectors because culture, science and education were already the domains of individual republics and not the federal state. In these fields, it was more about adjusting to some new administrative and organisational frameworks than to any radical changes. At the Universities of Zagar and Zagreb, the major reform was the adoption of the so-called European 'Bologna system' of 3 + 2 years of undergraduate and graduate studies. What also changed significantly at the universities is a much higher level of international cooperation than ever before. In the last decade or so, more than a hundred students from Croatia have been involved in student exchanges and international schools or courses in cooperation with many European universities. Moreover, the number of guest professors increased to a level at which this is now routine. In the domain of education in archaeology, new institutions were established, which also included archaeology. Today the Faculties of Philosophy in Pula (est. 2006), Split (re-established in 2005, after the previous faculty became a part of the Zadar University), Osijek (est. 2004), Rijeka (est. 1998) and at the Croatian Catholic University, Zagreb (est. 2006) all have professors (archaeologists) teaching selected archaeological topics, most often within the curricula in history or historical heritage.

The museum network continued to grow. Not at the previous speed, but still at a significant pace. Since 1992 some 11 new museums have been added to an already well-established network of museums across the country.

1992 – Kaštela
1995 – Makarska
1996 – Trilj
2005 – Orahovica
2006 – Novigrad, Ozalj, Zadar (Museum of Ancient Glass)
2007 – Vid
2008 – Crikvenica
2018 – Ludbreg

At present, there are somewhere between 80 and 85 museums or similar institutions in Croatia.[232] If we add other archaeological institutions (e.g. provincial Conservation Offices, academic institutions and private archaeological enterprises), we get a figure of some 125 to 130 institutions in Croatia dealing with archaeology.

231 Further discussion on the Yugoslav ideology of fraternity and unity and the Marxist doctrine is in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology. Suffice to say here that the disappearance of both of these ideological doctrines did not change Croatian archaeology's make-up (or that of the other national archaeological schools) significantly after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The traditional model of cultural history remained the basic paradigm after 1991.

232 For some five institutions I could not get dates of their establishment or whether their programmes include archaeology or archaeological heritage.

Fig. 40 Archaeological professional institutions and enterprises in Croatia.

The major changes have been in the domain of heritage protection, where the former semi-autonomous regional Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Monuments were abolished and replaced by Conservation Offices directly subordinated to the Ministry of Culture. In this process, former large regional institutes were divided into more Conservation Offices. From the beginning of the 2000s, each province (*županija*) had its Conservation Office. Altogether, there are 18 such departments today, compared to some seven or eight before 1991. This change increased the presence of archaeologists in the field and notably contributed to the increase of preventive archaeology. However, much more substantial and long-range changes were made concerning the regulations for preventive archaeology. If previous regional institutes for the protection of cultural monuments were the only bodies legally eligible for prescribing protection regimes and research (i.e. rescue archaeology) and monitoring monuments' status, the Conservation Offices were eligible only for issuing protection regimes, conditions and recommendations. They are exempted from 'rescue' research, which became a service provided by other entities (e.g. other

public institutions, museums, universities, institutes, private enterprises). Indeed most of the field research works undertaken in the context of preventive archaeology were on the open market, just as in Slovenia.

This process was greatly accelerated with the construction of motorways in Croatia and is very similar to that seen Slovenia. The amount of work and time pressure for motorway construction required new solutions in preventive archaeology. Allowing private enterprises to do the fieldwork was one of the crucial solutions in this respect.[233] Soon, the private enterprises, as direct contractors or sub-contractors, took over a large share of the market for preventive archaeology.[234]

To conclude, compared to other countries in this book, Croatian archaeology was able to maintain a comparably higher and better status within society in the last century or so. The facts outlined in this chapter, such as the number of archaeological institutions, number of archaeologists within the whole population, well-organised networks of museum and heritage protection services, the number of published papers and books, put Croatia on the very top regarding the overall structure and functioning of archaeology as a discipline and practice. If we look at the map of archaeological institutions in Croatia (Fig. 25), we can see the densest network compared to all other countries presented in this book. What is an especially positive characteristic of the Croatian network is a very large number of institutions on local levels.

One thing we should not ignore is some significant problems that Croatian archaeology has been facing in recent years. The most striking is the pressure of widespread urban development, especially in the areas attractive for tourism, such as on the coast and in historic town centres. The pressure seems so great that the state and its mechanisms for protecting historical landscapes and cultural monuments are hardly coping with it. In this respect, the development of more sustainable strategies is an urgent matter.

233 The whole 'motorway' archaeology and the emergence of private enterprises in Croatian archaeology were also based on the Slovene experience, where this process started some ten years earlier. In Slovenia, highly demanding motorway projects frequently hired archaeologists from Croatia, especially between 2002 and 2010, who soon transferred their experience and knowledge to Croatian motorway archaeology and preventive archaeology in general.

234 In 2013 the Association of Archaeologists was registered at the Croatian Chamber of Economy.

Images

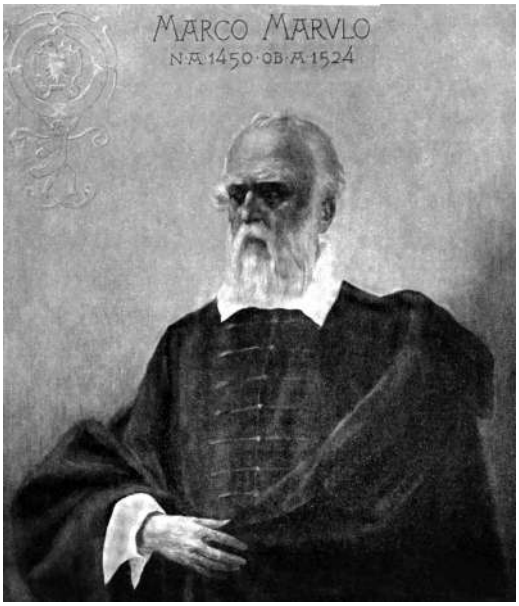


Fig. 41 Marko Marulić (1450–1524). One of the founders of literature in Croatian. Marulić published the Roman inscriptions from Italy and Dalmatia. Painting from 1903.

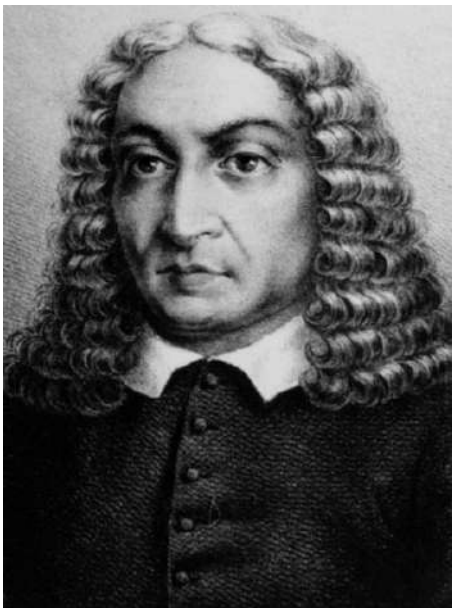


Fig. 42 Ivan Lucić (1604–1679). Historian and cartographer, Author of the very influential study De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex and Inscriptiones Dalmaticae.

Fig. 43 Mauro Orbini (1550?–1611), historian from Dubrovnik, nicknamed the 'Dalmatian Thucydides', author of Il regno de gli Slavi published in 1601 in Pesaro.

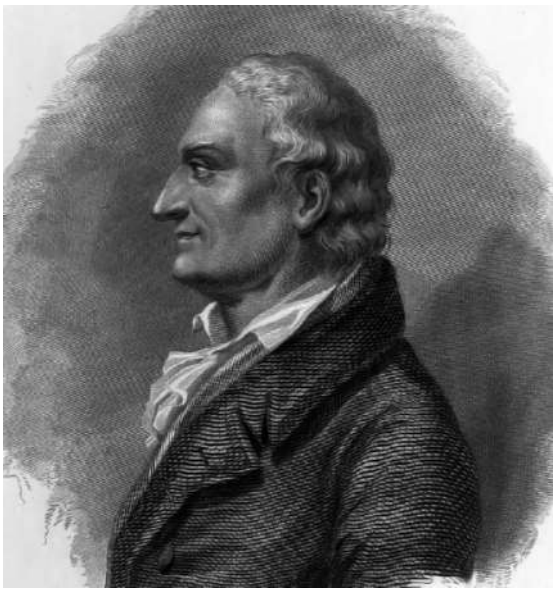


Fig. 44 Alberto Fortis (1741–1803), Venetian traveller and naturalist; collected copious accounts on the archaeology, history, ethnography and geography of Ottoman Dalmatia. Author of Viaggio in Dalmazia, Venice 1774.

Fig. 45 Matija Petar Katančić (1750–1825), Franciscan priest, professor of antiquities at the University of Budapest, numismatician and epigraphist.

Fig. 46 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816–1889), politician and historian, Conservator of the Central Commission for Croatia and Slavonia, and founder of Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities.

Fig. 47 Isidor Kršnjavi (1845–1927), art historian, painter, and the first professor of art history and archaeology at the University of Zagreb. Author of the first archaeological textbook written in a South Slavic language.

Fig. 48 The first venue of the Archaeological Museum in Split (est. 1820), photographed in 1908. The museum building was attached to Diocletian's Palace. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum Split.

Fig. 49 New building of the Archaeological Museum in Split (1930s). Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum Split.

Fig. 50 Amphitheatre in Pula. Painting by Louis François Cassas (1802). From: Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie rédigé d'après l'itinéraire de L. F. Cassas, par Joseph Lavallée. Ouvrage orné d'estampes, cartes et plans, dessinés et levés sur les lieux par Cassas, Paris, 1802.

Fig. 51 National Palace (Narodni dom), Zagreb.
The first seat of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (1846).

Fig. 52 Roman town of Salona (Solin near Split). Capital of the province of Dalmatia. Aerial photo 1930s. Courtesy of the Arhaeological Museum Split.

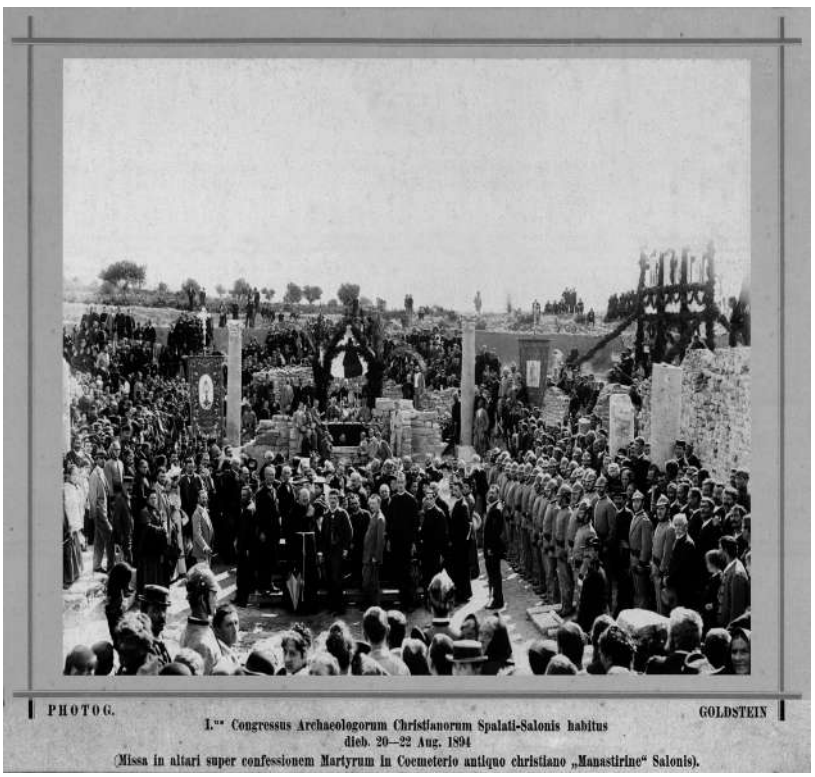

PHOTOG.
GOLDSTEIN
I.mus Congressus Archaeologorum Christianorum Spalati-Salonis habitus
dieb. 20—22 Aug. 1894
Missa in altari super confessionem Martyrum in Coemeterio antiquo christiano „Manastirine“ Salonis).

Fig. 53 Participants at the First Congress of Early Christian archaeology in Split (1894). Holy Mass at Manastirine basilica. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum Split.

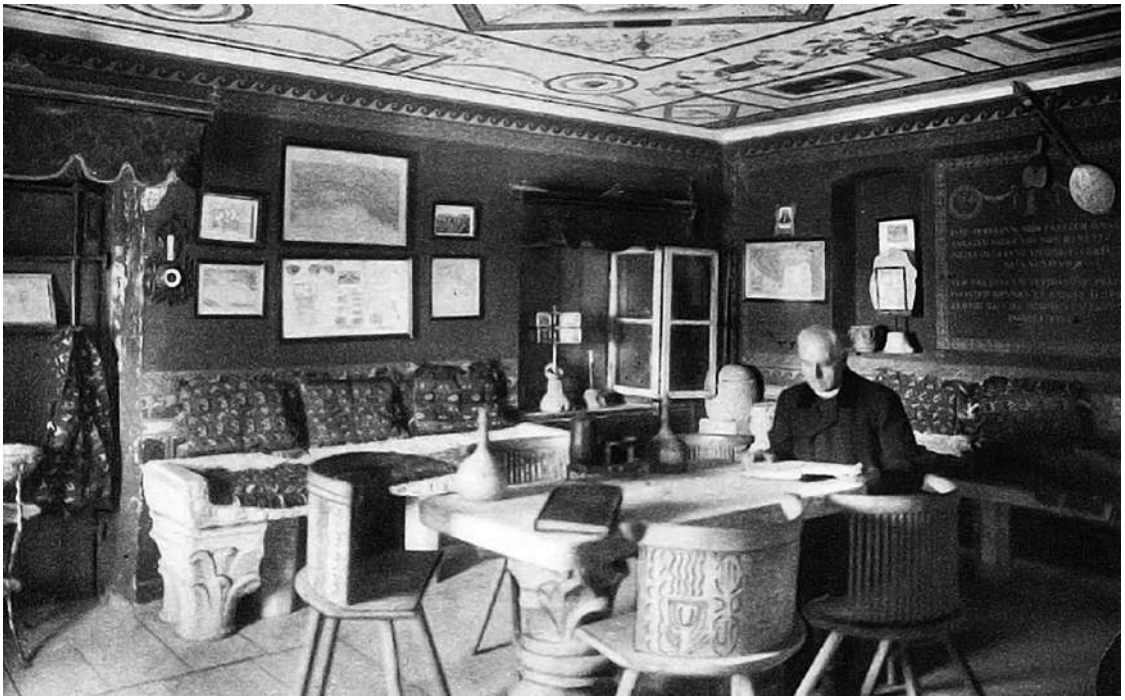


Fig. 54 Frane Bulić (1846–1934) in his cabinet in Tusculum in Salona (1920s). Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum Split.

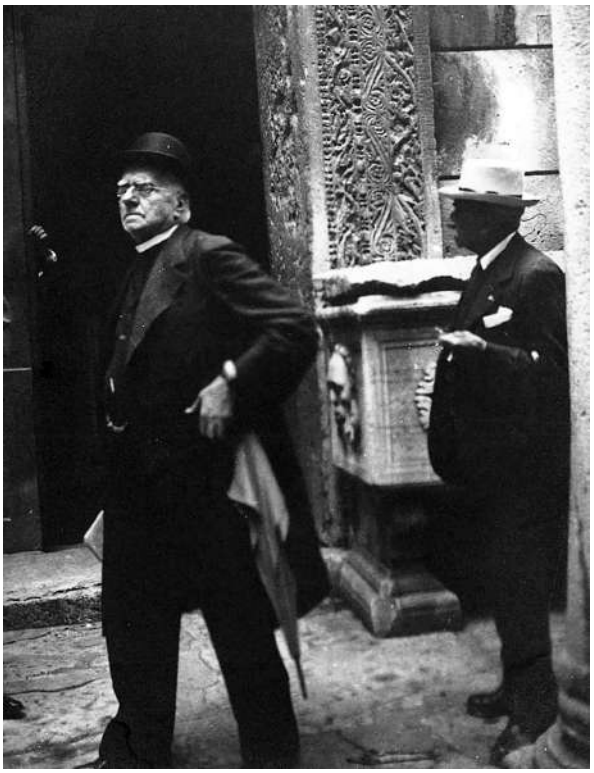


Fig. 55 Frane Bulić and Arthur Evans in Diocletian's Palace in Split (20th – 21st of June, 1932). Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum Split.

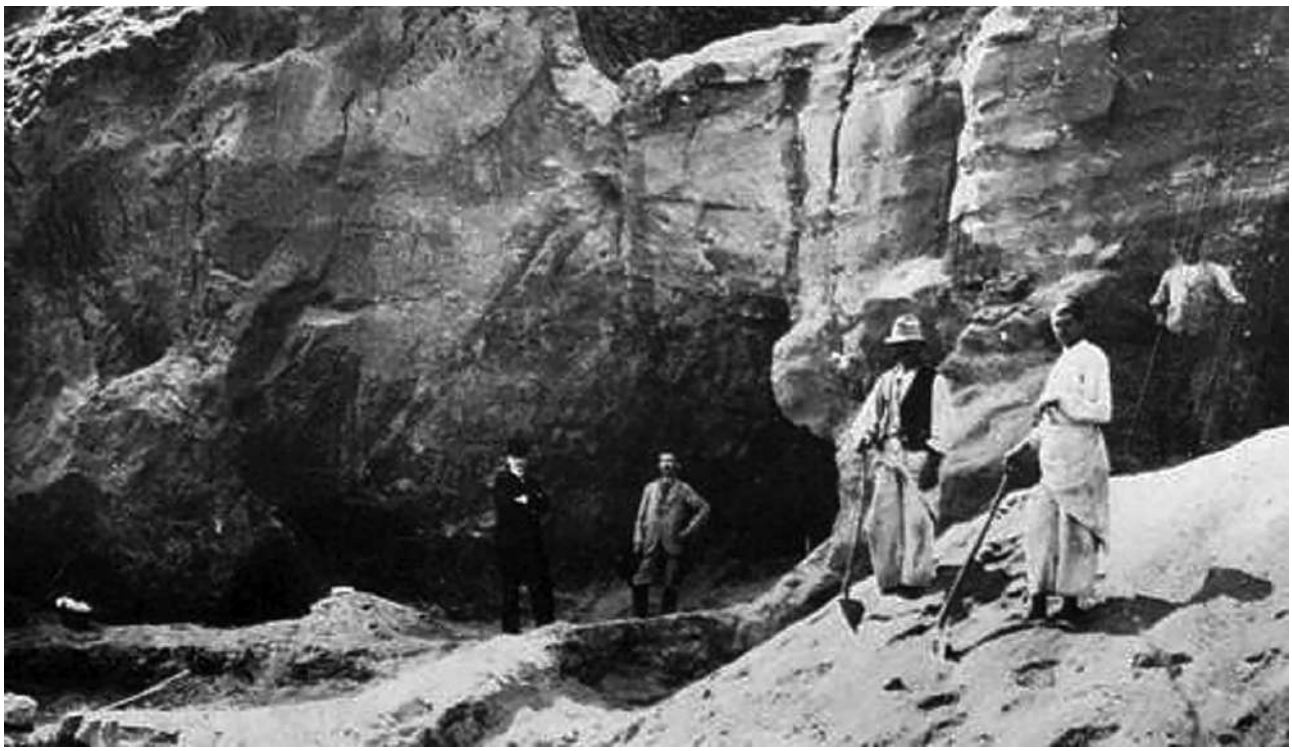


Fig. 56 Dragutin Gorjanović Kramberger (second from the left) at the Neanderthal site of Krapina (around 1900).

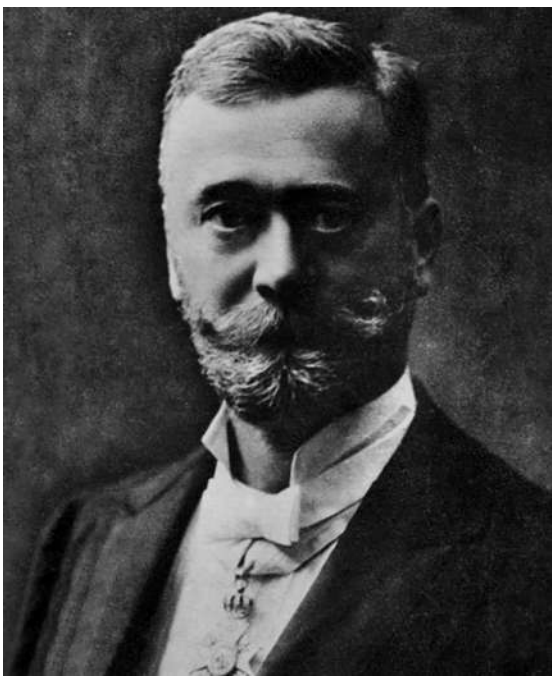


Fig. 57 Dragutin Gorjanović Kramberger (1865–1936). Founder of palaeontology and Palaeolithic archaeology in Croatia.

Fig. 58 Šime Ljubić (1822–1896). Historian, archaeologist, and Director of the National Museum in Zagreb 1871–1892).

Fig. 59 Josip Brunšmid (1858–1929). The first professor of archaeology at the University of Zagreb, also Director of the Archaeological Museum Zagreb. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

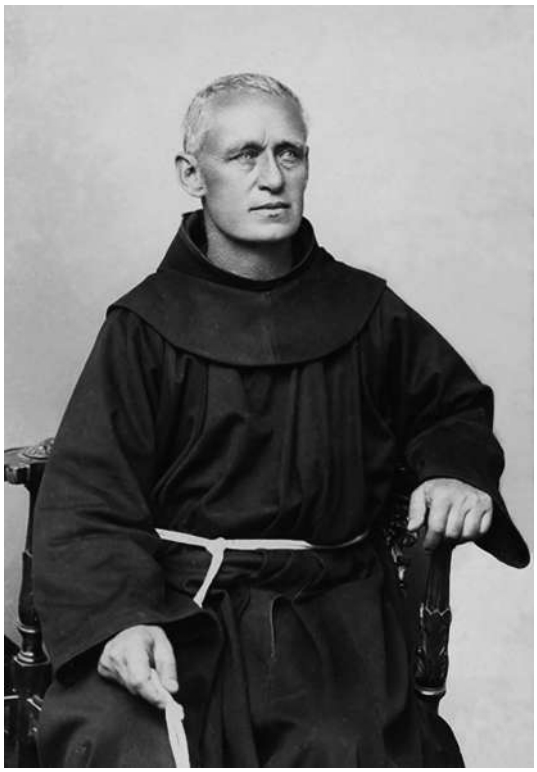


Fig. 60 Lujo Marun (1857–1939). Franciscan priest and founder of the first museum of Croatian national antiquities in Knin (1893).

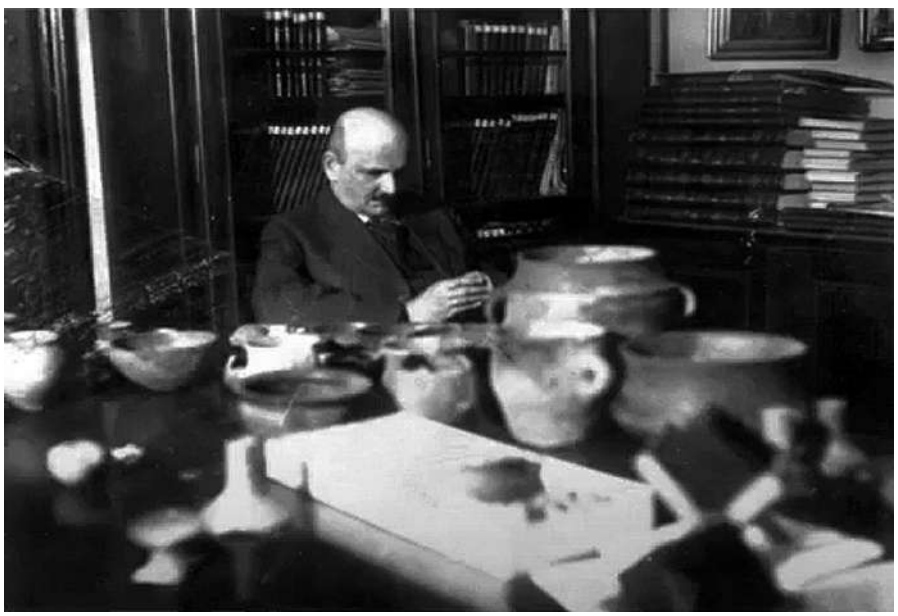


Fig. 61 Viktor Hoffiler (1877–1954) at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb (early 1930s). Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

Fig. 62 Town Hall in Osijek, the first venues of the museum in Osijek established in 1877. Photo: https://mso.hr/home-3/.

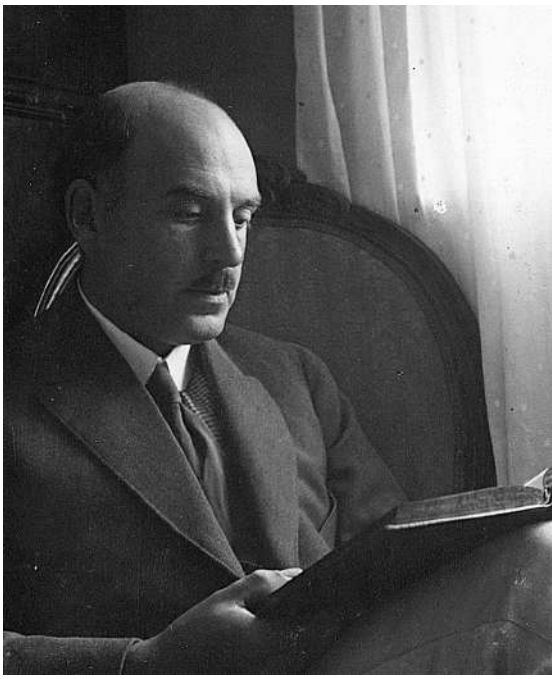


Fig. 63 Ejnar Dyggve (1887–1961). Danish researcher of Salona between 1922 and 1960. Honorary citizen of Solin. Photo taken in 1926. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum Split.

Fig. 64 Mihovil Abramić (1884–1962), Director of the Archaeological Museum in Split. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum Split.

Fig. 65 The church of Saint Donat (9th century) in Zadar. Venues of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar between 1877 and 1954. In front: Slovene painter Božidar Jakac (1961).

Fig. 66 Fontana House in Knin, venues of the Museum of Croatian Antiquities between 1893 and 1934 (Gunjača 1958).

Fig. 67 Grga Novak (1888–1978), historian and archaeologists, professor at the Univesrity of Zagreb, President of the Yugoslav (i.e. Croatian) Academy of Sciences and Arts, excavator of the Neolithic sites on the island of Hvar.

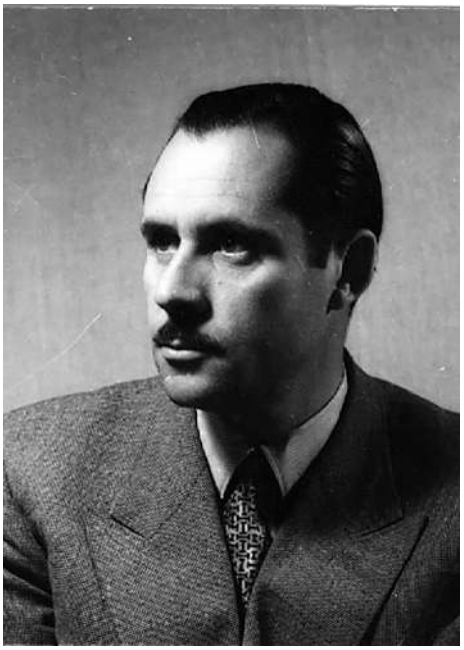


Fig. 68 Mate Suić (1915–2002). Curator and Director of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, and professor of ancient history at the Universities of Zadar and Zagreb.

Fig. 69 Duje Rendić-Miočević (1916–1993). Curator and Director of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, and professor of Classical and Roman archaeology at the university of Zagreb. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

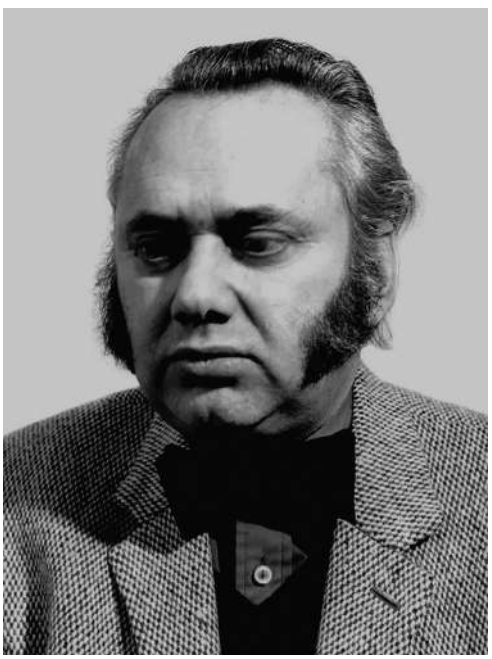


Fig. 70 Stojan Dimitrijević (1928–1981). The first professor of prehistoric archaeology at the University of Zagreb (1961–1981).

Fig. 71 Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini (1919–1995). Curator for prehistory at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (1944–1979). Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

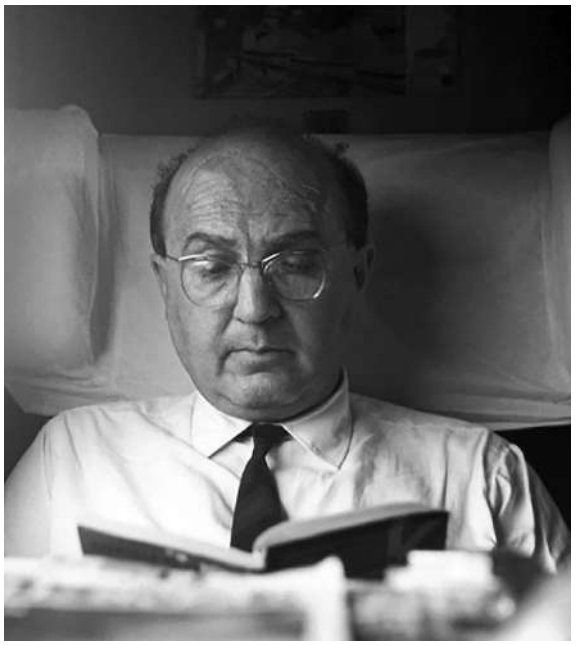


Fig. 72 Zdenko Vinski (1913–1996). Curator for medieval archaeology at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (1945–1979). Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

Fig. 73 Ružica Drechsler Bižić (center) (1931–2008). Curator at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Photo taken in Lika (Dautbegović (2009).

Fig. 74 Vesna Jurkić Girardi (left) (1944–2012), Director of the Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, guiding Queen Elizabeth II and Josip Broz Tito in amphitheatre in Pula (1972). Glas Istre 20. 10. 2019.

Fig. 75 Šime Batović (1927–2016), curator at the Archaeological Museum Zadar and professor of prehistory at the University of Zadar, excavating the Roman cemetery in Zadar (1953–1954). Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum Zadar.

IV. SERBIA

Serbia is a landlocked country with a territory of about 77,000 km2 (excluding Kosovo) extending from Hungary in the north to N. Macedonia in the south. To the west, it borders with Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina along the line of the Danube river, the western slopes of Fruška Mountain (Fruška Gora) and the Drina river. In the clockwise direction, Serbia's northern and northeastern borders with Hungary and Romania in the Pannonian Plain are not marked by morphological features or rivers, but result from historical territorial changes after the First World War. Southwards, the border with Romania is marked by the River Danube with its 100 km long Iron Gorge (*Đerdapska klisura*). South from the Iron Gorge, the border with Bulgaria crosses westernmost parts of the Balkan mountains (*Stara Planina*) and then continues southwards towards the Osogovo mountains and the border with N. Macedonia. From then on, the Serbian southern border with N. Macedonia goes in the east-west direction. At Preševo the border with Kosovo starts, and turns northwards and crosses mountainous terrain up to the Kopaonik mountains, then turns southwest and reaches mountains of Rogozina and Mokra gora, and northeastern Montenegro. The border with Montenegro continues for some 120 km towards the northwest, where it reaches eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Serbia is also very heterogeneous in geographical terms, although not to the same extent as neighbouring Croatia. In general, there are two major geographical and historical regions. The first is Vojvodina (ca. 28% of Serbia's entire territory) in the north. This region is part of the broader Pannonian Plain and extends north of the Sava and Danube rivers. In many respects, it is similar to the neighbouring region of Slavonia in Croatia. For the most part, the Vojvodina is a plain of up to 200 m in altitude. The only two higher hilly areas are Fruška gora, a limestone and densely forested mountain ridge rising for some 500 m between the alluvial plains of the Danube and Sava rivers, and the Vršac mountains (*Vršačke planine*), composed of Palaeozoic minerals in the extreme southwestern edge of Vojvodina, reaching a height of 650 m. Lowland areas at an altitude of about 200 m are mostly composed of alluvial deposits and large loess terraces dissected by numerous rivers, other surface streams and artificial drainage channels. Before the intensive amelioration of large areas of Vojvodina, which started in the 19th century and continued for more than a century making Vojvodina highly suitable for large scale farming, this region contained extensive marshlands and floodplains around major rivers.

Serbia 'proper' (or Serbia in the narrow sense of the word) extends from peri-Pannonian areas south of Danube and continues between the River Drina in the west and Balkan mountains in the east. The central axis, north-south oriented, is a large alluvial Morava River Valley connecting the Danube on the north with N. Macedonia to the south. The Morava Valley is flanked on western and eastern sides with high mountains, Dinaric to the west, Carpathian, and the Balkans to the east. Along the northern part of Morava Valley lies the hilly region of Šumadija ('*Forested country*'), Serbia's core area in the 19th century. West of Šumadija lies Western Serbia, a high mountain area draining to the Drina river, intersected with small and medium-size valleys suitable for settlement and agriculture. Eastern Serbia is a similar country but with mountains that are, on average, lower. This is the least settled area of Serbia, with nearly 50% of it covered with forests on the Balkan mountains. Major settlement areas are individual basins spread around the region and areas along the Timok river. Southern Serbia extends along the Southern Morava river, from Stalać Gorge in the north to N. Macedonia in the south,

flanked by Kosovo and Bulgaria. Here, the major town is Niš, near the confluence of the Rivers Nišava and Southern Morava. In this region, the settlement areas are along southern Morava Valley and in basins between the major mountains.

Today, the most suitable land for traditional agriculture is in Vojvodina and the Middle and Lower Morava Valley and other major rivers' valleys. The hilly regions have smaller, widely dispersed areas of cultivable land, but they are more

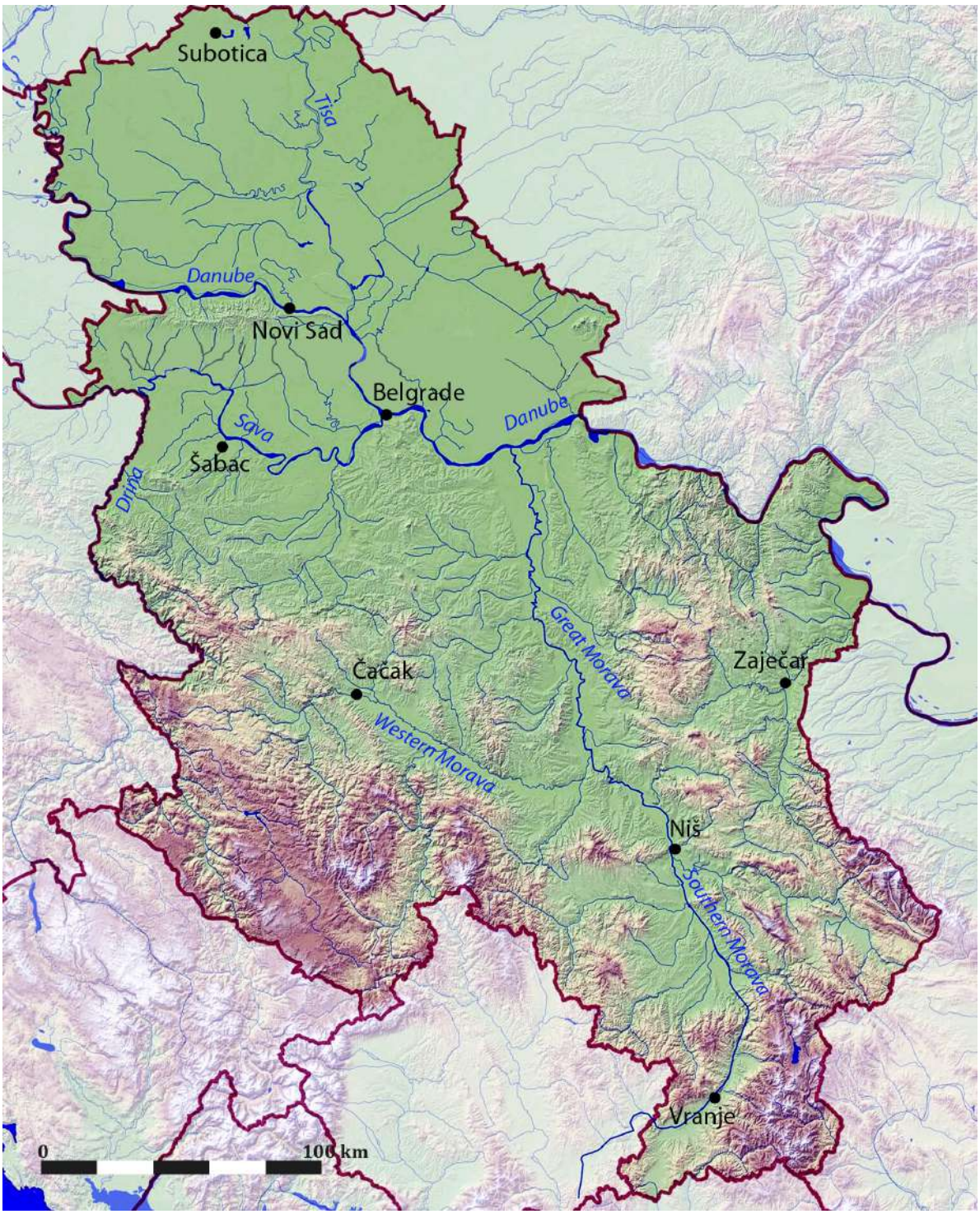


Fig. 76 Relief map of Serbia.

suitable for livestock breeding, especially for rearing sheep and goats. Serbia is rich in ores, particularly the areas south of the Danube and Eastern Serbia (e.g. the regions of Bor and Majdanpek), where the earliest copper mines were already located in the Late Neolithic. The mining wealth in Serbia was also intensively exploited in later periods, especially in Roman and medieval times.

Throughout history, two corridors were dominant as the primary communication routes. One extended in a north-south direction, following the Morava and the Vardar Valleys, and connected the Aegean Sea with the Danube region. The other route went from east to west, along the Danube and the Sava rivers, and connected south-central Europe with the eastern Balkans. Other vital routes linked Serbia's western regions with the Adriatic (through the valleys of the Drina and Drim) and southern Serbia with western Bulgaria (via river Nišava and towns of Niš, Pirot and Dimitrovgrad towards Sofia).

Archaeological and historical background of Serbia

Palaeolithic archaeology in Serbia primarily developed after the Second World War. Before this period, only sporadic Palaeolithic finds were recorded. In the present state of knowledge, Lower Palaeolithic sites are still scarce, and not all are fully confirmed. The sites of Kosovska Kosa near Čačak and Samaila – Vlaška glava stand out regarding the number of flakes and artefacts, which can be dated to this period. Another site that seems to belong to the Lower Palaeolithic is Kremenac (near Niš) (Mihailović 2014, 22).

The Middle Palaeolithic sites are more numerous and also better researched. Even when compared to the Upper Palaeolithic sites (Mihailović 2014, 81), Eastern Serbia stands out with some hundred caves containing Middle Palaeolithic finds (e.g. Pećina above the Trayan's Table in Đerdap, Velika Balanica, Mala Balanica, Pešturina. In western Serbia, the evidence of Middle Palaeolithic sites was found at Šalitrena pećina, Hadži Prodanova pećina and Smolućka pećina, while in Vojvodina, the best known site from this period is Petrovaradin fortress (Mihailović 2014, 46–51).

The number of known Upper Palaeolithic sites is, somewhat surprisingly, very low. Mihailović (2014, 81) lists only 11 sites, with no particular geographical patterning. Two Aurignacien sites near Vršac–At and Vršac–Crvenka in SE Vojvodina are the richest in terms of finds.[235]

The earliest Neolithic sites emerged in Serbia towards the end of the 7th millennium BC. They belonged to the Starčevo culture,[236] which became a synonym for the early and greater part of the Middle Neolithic across the central Balkans and Southern Pannonian basin.[237] Starčevo culture sites number in hundreds in Serbia, and strongly suggest population growth associated with

235 Most of the finds, a few thousand, were collected without excavations and brought later to the Museum in Vršac. Only recently have a few test excavations been made (Mihailović 2014, 81–85).

236 Starčevo culture and similar cultures of Körös (Hungary), Criș (Romania) are frequently considered as a closely related complex of cultures. Together with cultures of Anzabegovo–Vršnik (N. Macedonia), Karanovo (Bulgaria) and Protoseskło (northern Greece) cultures, these cultures are considered the first European Neolithic in temperate zones.

237 Traditionally, Starčevo culture was considered early Neolithic. However, more recently it became understood more as culture formed towards the end of the Early Neolithic and lasted for most of the Middle Neolithic in the 6th millennium BC. At Lepenski Vir, Vlasac and some other neighbouring sites in Serbia and Romania in the Iron Gorge, the earliest Neolithic manifestations were discovered (so-called Proto-Starčevo), but very locally limited. The problem with the periodisation and chronology of the Starčevo culture is due to its wide area, which covers the whole central Balkans and central and eastern Pannonian lowland. This made chronological synchronisation very difficult since chronological analyses were most frequently made on regional scales and mostly based on pottery styles from a selected number of sites excavated decades ago. Only recently, more systematic use of radiocarbon dating is giving a clearer, wider picture. At present, in Serbian literature, it is accepted that Proto-Starčevo (still rarely encountered) and Starčevo belonged to the same culture, the former being of the Early Neolithic but with Middle Neolithic dates.

general migrations from the Near East (Porčić, Blagojević and Stefanović 2016, 1). In this respect, it is also important to note that Starčevo culture is manifested with already well-developed technology in farming and pottery production, additionally speaking in favour of new populations (and technologies) expanding across Serbia, probably via the Morava Valley. The large majority of Starčevo culture settlements were located near the rivers or streams on raised terraces. In general, they are not large or long-lasting. They frequently appear in clusters, suggesting that short-lived settlements 'moved around' due to farmed land rotation. They appear in all major farming zones and areas in Serbia, from Vojvodina in the north (e.g. Starčevo, Iđoš, Krstićeva humka, Kozluk), in the Morava Valley (e.g. Drenovac, Crnokalačka bara, Bubanj, Velika Grabovnica, Pavlovac), and in western Serbia (e.g. Grivac, Divostin).

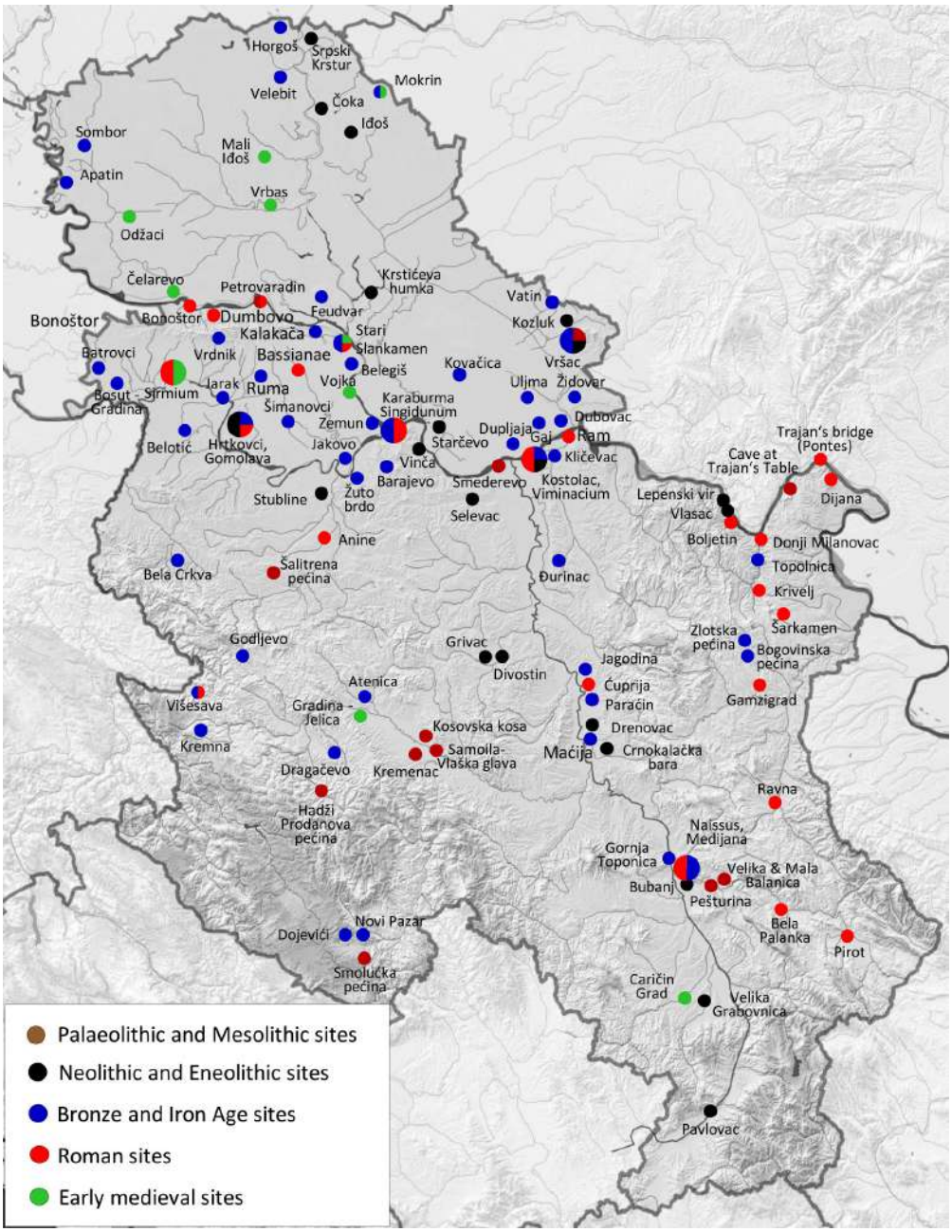


Fig. 77 Archaeological sites in Serbia mentioned in this chapter.

More permanent and long-lasting tells emerged with the Late Neolithic Vinča culture (mid-6th to mid-5th millennia BC), which brought substantial cultural changes in almost all aspects of life, but especially the long-term fully sedentary settlement. This culture is spread over a similar territory to the previous Starčevo culture – the Central Balkans and southern Pannonian Plain with several regional core areas in Vojvodina, Šumadija, and Southern Serbia, but the number of sites is much larger. It is also frequently the case that Vinča culture sites are found on earlier Starčevo culture sites (e.g. Vinča, Pavlovac, Crnokalačka bara, Grivac, Divostin, Iđoš), but occupied larger areas with a longer occupation time span.

The eponymous site of Vinča, near Belgrade, is also the site of this culture researched in most detail in Serbia. It is located on the right bank of the Danube, right across the site of Starčevo, which is at some 10 km distance. Vinča is a tell-type settlement with more than 10 m of deposits. The archaeological research of this site started in 1908 and, with pauses, continues to the present day.[238]

Vinča culture sites appear in much more heterogeneous forms and sizes, varying from large, long-living tells with several hundreds of objects to smaller and shorter-lived villages. They have also spread across more different ecological and topographical settings than was the case in the early Neolithic with Starčevo culture.

What also makes large Vinča culture settlements very interesting are their internal plans which frequently reveal the regular ordering of houses, especially in big village settlements (e.g. Stubline, Drenovac, Selevac, Gomolava). The cultural changes associated with the Vinča culture covered the full range of all major cultural and technological domains in farming, pottery production, construction of houses, their decoration, the first settlement enclosures (ditches and ramparts), elaboration of stone and bone objects and the density of settlement. The Vinča culture developed the earliest copper mining and metallurgy in the Balkans, a Neolithic culture's true culmination.[239] Such a high level of technological and cultural progress also reflected very developed exchange networks on regional and larger scales.

Given the conventional archaeological practice of grouping archaeological sites and finds into geographically and chronologically distinguished units (i.e. cultures, cultural complexes, also dominant styles), the Eneolithic period (ca. 3500–2500 BC) brought much larger cultural fragmentation compared to the Late Neolithic. The distinction between the great plain (Pannonian and peri-Pannonian areas) in the north and the hilly and mountainous terrains and river valleys of Central Balkans in the south became more enhanced. It remained one of the major features in subsequent archaeological and historical periods. Traditionally, in Serbian archaeology and the archaeology of the neighbouring countries, such dynamics were frequently interpreted in terms of migrations, internal colonisation, progressing of the nomadic and semi-nomadic herdsmen from the east, and, last but not least, also due to the large-scale movements of the Indo-European peoples, and also the movements of the populations from Eastern European steppe regions. However, in general, the early Eneolithic cultures are frequently interpreted as being developed from the earlier, Late Neolithic period, especially in the Pannonian part. (e.g. Tiszapolgar–Bodrogkeresztur cultural complex in Vojvodina, sites: e.g. Srpski Krstur, Čoka). While the interpretations of the spread of later Eneolithic regional cultures in the central Balkans are much more prone to migrations as primary causes of cultural changes (e.g. cultures

238 An excellent short overview of the major environmental and economic basis for the long existence of the Vinča tell is published by Filipović, Marić, Challinor, Bulatović and Ne. Tasić (2018).

239 Among the most outstanding features of Vinča culture and the Vinča site itself is the number of clay figurines. On the Vinča site only, until today, there were probably more than 2,000 figurines discovered.

of Bubanj–Salcuța–Krivodol[240] in central Serbia, and Baden[241], Kostolac and Vučedol cultures in Pannonian and sub-Pannonian areas). In this context, the emergence of relatively numerous hilltop settlements (some also with enclosures) is explained, along with the emergence of large barrows that are frequently interpreted as the influence of the steppe cultures (Indo-Europeans?). More considerable cultural 'homogeneity' can be observed in the Late Eneolithic in the Pannonian Serbia and Lower Morava Valley areas with more or less contemporary Kostolac and Vučedol cultures, characterised by highly decorated pottery, incrusted pottery, developed metallurgy and the rise of enclosed settlements.[242]

For the major part of the Bronze Age (ca. 2400–1000/800 B.C), cultural differences between the Pannonian and Central Balkan areas continued to exist. The Bronze Age can be seen in a great number of archaeological cultures and groups as defined by the traditional cultural-historical approach.[243] Again, Vojvodina was much better researched. Here, with the Early and Middle Bronze Age increased the number of enclosed (defended?) sites, new tell settlements and, last but not least, also numerous large cemeteries. All these phenomena are clearly cross-cultural and speak of general tendencies. One such tendency, clearly observable from the Late Eneolithic onwards, which continued throughout the Bronze Age, was the emergence of more stratified societies. 'Chiefs' can be discerned from rich grave goods (e.g. daggers, swords...), imported goods, large defended settlements, etc. Sites like a cemetery at Mokrin or Feudvar tell well illustrate these trends, which are even more visible in the Middle Bronze Age in the Vatin group (large cemetery at Vatin with golden objects, clay idols from Vatin, Vršac, Dupljaja, Kličevac) and in large barrows in western Vojvodina containing burials with metal daggers and swords in western Vojvodina with (e.g. Horgoš, Sombor, Velebit, Apatin). The Vatin culture was the dominant Middle Bronze Age culture in Vojvodina, implying a new cycle of cultural 'homogenisation'.

In central and southern Serbia, the Bronze Age period is less known and researched. It is mostly for this reason that the cultural groups are less clearly defined. Milutin Garašanin (1983c, 704), the major expert in the Balkans Bronze Age, speaks of the Danubian-Balkan complex of cultural groups to encompass the regional varieties in Early and Middle Bronze Ages (e.g. Belotić–Bela Crkva, Bubanj–Hum III, Paraćin and Western Serbia Vatin groups). One frequent common feature of almost all of them are large (bi-ritual) burial mounds with single or multiple burials. With the Middle Bronze Age also started to emerge enclosed and hilltop settlements in greater number. The major sites from the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in Serbia are cemeteries in Belotić, Bela Crkva, Dragačevo (in Drina area); Bubanj, Gornja Toponica, (in Niš area), Paraćin, Jagodina, Đurinac, Maćija (in the Middle Morava Valley).

Much greater cultural homogenisation emerged with the late Bronze Age with the influence of the Urnfield culture's supra-regional expansion. Its regional variants are present in Pannonian Serbia and also exercised its influence south of the Danube. The cultural matrix of the general Urnfield culture, a high level of technology in metalworking, pottery production, engagement in long-distance exchange, stratified society and largely shared symbolism and religious concepts, made a strong basis for forming the Iron Age polities of Pannonians. The major sites of this group

240 Sites: Zemun, Bubanj, Zlotska pećina, Krivelj.

241 Sites of this culture are highly concentrated in Srem and Bačka regions in western Vojvodina: Bačka Palanka, Novi Sad–Rimski šančevi, Pančevo, Zemun. Sremka Mitrovica, Vinča...

242 The Kostolac culture seems to be spread in two major zones. in Srem in western Vojvodina, frequently mixed with Vučedol culture on the same sites (e.g. Zemun, Belegiš, Vrdnik, Ruma, Gomolava) and in eastern Serbia in sites, also with 'mixed' pottery styles (e.g. Bubanj, Zlostka pećina, Bogovinska pećina, Kostolac).

243 Bronze Age cultures and groups in the Pannonian area: Vinkovci and Moriš groups (Early Bronze Age); Vatin, Dubovac–Žuto brdo, Transdanubian Incrusted Pottery, and Grave Barrows groups (Middle Bronze Age), and Urnfield group (Late Bronze Age).

in Vojvodina are Kalakača, Belegiš, Karaburma, Gradina–Bosut, and Kovačica. A special group of sites represent hoards with metal objects (e.g. Topolnica, Uljma, Gaj, Novi Kostolac, Barajevo, Jakovo–Ekonomija Sava, Šimanovci). Altogether, there are some 30 to 40 hoards from Pannonian and peri-Pannonian Serbia.

In central and southern Serbia, the Urnfield culture influences were much less present. The principal late Bronze Age cultures seen in the Mediana and Donja Brnjica–Gornja Stražava groups (sites: Mediana, Dojevići), still more local elements from the Middle Bronze Age. Here, the cultural and social processes led to central Balkan peoples' formation, e.g. Dardanians, Tribali, Thracians, Moesi, mentioned later in the ancient sources.

The beginning of the Iron Age (ca. at 1000 B.C. in the south, 800 BC in the north) in Serbian archaeological literature was traditionally associated with major migrations in SE Europe and Aegean area, Dorian, Thracian, Cimmerian and Scythian, from the beginning of the 1st millennium to ca. 600 B.C. However, in recent decades, this idea is less in use, giving way to more complex interpretations of cultural change. Northern, Pannonian Serbia continues its development based on the Late Bronze Age Urnfield cultural matrix, such is the case with the Bosut group with more than 50 sites in Vojvodina (e.g. Gradina–Bosut, Stari Slankamen–Gradina) which also exhibit contacts with eastern cultures (e.g. Besarabi pottery types and ornaments).

South of the Danube, along major river basins, several different regional groups emerged. In the west, in the Drina river basin, the dominant cultural matrix is that of the Glasinac culture,[244] hillforts, burial mounds, ornaments, connecting western Serbia with the core area of the Glasinac culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina (sites: e.g. Višesava, Godljevo, Kremna). Simultaneously, the river basin of Middle and Southern Morava is ascribed to Tribali and Dardanians. Mounds at Atenica and Novi Pazar are the most notable cases of local elites buried with Aegean materials, amber and objects from precious metals.

The Later Iron Age in Serbia is closely associated with Celtic peoples' expansion in the Danube area in the second half of the 4th century BC. The core area of the Scordisci, a Celtic tribe, was between Sava and Danube (Srem region) with some 20 sites (e.g. Jarak, Gomolava, Batrovci). At the confluence of these two rivers (today Belgrade), Scordisci built their centre, Singidunum, which later became the Roman town. A fascinating hoard of silver jewellery came from the Židovar settlement. Scordisci frequently made incursions to the south, where Early Iron Age cultural groups continued. The best site for observing the archaeological presence of Celtic Scordisci is their large cemetery at Karaburma in Belgrade.

The Romans initiated their conquest of today's Serbian territory from the west in Augustus's campaigns against Pannonian tribes (35–33 BC), a few years later from the south. Until the mid-1st century AD, the situation consolidated enough for the establishment of the province of Moesia. During the reign of Domitian, in AD 87, Moesia was divided into two provinces; the western part became Moesia Superior (Upper Moesia) which included the territory of today's Serbia, while Moesia Inferior (Lower Moesia) was given the territory on the east, on the Lower Danube.[245]

244 For more on this culture, distinguished for its hillforts and especially numerous large barrows, see in the chapter on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

245 The Roman administrative division went through several changes in the following centuries. The province of Dacia was established during the Traian's military operations at the beginning of the 2nd century AD against the Dacians, included Banat (part of Vojvodina between rivers Tisa and Danube). Trajan also divided the province of Pannonia into Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior. The latter included today's southwestern Vojvodina, with Sirmium as its provincial capital. Diocletian's reforms introduced new changes, the establishment of new provinces of Dardania and Praevalitana, which included southern areas of Moesia Superior. The province of Pannonia Inferior was also divided; the Serbian territory belonged to the province of Pannonia Secunda.

There were two provincial capitals, Sirmium (Pannonia Inferior) and Viminacium (Moesia Superior), on Serbian soil.

The Romans first founded cities in Pannonia in the 70s AD when they founded Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), located some 70 km east of the Sava and Danube rivers' confluence at Belgrade. In Moesia Superior, this happened later. Hadrian, ruling between AD 118–35, granted municipal status to two large military forts on the Danube, Singidunum (Belgrade) and Viminacium (near Kostolac), some 50 km east of Belgrade, near the confluence of the Morava and Danube. Viminacium also became a provincial capital. In Serbia's southern parts, the Roman city of Naissus (Niš) was founded later, during Marcus Aurelius's reign (AD 161–180). It is situated near the confluence of Southern Morava and Nišava, at the crossroads of important roads leading towards the Danube, Thessaloniki, southern Adriatic and Sofia in Bulgaria.

Roman settlement differed in Moesia Superior and Pannonia Inferior. Throughout the flat Pannonia developed a more or less standard Roman pattern of municipal settlements with villas in their *ageri*, surrounding villages and farmsteads already in the 2nd century AD, if not a few decades before, typical for agriculturally suitable regions. After Sirmium, the largest Roman town was Bassianae near Donji Petrovci, founded at the end of the 1st century AD, raised to municipium in 124 AD, and in 214 AD to a colony. There were also relatively numerous smaller municipal settlements, e.g. Acumincum near Slankamen, Bononia (Bonoštor), at Petrovaradin. The countryside was densely settled by numerous villages (*vici, pagi*) and farming villas (e.g. Hrtkovci–Vranj,[246] Dumbovo). Similar countryside with numerous vici and villas was in the Lower Drina Valley (i.e. region of Mačva), which also belonged to the Province of Pannonia (Ilić 2012, 119–123).

In Moesia, where predominantly hilly and mountainous terrain intersected with river valleys, this process took a somewhat different shape. In this province, besides two large towns (Viminacium and Naissus), there also existed several smaller municipal or semi-municipal settlements in Ćuprija (*Horrea Margi*), Smederevo (*Semendria*), and Pirot (*Tures*). There were also some larger settlements developed out of the military forts (e.g. at Ravna (*Timacum Minus*), Bela Palanka (*Remesiana*)).

Moesia's real economic importance was in its ores, and for strategic reasons a great deal of extraction of minerals was managed by imperial officers. The principal ores were silver, lead, and copper. The so-called *territoria metallorum*, which generally had a special administrative status, were located in Kosmaj, south of Belgrade (*Metalla Tricornensia*), near the town of Bor in eastern Serbia (*Metalla Pincensia*) and in the areas bordering what is today northern Kosovo (*Metalla Dardanica*). In this *territoria* emerged settlements with some municipal characteristics but not proper cities. Imperial property and large areas left to the indigenous population (*civitates peregrinae*) made typical Roman villas less common in the countryside until the 3rd century AD (e.g. Anine near Lajkovac, Višesava near Bajina Bašta, Mediana near Niš, Krivelj near Bor, and Gamzigrad, prior the construction of the imperial palace).[247]

Another important Roman feature that exercised long-term influence on economic, social, and historical development in subsequent centuries was limes (or the military frontier) on the Danube.[248] The limes line in Serbia, almost 600 km

246 Five Roman villas are recorded in the area of Hrtkovci (Dautova Ruševljanin 2005, 329).

247 Traditionally, the border between the provinces of Moesia and Dalmatia was most frequently considered at the River Drina, but this is not yet confirmed. For this reason, Anina and Višesava may belong to the Dalmatia and not Moesia.

248 *Limes Pannoniae* began at Carnuntum near Vienna and followed the course of Danube through Slovakia, Hungary and Croatia. It ended at the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers at Belgrade. From then on, continued *Limes Moesiae* via the Iron Gorge and today's

long, was heavily fortified with several dozens of various forts and other military structures. Amongst them, the most spectacular was Trajan's Bridge in the Iron Gorge. Containing some 80 sites, the Serbian part of the limes is presently on UNESCO's tentative list. Most of these sites in the Moesian part (e.g. Boljetin, Diana, Donji Milanovac (Roman *Taliata*), Ram (Fortress *Lederata*), *Pontes* (remains of Trajan's Bridge) were researched due to the construction of large powerplants in Đerdap.

Crucial for the limes' functioning was also a series of (military) roads connecting the forts themselves and their hinterland. These roads also had a significant impact on the development and economy of other settlements in the area. Of these roads, the most important was Via Militaris, constructed in the 1st century AD. It connected Singidunum, Viminacium and then turned south to Naissus. From there, one road led to the east, to *Serdica* (Sofia), *Philippopolis* (Plovdiv, Bulgaria) and *Adrianopolis* (Edirne, Turkish Thrace), to end in Constantinople. The other road from Naissus went south, towards Thessaloniki and Athens.

After the Romans' retreat from Dacia (ca. AD 272), Moesia and Lower Pannonia gained more strategic importance. Being located in the hinterland of limes and commanding large military troops at the frontier, the generals from Sirmium and Viminacium frequently usurped the imperial powers in the 3rd and 4th centuries. On the other hand, Naissus is known as the birthplace of Constantine the Great. Regarding the Roman emperors from Moesia and Lower Pannonia, one archaeological site is of particular importance, the imperial palace of *Felix Romuliana* with its memorial complex at Gamzigrad, eastern Serbia, built by Emperor Galerius (AD 293–311).[249] Another site, also associated with Tetrarchs' period, is the residential and memorial palace at Šarkamen, near Negotin in eastern Serbia, attributed to Emperor Maximin Daja (AD 308–313), co-emperor with Constantine the Great.[250] Outstanding imperial constructions were also found at Sirmium (Imperial Palace, end of the 3rd century BC). The group of Roman imperial constructions in Serbia completes the town of *Justiniana prima* (Caričin grad near Leskovac, southern Serbia). Justinian I (AD 527–565) founded this town (nearby his birthplace?) in 535, and the town existed until AD 615.[251]

With the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, 'Pannonian' Serbia, and Sirmium in particular, became an arena of changing rulers and migrating peoples. These included Sarmatians, Eastern Goths, Huns, Gepids, Langobars, Avars, Slavs, Magyars and Byzantines. This very dynamic period between the mid-5th century and the Frankish defeat of the Avars at around 800, is quite well reflected in archaeological

border between Romania and Bulgaria, down to the Danube's delta. During the Roman occupation of Dacia, a series of other similar military structures were constructed (e.g. Constantine Wall and Limes Transalutanus in Romanian Wallachia). Major parts of the Moesian lime were built during the reign of Emperors Trajan and Hadrian in the first decades of the 2nd century AD. Major reconstructions were done by Septimius Severus (AD 193–211) and Antoninus (AD 211–217).

249 The palace of *Felix Romuliana* was built as an imperial residence where Emperor Galerius would retire from his 20 years of office. The same type of palace is Diocletian's Palace in Split, Croatia. Such imperial palaces were built only during the era of the tetrarchs (AD 285–313). Both palaces are on the UNESCO World Heritage list.

250 This attribution is still not completely confirmed. The palace was researched first by Dragoslav Srejović in the mid-1990s. Later research revealed a residential and memorial complex extending over 10 hectares, with some ten towers, a mausoleum outside the palace (presumably of the Maximin's wife, sister of Galerius), monumental gates, external walls, pieces of imperial jewellery, remains of imperial statues. The style of architecture and construction is very similar to those at Gamzigrad.

251 Iustiniana Prima was also made the capital of the prefecture of Illyricum and the seat of the Archbishop of the Dacian Diocese. The fortified site, over 4 hectares large, was divided into the Upper and Lower Town. On the 'Acropolis' there was a large episcopal basilica with baptistry; altogether, there were ten basilicas in Iustiniana Prima. As one of the extraordinary cases of the early Byzantine architecture, Iustiniana prima is listed on UNESCO's tentative list.

sites, especially in the cemeteries (e.g. Mokrin, Vrbas, Slankamen, Vojka). Of particular interest is the cemetery at Čelarevo, near Bačka Palanka, where in 1972 some 650 graves from the 8th and 9th centuries were excavated. The graves belonged to three different groups, Avars or similar (burials with horses), group burials with Judaistic symbols (menorahs incised on bricks), and Slavs.[252]

In the Moesian part, after the Roman Empire's collapse, the most significant sites are the Byzantine forts that controlled this territory. There are probably over 100 such sites, including the Danube limes. The best researched case is Gradina na Jelici near Čačak (Milinković 1995).

A few words need to be said about early Christian monuments from Late Antiquity. Christianity mostly developed in towns with bishop's seats emerging in the mid-4th century (e.g. Sirmum, Viminacium, Horreum Margi (Ćuprija)). In 535, the archbishop's seat was established in Iustiniana prima. The most frequent Christian monuments outside towns were small village churches (Milinković 2015, 36). The Byzantine Empire was able to control the Danube limes and most of the territory south of the Danube until the beginning of the 7th century AD. However, various Slavic groups appeared in Serbia's territory in the 6th century AD, but mostly raided Byzantine towns in Lower Pannonia, Macedonia and central Greece. More extensive and stable Slavic colonisation of areas south of the Danube started a century or so later, forming their polities or Sclaviniae, as they were termed in the Byzantine sources.[253] The archaeology of the Slavs in Serbia developed relatively late, after the Second World War. Today the situation is very different. Earlier phases of Slavic colonisation in the Danube and Pannonian areas fall into the period of the Avar's rule (until ca. AD 800). The sites are mostly cemeteries and are considered mixed Avaro-Slavic sites, such as at Odžaci, Vrbas, Mali Iđoš and Vojka (see more in Vinski 1971, 65-67). In the central Balkans, the situation is far less clear concerning the archaeological evidence. Slavic finds were discovered around the Late Roman or Byzantine towns or palatial complexes. Still, no exclusively Slavic site (cemetery or settlement) from the period between the 6th and 10th centuries AD has been discovered.

Another people who also had a strong influence on Slavic settlement in the Balkans and Pannonia were the Bulgars. They originated in western Eurasia from where they frequently raided the Danube and Balkan areas in the 5th and 6th centuries, especially the areas controlled by Byzantium. Towards the end of the 7th century, they formed their first 'empire' in northeastern Bulgaria and soon extended it towards the west. In the 8th and 9th centuries, they became absorbed by the Slavic majority population. This process was further strengthened by Christianisation (mid-9th century AD) and by accepting the church liturgy in the Slavic language, as developed by Cyril and Methodius.[254]

252 Some Serbian archaeologists assume that Judaistic symbols mark the Khazars, the Turkic-speaking people ruling the territory between the Caspian and Black Seas, allies of Byzantine against Persians (first half of the 7th century). In the 8th century, they expanded to the west, and among peoples they subjected were also Bulgarians, Magyars, and Slavs. For a long time, Khazars remained allies of the Byzantines (Emperors Justinian II and Constantine V married Khazar wives). There is one striking feature associated with Khazars, their adoption of the Judaist religion in the mid-8th century. The whole process of conversion and its wider effects are still rather unknown and a matter of dispute. The Khazar khaganate ceased to exist after their defeat to the Kiev Kingdom in the mid-10th century.

253 According to Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus' text *On the Governance of the Empire*, dated to the mid-10th century, the Slavs settled in Central Balkans during the reign of Emperor Heraclios (AD 610–641).

254 Cyril, also Constantine (AD 827–869) and Methodius (AD 815–884), Byzantine clerics scholars whose missionary work had the greatest impact on the Christianisation of Slavs in Moravia (western Czech Republic), Slovakia, Hungary and the whole of Balkans, Serbia included. They were also associated with the attempts to Christianise the Khazars. They translated the Bible into the Old Church Slavonic language and invented appropriate alphabets (Glagolitic and Cyrillic) for using this language. Some of their disciples later formed several

During their first empire (7th–10th centuries), the Bulgars controlled a large territory between the Black Sea and Adriatic.[255] In terms of archaeology, several hundred years of Bulgarian rule is not particularly visible. Most of the sites that can be attributed to this period are either ecclesiastical buildings, which did not differ much across the whole area of the Balkans (they have been all built in a similar, Byzantine influenced style), or some military forts.

The Slavs in Serbia did not form stronger political polities until the 9th or 10th centuries, when the first *Sclaviniae* (local Slavic polities) in southwestern and southern Serbia emerged, and which generally remained under the Byzantine rule until the end of the 12th century. Gradually, some local Serbian dynasties were able to form larger and stronger principalities. The House of Nemanjići, the rulers of the Principality of Raška (SW Serbia), paved the foundation to the medieval Kingdom of Serbia and the establishment of the autonomous Serbian Orthodox Church from the beginning of the 13th century. The Kingdom of Serbia, at the peak of its power in the mid-14th century, conquered the area between the Danube and Aegean Sea, down to Peloponnese. It is the high medieval sites and objects in Serbia which are more distinguishable, especially churches and monasteries in prominent ecclesiastical places, most of them are in southwestern Serbia: Sopoćani and Stari Ras, Đurđevi Stupovi, Studenica, Žiča, and Kosovo: Patriarch's seat at Peć/Pejë, monasteries at Dečani/Deçan and Gračanica/Graçanica. Most of them were endowments of the medieval Serbian kings and high nobles.[256] Other monumental sites from the high medieval period prior to the arrival of the Ottomans are castles and fortresses (e.g. Smederevo, Golubac, Pirot). Both ecclesiastic and military monuments were also archaeologically examined whilst they were being renovated.

This brief archaeological survey needs to be completed with a few notes on the Ottoman-period archaeology, which only developed in archaeological terms a few decades ago. Previously, the Ottoman and Ottoman-period monuments were mainly the research domain of architects, historians and art historians. Most of these sites and monuments were also researched in the context of heritage protection (e.g. due to development in towns and renovation of older churches). Such cases were mostly in towns (e.g. Belgrade, Niš), where massive Ottoman fortresses were built on the Roman towns of Singidunum (Kalemegdan) and Naissus.

Following the Ottoman conquests of the Balkans (mid-14th to mid-15th centuries), Serbia came under Ottoman rule for the next 400 years. The history of Vojvodina followed a different path until the end of the First World War. Between the 11th and mid-16th centuries it belonged most of the time to Hungary, then for a century or so it fell under Ottoman rule, to become Hungarian land again within the Habsburg Empire at the beginning of the 18th century, and stayed as such until the end of the First World War when it belonged to Serbia. Throughout its history, especially in recent centuries, Vojvodina was an ethnically diverse region, settled by Serbs, Hungarians, Germans, Romanians, Czechs and Croats. The Serbian settlement was, similarly to Croatia, also associated with the military frontier north of the Sava and Danube rivers. Cultural development in Vojvodina, also of Serbs, was strongly influenced by Austrian and Hungarian culture. In contrast, the culture, society and way of life of Serbs in the Ottoman Empire was distinctively different.

Serbia's national movement began building strength from the end of the 18th century

schools across the Slavic countries, further spreading the new religion and the Slavonic language. Pope John Paul II made them the *Apostles of Slavs* in 1985.

255 In historiography, the term Proto-Bulgars is frequently used for denoting Bulgars prior to their Christianisation and assimilation with the Slavic majority, whilst Bulgars (or Bulgarians) is used for subsequent periods.

256 Stari Ras, Sopočani and Studenica (Serbia), and a Patriarchate at Peć, Church of Holy Virgin at Dečani/Deçan and Gračanica/Graçanica monasteries (Kosovo) are listed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

onwards, first among the Serbs living in Vojvodina, followed by Serbs in Šumadija. After a series of uprisings and diplomatic manoeuvres in the first half of the 19th century, Serbia succeeded in achieving the status of a semi-autonomous principality. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Serbia was finally recognised as an independent country whose territory extended across present-day Serbia proper. Vojvodina remained under the Austro-Hungarian rule, while the Ottomans remained in Sandžak (SW Serbia). Serbia expanded notably after the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) when it annexed Sandžak and large parts of Macedonia.[257] After the First World War it also annexed Vojvodina, practically doubling the size of its territory. Moreover, immediately after the First World War Montenegro proclaimed the end of its independence and unification with the Kingdom of Serbia. Such an enlarged Serbia joined with the State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes[258] and formed the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (which in 1929 changed its name into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), which was ruled by the Serbian royal dynasty.

During the Second World War After (1941–1945), Serbia was divided among the occupying countries. Hungary occupied western Vojvodina, while eastern Vojvodina became a German protectorate. N. Macedonia became divided between Italy and its Albanian allies and Bulgaria, while in central Serbia, a marionette quisling state was formed under a German protectorate. In most of its current territory, Serbia was formed immediately after the Second World War in the context of the renewed (Socialist) Yugoslavia. It became one of Yugoslavia's constituent republics, which also included two autonomous provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo. Montenegro and N. Macedonia were exempted from the territory of Serbia, and likewise proclaimed themselves federal republics.

Such an administrative-territorial structure stayed in place until the collapse of Yugoslavia. In 1992, following the declaration of the independence of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In 2003, this new country changed its name to Serbia and Montenegro. Montenegro stepped out of this union in 2006. Significant changes took place after 1998 when, after a series of rebellions by the majority Albanian population in Kosovo who assisted with the military intervention of the NATO alliance, this previously autonomous province *de facto* separated from Serbia. After a decade as a United Nations' protectorate, Kosovo declared independence in 2008, although thus is not yet fully recognised by all international organisations and is also disputed by Serbia.

Between 1991 and 1995, Serbia was also involved in the civil war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Amid the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the regions in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, inhabited by a relatively substantial Serbian population, openly confronted the newly declared independent states and insisted on joining their resident territories to Serbia. Their claims were strongly orchestrated by the regime of Slobodan Milošević in Belgrade. This led to several years-long armed conflicts with very tragic consequences for all sides involved. Following the end of the war and a major exodus of Serbs from Croatia in 1995, the remaining Serbs in Croatia gained local cultural autonomy. In the same year, the Dayton Peace Treaty ended the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There, a new territorial entity was created and given a high level of independence, Republika Srpska (the Republic of Srpska), which extended over nearly 50% of the territory of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

257 In the Balkan wars, the historical region of Macedonia was taken away from the Ottomans and divided between Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria. Serbia annexed the Macedonian territory, which corresponds to today Republic of North Macedonia. See more on this in the chapter on N. Macedonia.

258 The State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed in the days of the final collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire by South Slavic nations living in Empire. It lasted only one month before its union with the Kingdom of Serbia on the 1st of December 1918.

Great cultural and social changes accompanied these remarkable political transformations in Serbia over the last two centuries. From a long-term perspective, Serbia's political and cultural history was, in a regional context, defined mainly by two factors. One of them is the strong cultural (and political) influence of the Byzantine culture in the Early and High Middle Ages, which as a consequence, had a predominantly Orthodox Christian population. Another factor is the Turkish rule of Serbia from the mid-15th until the mid-19th centuries. In the period immediately preceding the Turks' arrival, Serbia succeeded in developing itself into a strong regional political and cultural (mostly religious) power. However, Serbia declined to a more-or-less marginal area of chiefly military importance during Ottoman rule, as a zone bordering Austria or Hungary. The Serbs, who from the 15th century onwards lived in several different states – Turkey, in conquered Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Hungary, the Austrian Military Frontier, and also in the Venetian lands on the Adriatic coast – lacked a more potent unifying political force until the end of 18th century. The principal element of their cultural identity for a long time remained the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Due to its marginal position in the Ottoman Empire, larger urban centres developed relatively late in the area to the south of the Danube. They started occurring more intensively only towards the second half of the 19th century, parallel with the first attempts at industrialisation. This example adequately illustrates the different role and status of Bosnia and Herzegovina. From the 16th century onwards there developed local Bosnian-Ottoman urban areas (e.g. Sarajevo, Travnik, Mostar), and the related economic and cultural activities.

When in the final decades of the 19th century Serbia achieved independence, an accelerated process of modernisation (i.e. Europeanisation) commenced, evident in several aspects of public and private life, where western models started to be followed. This is, for example, clearly visible in the architecture, urban planning, the formation of new public institutions, adoption of Western aesthetics and attitudes. These tendencies rapidly replaced the old traditions of Ottoman times, especially in Belgrade. In rural areas, this process was much slower.[259] Vojvodina played an essential part in this process. After the end of the Turkish wars and the ultimate stabilisation of the Danube border in the 18th century, the gradual establishment of the first institutions of significance for Serbian national and cultural development began in Austrian-ruled Vojvodina.

Travellers, national antiquarians and the first archaeological practices in the 18th and 19th centuries

In Serbia, as in the other Balkan countries under Ottoman rule, the advancement of antiquarianism and archaeological practices took a different path compared to the countries under Habsburg or Venetian rule (e.g. Slovenia and Croatia). The local antiquarian activities in the 'Ottoman' Balkans generally remained poorly developed until the 19th century, when they started to increase, often associated with the formation of national movements of the non-Turkish peoples and the emergence of the notion of the national history of these peoples.

The reasons behind such a late development of antiquarian and archaeological practices in the Ottoman culture remain to be explored. Texts on the history of the Ottoman Empire, genealogies of the rulers and similar overviews, travel journals and geographical descriptions – regular components of the early antiquarian activity in western Europe – were certainly not

259 Acknowledging the myriad of ethnographic works produced by domestic scientists that describe the Serbian village culture, one of the most significant studies by foreign scientists is recommended here, a monograph *A Serbian Village* published in 1967 by Joel Halpern. Based on it, one can clearly distinguish the long-preserved patterns of the traditional life and social organisation in the mid-20th century.

unknown to the Ottoman elites, which could find the origins of such texts both in (ancient) European and Arabian sources. Likewise, numerous Turkish travel writers, among which the most famous was Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682), contributed some of the best descriptions of the vast Ottoman Empire of the 17th century. His major work was *The Book of Travels* (*Seyahatname*), a travelogue where he describes his numerous travels and encounters with peoples, including those to the Balkan countries.[260] Travellers, both Ottoman and later also those from western Europe, frequently noted down much historical data about old fortresses and towns as well as old tales as part of their observations.

One of the frequently considered reasons why antiquarianism was not popular in the Ottoman culture was the religious ban on representing images (figurative art) in religious contexts in Islamic art and decoration; hence collecting them in the form of statues or other figural representations was undesirable. However, this argument is not entirely valid because there are cases of such practices, even at the Sultan's court, such as Ciriaco de Pizzicoli, who for some time served as a secretary to the Sultan responsible for collecting antiquities, mainly from Greece. However, the fact remains that collecting antiquities between the 15th and 18th centuries was far less common and popular in the Ottoman countries than in Christian Europe.

Another reason for the late development of antiquarianism was the poorly developed urban culture, especially in the Balkan countries. A brief look at the social context of antiquarianism clearly shows that it developed in courts of many nobles (high and lower-ranked) and towns with high urban culture, significantly since the Renaissance period, and was strongly influenced by Italian antiquarian scholarship. The development of medieval urban centres and culture generally was rather abruptly stopped with the Ottoman conquest. The Ottomans introduced a new administrative division and a different feudal system. They raised several large military garrisons across Serbia while traditional medieval centres (political and religious) lost the political and economic power they used to have in the 14th century. Many of them declined to a level of small towns (*kasbahs*). Larger settlements were mostly military garrisons (e.g. Belgrade, Niš).

Serbia, landlocked by other Ottoman provinces, was not considered strategically or economically important in Ottoman eyes. The mines, one of the major economic and strategic assets of medieval Serbia, became governed directly by the Sultan's office. Despite the proximity to highly developed urban culture in coastal Dalmatia, continental Croatia and Hungary, and intensive trade contacts and diplomacy of the Ottomans with Genoa, Venice and also with Dubrovnik, for the next two or three centuries Serbia did not become urbanised at a similar pace as the neighbouring Austrian or Venetian lands. In fact, the level of urbanisation was not even comparable to the development of the Ottoman urban centres in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[261] In addition to this, the Christian Churches (Catholic and Orthodox) were generally tolerated but not supported by the state, and non-Muslims were frequently considered as *raya* (citizens with minor political and economic rights). The situation was different in Vojvodina, which was under Hungarian rule in the Habsburg Empire. There, general economic and social development followed the Central European patterns. Vojvodina from the 18th century onwards became increasingly settled by Serbs from 'Ottoman' Serbia, and soon became the cultural centre of the Serbs (see below).

260 Evlya **Ç**elebi visited an astonishing number of countries: Anatolia, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Arabia, Caucasus, Crimea, Romania, Hungary, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Greece, Slovenia, Croatia, Albania, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Macedonia, Austria, Poland, the Netherlands, Germany, and Crete. It is estimated that he travelled more than 300,000 km. UNESCO proclaimed 2011 the year of **Evlya** Çelebi.

261 An excellent brief account of Serbia during Ottoman rule is provided by Ćirković (2004).

The Ottoman Balkans nevertheless attracted western merchants, diplomats, travellers and adventurers of all sorts. Their motives differed, from diplomacy and espionage to searching for opportunities for trade, serving as mercenaries in the Ottoman army, and so on. In doing this, they frequently and significantly contributed to the Balkans' 'unveiling' and their history, both from the international and the local perspectives.[262] These travellers had a wide range of incentives, from personal pursuits and adventures, sympathy with the local non-Turkish population, entrepreneurship and trade, geographical and ethnographic curiosity and the demand to acquire a better knowledge of the Ottoman regions in Europe, along with genuine military and economic espionage for the then European powers that competed for more effective dominance over the territories which the 'sick man upon the Bosphorus' found increasingly difficult to control.[263]

The first reports on antiquities in 'Ottoman' Serbia are quite early and associated with the diplomatic activities of the Habsburg court. In 1553, Hans Dermschwam, Anton Brančič, and Johannes Belsus, the envoys of Emperor Ferdinand I on their way to Istanbul, stopped at Niš. On this occasion, some Roman pieces built in the walls of the *caravanserai* where they stayed were recorded (Petrović 1989, 259). A similar episode came from the end of the 17th century when Eugen of Savoy, commander of the imperial army who defeated Ottomans and conquered large parts of Ottoman territory south of the Danube, recommended that his officials search for ancient monuments.[264] Before giving back the previously conquered territory to the Ottomans in 1739, several scholars succeeded in compiling some evidence of Serbia's earlier history. Damien Hugo von Virmont, Kornfiz Urfeld, the military officer De Monti, and Jesuits J. Deyrer and P. Erdschlanger brought some information on such topics, mostly from Niš and Viminacium.

However, the most important scholar who came with the Austrians was Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658–1730), an Italian nobleman, military commander in the Habsburg army, naturalist, diplomat, and member of the Royal Society. Marsigli undertook several travels in the Ottoman lands in the Balkans and Asia Minor.[265] As a commissioner for Emperor Leopold I, working on the demarcation of the Balkan border between Austria and Turkey after the Austro-Turkish war (1683–1699), Marsigli inspected large areas along the Danube and recorded natural and historical phenomena. His collaborator in the commission was the Croatian scholar Pavel Riter Vitezović[266] (Mihajlović 2018, 88). The results of his work were published in the six-volume monograph *Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus* in 1726 in Le Hague. In the second volume of *Danubius*,

262 Cyriacus of Ancona carried out most of his research on old monuments as part of his service to the Ottoman sultan – as a commissioner for ancient monuments. One of his tasks was to make a list of the monuments, which would serve not only to reaffirm the honour and glory of the Sultan's court but also to confirm the historical right of the Ottomans to the Aegean and Ionian lands. The narrative of Trojan origin, which, until the 18th century, was a frequent element in the histories of several European states, dynasties and even cities, was also present in the tales about the Ottomans. Here, however, it was used to support an opposite interpretation. The Ottomans were in this telling descendants of the Trojans (Asians) and had regained the territories conquered by the Hellenes (Europeans) after the Trojan War. Sultan Mehmed II in particular cultivated this interpretation.

263 The literature on western travellers in the Balkans (and Serbia) is relatively large and is not specifically referred to here. Among the earliest such records, one should mention a travel journal by Edward Brown, *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and Friuli* from 1673. The frequency of visits to the Balkans was the highest during the 19th century and into the first decades of the 20th century. See more in Todorova (1997 and 2006).

264 Eugene of Savoy was quite fond of the antiquities he possessed, including *the Tabula Peuntingeriana*, the famous Roman itinerary.

265 For more details on Marsigli's career and works, see Stoye (1994).

266 Pavel Riter Vitezović (1652–1713), a nobleman from Croatia, historian and disciple of J.V. Valvasor in Slovenia; author of several historical texts on Croatia and Croatian rulers, Serbia (manuscript *Serbia illustrata libro octo*), and Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Bosna captiva*, 1712).

entitled *De antiquitatibus Romanorum ad ripas Danubii*, Marsigli published numerous Roman tombstones, coins, architectural remains (mostly ruins of fortresses on Danubian limes), and Roman roads. Marsigli lists some 40 sites along the Middle and Lower Danube, among them Viminacium, Sirmium, Trajan's and Constantine's Bridges, and several Roman forts on limes. His descriptions are accompanied with excellent graphics, geographical maps and drawings of the inscriptions, architectural remains and other small finds, documentation which remained unparalleled for more than a century.

In the 18th century, the majority of the Serbs resided in four main territories: in central Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, under Ottoman rule; in parts of Croatia including the Military Frontier, under Austrian control; and in Vojvodina, which, at the turn from the 17th to the 18th centuries, switched from Turkish to Austrian hands.[267] In the centuries to come, this mosaic had far-reaching consequences for the Serbian nation's cultural and political history, and its relationships with the neighbouring nations and countries. For more than a century there were no foreign or local scholars in Serbia who could match Marsigli. It was only around 1850 when archaeological activities were revived, this time in the context of the national liberation of Serbs and their modern nation-building process.

Among foreign scholars whose legacy had a significant effect on the development of the modern archaeological discipline in Serbia was Felix Kanitz (1829–1904), a historian, ethnographer and archaeologist, and, for a while, also a curator of the collection of Archaeological and Prehistorical Society from Vienna. Kanitz cannot be considered a typical travel journalist of the time, but more a scholar who wanted to examine the Balkans' archaeology and history systematically, Serbia and Bulgaria in particular.

In 1858, he made his first journey to Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Dalmatia (a year later also to Serbia) as a journalist of a newspaper from Leipzig to report on uprisings against the Ottomans. It was Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864), a famous Serbian linguist and ethnographer, who spent several years in Vienna, who recommended Felix Kanitz to Serbian high circles.[268] Kanitz's visits to Serbia continued, and in 1861 the Austrian Academy of Sciences published his first archaeological paper, '*Die römische Funde aus Serbien*', which included some 40 sites from the territory of the Princedom of Serbia.[269] A year later, he published a survey of Byzantine monuments from Serbia (*Serbiens byzantinische Monument*), while in 1868 followed his historical and ethnographic itinerary – *Serbien. Historisch-etnographische Reisestudie.* His main works followed some two decades later, *Römische Studien in Serbien* (1892) and *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (1904). His *'Roman Studies'* was, by all measures, the best and most exhaustive archaeological monograph on archaeology in Serbia published until that time. It contained descriptions of more than 300 sites and was fully comparable to similar works in other countries. His exquisitely detailed graphics and paintings of archaeological monuments and sites, as well as other destinations and historical landscapes, remain memorable (Kostić 2011). Kanitz also did some authentic research at Viminacium and Mediana and helped establish an archaeological society Sirmium in 1869 in Sremska Mitrovica. It is interesting to note that Kanitz did not have great reception among the first Serbian archaeologists, such as Mihajlo Valtrović or Miloje

267 Following the Great Turkish War between Vienna and Istanbul (1693–1699) and a series of peace treaties (1699, 1718), the territory of Vojvodina was given to Austria, which immediately started intensive colonisation of this region. Vojvodina thus grew into one of the ethnically most diverse areas in Europe, where the Serbs, Hungarians, Germans, Romanians, Slovaks, Croats and the Ukrainian Russinians and Vlachs settled in a territory of about 21,500 km^2.

268 Karadžić also met Ami Boué (1794–1881) author of the highly influential study *La Turquie d'Europe* (1849) (Mihajlović 2020).

269 Serbia was a semi-autonomous princedom under official Ottoman rule, not including Habsburg's Vojvodina.

Vasić. The first translation of his major works came very late, in 1980 (Mihajlović 2018).

Among the famous foreign travellers in Serbia who also contributed to archaeological research, one should not ignore two other scholars, Arthur Evans (1851–1941) and Alfred von Domaszewski (1856–1927). Evans first came to the Balkans in 1871 and kept visiting this area until 1931. His archaeological and historical research was mostly published in his *Antiquarian Research in Illyricum.*[270] During his numerous visits he developed a great sympathy for Slavic peoples, and was the first English scholar who systematically presented South Slavs to an English-speaking audience.[271] Domaszewski was an Austrian historian from Timişoara (in today's Romania) and a professor at the University of Heidelberg. In 1886 he visited numerous Serbian towns to collect information on Roman monuments, and especially inscriptions for CIL (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*) established by Theodor Mommsen.

Today, Serbia's political, cultural and economic centre is indisputably Belgrade (a city of about 1.7 million inhabitants in a country of 7.5 million, whereas Novi Sad, the second-largest city in the country, has six times fewer residents). This, however, was not the case in the 18th century, when the centre of Serbian cultural and national development was in Vojvodina – in Novi Sad, and in Serbian Orthodox monasteries in Fruška Gora that were built as early as the 16th century. Here, among the priests, the first ideas about national history and national antiquities emerged.[272] Zaharije Orfelin (1726-1785) published a call for collecting antiquities, and Lukijan Mušicki (1777-1837), a writer and poet, frequently visited and documented old ruins. Mušicki was also one of the founders of the *Serbian Annals* (*Serbski letopis*), a journal that sparked Matica Srpska's formation – the first prominent Serbian national cultural organisation, founded in 1826 in Budapest (and transferred to Novi Sad in 1864).[273] It is indeed the Matica Srpska where the initiative for establishing a national museum came from. The museum was officially founded in 1844 (*Muzeum Serbski*), together with the adoption of the first Cultural Heritage Protection Act.[274] The museum's beginnings were very modest, it was more just a place for keeping valuable objects. It was not until twenty years later (1864) that the first display was put on by the first professional archaeologist, Mihailo Valtrović, appointed in 1881.

Of the early local scholars, a pioneering role in the second half of the 19th century was played

270 Arthur Evans, *Antiquarian researches in Illyricum. (Parts I–II). The Archaeologia Vol. XLVIII (1883), Westminster: Nichols and Sons and Antiquarian researches in Illyricum, Parts III, IV. Archaeologia: or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity, Volume XLIX. London: Nichols and Sons, for the Society of Antiquaries of London. pp. 1–167.*

271 He was especially engaged in 1875 during the large anti-Ottoman uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina. After that, he continued to support the South Slavs in their political emancipation. During the First World War, he made the acquaintance of some members of the exiled Yugoslav Committee (e.g. Frano Supilo and Ante Trumbić) who resided in London; in November 1918 this Committee proclaimed the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) and strongly lobbied for the pan-Yugoslav cause (i.e. liberation of South Slavs from Austro-Hungarian rule and union with Serbia) (Seton-Watson 1946, 50). For more on Evans's political activities regarding the Balkan Slavs, see 'On Evans in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina' in R. W. Seton-Watson (1946).

272 It should be noted that it was among the Serbian scholars in Vojvodina where the Kosovo myth and the idea of historical and political continuity of the modern Serbian statehood from the medieval Kingdom of Serbia emerged. The Kosovo myth and the narratives of medieval Serbia under the Nemanjić dynasty, along with the onset of activity of the renewed Patriarchate of Peć in the middle of the 18th century, played a key role in the building of the modern Serbian nation and national identity. There is no need to point out that a large portion of historical tractates of the 19th and the 20th centuries are characterised by romantic exposition and reflections on the glory of medieval Serbia and the quest for historical continuity. The power and perseverance of these myths also became evident in the recent Yugoslav wars (more details on this can be found in Novaković 2007a, b).

273 Some details on these two scholars were obtained in personal communication with Aleksandar Palavestra of the University of Belgrade.

274 An important law in this domain was also adopted in 1882.

by Janko Šafarik (1811–1876), a Slovak by origin, born near Budapest. He studied medicine in Budapest and Vienna and became a gymnasium professor in Novi Sad, later also a professor at the Belgrade Lyceum. His uncle, Pavel Jozef Šafarik,[275] directed him to study the Slavic peoples' history and antiquities. In 1848, Janko Šafarik was appointed the first Director of the Serbian National Museum in Belgrade and remained in that position until 1870. He also successfully lobbied for a Decree on the Prohibition of Demolishing Old Towns in 1844. In 1846, Šafarik launched what is considered the first local archaeological topographical research in Serbia (Milinković 1998, 427). In 1865, he set out on a proper 'archaeological journey' across western and central Serbia, where he carried out small-scale excavations (Milinković, *ibid*.).[276] In 1867, he founded the Society for Archaeology and Ethnography in the Balkans. He was a member of several foreign scientific societies, including the Archaeological Society in Moscow, the Society for History and Antiquities in Zagreb. He was also an external member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb.

A notable impetus to the development of the archaeological discipline in the second half of the 19th century came from natural sciences. The most prominent scholar was Josif Pančić (1814–1888), a Croat by origin who studied medicine in Budapest, was also botanist, a professor at the University of Belgrade, the first president of the Serbian Royal Academy of Sciences and Arts, and pioneer of evolutionism in Serbia. In the 1870s, he advocated the importance of the three-age system and archaeological research for understanding the emergence of human civilisation (Pančić 1885). He was the first to present to a Serbian audience the work of the pioneer of Palaeolithic archaeology, Boucher de Perthes. He also maintained contacts with Gabriel de Mortillet (Palavestra, pers. comm.).

Another remarkable expert in the field of natural sciences was Jovan Žujović (1856–1938), who studied natural sciences in Belgrade with Pančić. He also studied geology and anthropology in Paris with Mortillet. Žujović is nowadays considered a pioneer of geological and palaeontological research in Serbia. He was a professor at the University of Belgrade and the founder of the Natural History Museum in Belgrade. He also served as the Minister of Education and Foreign Affairs of Serbia. His book *The Stone Age* (*Kameno doba*), published in 1893, represents the first synthesis of the European and world prehistory in Serbian. Žujović cited all critical European specialists in this field (Mortillet, Lubbock, Hoernes, Quatrefages, Zaborowski, Lartet and others). Žujović was also co-founder of the Serbian Archaeological Society (1883).

Towards the modern Serbian archaeology and its institutionalisation (1880–1941)

The development of the archaeological discipline in Serbia accelerated considerably after the 1880s. A crucial move represented the establishment of the National Museum in Belgrade in 1844.[277] However, it took a few decades before archaeology was institutionalised in this museum.

The 'Austro-Hungarian' Vojvodina continued its leading role in Serbia's cultural development,

275 Pavel Jozef Šafarik was an expert in Slavic languages, literature and history. He was a Director of the Gymnasium in Novi Sad, editor of the journal of the Czech Museum, library curator at the University of Prague, a poet and the author of several important works on Slavic philology, of which some represent the first systematic studies of Slavic languages, the history of literature and antiquities. His best-known publication is *Slavic Antiquities* (*Slovenske starine*), Prague 1837, and this was translated into most Slavic languages.

276 Šafarik's excavations of a Roman temple on the mountain of Rudnik are considered the earliest archaeological excavations in Serbia (Milinković 1998, 427).

277 The original name of the Museum was Muzeum Serpski (Serbian Museum). In the initial years, the museum did not have any real venues. Museum objects were kept in the vaults of the Ministry of Education. Interesting enough, the Minister (Jovan Sterija Popović) made the first classification of objects (Kuzmanović 2012, 53).

which could also be seen in the early establishment of local museums (Bela Crkva 1877, Vršac 1882, Sombor 1888, Sremska Mitrovica 1895, Subotica 1895, Zrenjanin 1906), which corresponds to the general trend in the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. Among them, the museums in Vršac and Sremska Mitrovica devoted much of their activities to archaeology. In the Kingdom of Serbia, there were only two museums before 1914, the already mentioned National Museum in Belgrade and the local museum in Požarevac (1895), established to house the great wealth of archaeological finds from the nearby Roman military camp and town of Viminacium.

In Belgrade, a significant step forward was the appointment in 1881 of Mihailo Valtrović (1839-1915),[278] who completed studies in architecture at the University of Karlsruhe. He became a curator of the National Museum in Belgrade and the first professor of archaeology at the University of Belgrade.[279] Valtrović's achievements are mostly in the domain of the organisation of the archaeological discipline in the country, enlargement of the museum and development of the first curriculum in archaeology. Valtrović was also credited with the foundation of the Serbian Archaeological Society (1883) and the establishment of the first archaeological journal in the country, *Starinar*, launched in 1884, which has been published ever since and represents the most important archaeological scientific periodical in Serbia. In terms of archaeological investigations in the field, Valtrović's contribution is relatively small. He devoted much of his career to studying and conserving medieval architecture and art and fulfilling numerous organisational and infrastructural needs in the new, still quite undeveloped state and administration system. Valtrović's minor excavations in Viminacium (1882) have often been cited as an example of his fieldwork. For his achievements, Valtrović became a Serbian Royal Academy member, Croatian Archaeological Society, Moscow Imperial Archaeological Society, and the Imperial Archaeological Institute in Berlin.

In the research domain, a considerable improvement was offered by two experts who succeeded Valtrović: Nikola Vulić and Miloje Vasić. Nikola Vulić (1872-1945) was a student of Valtrović and completed his doctorate at the University of Munich. In 1897, he took up the position of a professor of ancient history at the University of Belgrade. Shortly after his appointment, he embarked on a very ambitious work in ancient history. He gained a reputation as one of the most important ancient historians of southeastern Europe in the first decades of the 20th century. This is best exemplified by his authorship of many texts in the Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. He was an external member of the science academies in France, Vienna and Romania. His highly impressive bibliography of over 550 works shows that he dealt with more or less all the main topics of ancient regional history, classical philology and epigraphy.[280] In epigraphy, his series *Antički spomenici naše zemlje* (Ancient Monuments of our Country) published together with Anton Premerstein, in the Memoirs of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, provided a necessary basis for modern studies of the ancient history of the central Balkans in general.[281]

Vulić's contribution to archaeology was also impressive. He was famous for discovering princely graves containing golden masks from the 6th century BC in Trebenište near the Ohrid Lake, numerous excavations in N. Macedonia (e.g. Scupi theatre at Zlokučani), epigraphic studies,

278 He was of German origin; his original name was Michail Walter.

279 Valtrović was also a professor of architecture at the Great School of Belgrade, a predecessor of the University of Belgrade.

280 For details on the bibliography of N. Vulić, see Marić (1958/59).

281 See in: *Spomenik srpske kraljevske akademije* XXVII, 1900; *Spomenik srpske kraljevske akademije* XXXIX, 1901; *Spomenik srpske kraljevske akademije* XLII, 1905; *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archaölogiscen Instituts in Wien* 3, 1900; *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archaölogiscen Instituts in Wien* 4, 1901; *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archaölogiscen Instituts in Wien* 6, 1903.

analyses of ancient art production, prehistoric ceramics, and so on. His research was also of great significance for the development of archaeological cartography in the wider Yugoslav area. Within the joint project *Archaeological Map of Yugoslavia*, he published two volumes – one presenting the area of Bitola (Vulić 1937) and the other covering the Kavadarci area (Vulić 1938), both in today North Macedonia. The principal importance of Vulić in early Serbian (but also Yugoslav) archaeology and ancient historiography lies in his introduction of the critical and positivistic approach and his insistence on strict scientific research standards. With such an approach and backed with numerous works, Vulić created a stable conceptual framework of classical archaeology and successfully dismissed the many then popular, national-romantic 'theories' and speculations about Serbia's ancient history.

An equally prominent and influential figure in the first half of 20th century Serbian archaeology was Miloje Vasić (1869–1956). He studied in Munich with A. Furtwängler and succeeded Valtrović at the University of Belgrade (1903) and in the National Museum (1906). With a short break during the Second World War, he remained a professor until 1955. He earned a high international reputation thanks to his investigations of the Neolithic site of Belo Brdo in Vinča, located on the right bank of the Danube near Belgrade. This site attracted attention much earlier, during the 1890s, because of hundreds of objects (terracotta figurines, prosopomorphic lids, fine vessels, etc.) that people used to bring to the National Museum in Belgrade. In 1908, Vasić conducted the first systematic excavation campaign in Vinča. Due to the extraordinary quantity of finds and large dimensions of the site, new excavation seasons followed three years later (1911–1913) and were also funded by the Royal Archaeological Institute in Saint Petersburg. Vasić's early research results were published only as short articles, but even this was enough to attract experts from other countries. In 1918, M. Vasić established contact with the British archaeologist John Lynton Meyers and agreed on a joint project on Balkan prehistory.

Their first field investigations at Vinča took place in 1924; they were relatively small in scale and not completed due to a lack of funds. But this did not stop Vasić from seeking new funding sources and sponsors. Vasić's friendship with Alec Brown, a lecturer in English at the University of Belgrade, and his wife Catherine, enabled Vasić to get in touch with Charles Hyde, a philanthropist and the owner of a publishing house in Birmingham, UK. Hyde offered substantial funds to continue excavations in Vinča and establish an archaeological collection at the University of Belgrade. Indeed, Hyde's donations proved crucial for carrying out the most extensive investigations at Vinča in general. The principal field campaigns were conducted between 1929 and 1931, and then in 1933 and 1934. Vasić investigated more than 2,500 cubic meters of archaeological deposits, reaching a depth of about 10 meters from the site's surface. These excavations, along with the following publications (Vasić 1932–1936), inaugurated him as authority for the Balkan's prehistory and Vinča as one of the most fascinating and intriguing prehistoric sites in Europe.[282]

In his more than 50-year career, M. Vasić conducted fieldwork or artefact analyses at many other sites in Serbia,[283] but Vinča brought him international fame. However, as it soon turned out, Vinča was also his greatest professional disaster, which had considerable consequences for the development of prehistoric archaeology in Serbia. Vasić undoubtedly discovered one of the most important sites for understanding the Neolithic of southeastern Europe and the earliest metallurgy,[284] but in his final synthesis (Vasić 1936) he argued for a chronologically and

282 In the 1930s, Vasić kept receiving numerous invitations from the most prominent scientific societies and archaeological conferences in Europe. Also, many renowned European scholars visited him in Vinča (such as V. Gordon Childe, W.A. Heurtley, etc.).

283 Especially important were his studies of the Žuto Brdo site, which served him as the basis for outlining the Iron Age in Serbia (Vasić 1907; 1912; 1914).

284 For the whole series of Prehistoric Vinča, see Vasić 1932; 1936a; 1936b; 1936c).

historically completely erroneous character of the site. According to him, Vinča was a Greek (Ionian) colony dating from the Archaic period (7th–6th centuries BC). Despite the well-grounded local and foreign criticisms (e.g. Grbić 1933-1934; Fewkes 1936; Grbić and Vulić 1937; even Childe in 1929 in his famous book *Danube in Prehistory* states the Neolithic date of Vinča), Vasić stubbornly insisted on very late dates for the site.[285] This soon set him apart from most of the European researchers of the prehistory of southeast Europe. It was not only the Vinča site's age, but also his 'short' chronology of the Neolithic and Bronze Age that was entirely unfounded.

The reasons behind his insistence on the late dates remain unknown. Some Serbian scholars (for example, A. Palavestra) have suggested that Vasić's attitude reflected his personality and the great authority he enjoyed in Serbian archaeology of the time. It may have also resulted from the competition with N. Vulić or his rather uncritical fascination with the Aegean civilisations and the opposition to the German 'Nordic' interpretations.[286] In any case, M. Vasić took a step too far from the 'mainstream' discourse in Neolithic archaeology and persisted in his stance. This had a significant effect on the generations of his most talented students with whom he could no longer have quality cooperation, because their interpretations of the Vinča site diverged from his own. Thus they parted from him and, immediately after the Second World War, set a different path for the development of prehistoric archaeology in Serbia.[287]

Along with Vulić and Vasić, the work of Miodrag Grbić (1901-1969) was also of significance in the period between the two world wars. Grbić studied archaeology and geography at the Charles University in Prague, where he also received his doctorate with Lubor Niederle in 1925. Grbić studied in a different tradition than that of the Vienna School of *Altertumswissenschaftliche* archaeology, as was the case with Vulić or Vasić or most of the archaeologists in the former Yugoslavia in the first half of the 20th century. The Prague School was more closely connected to ethnology on one side and a more critical positivist approach to prehistoric typology and chronology on the other.[288] A year later, he was made a teaching assistant at the Seminar for Art History in Belgrade, whilst he also worked at the museum in Skopje for a short while. In 1926, he

285 It is of interest to analyse the 'sliding' of Vasić's estimated dates for Vinča. In his first publications on Vinča, he attempted to synchronise the discoveries and chronology with Near Eastern and Aegean sites, especially with the lowest layers of Troy (Troy I and II, which he interpreted as dating from the Bronze Age), and with A. Evans' findings during the excavations at Knossos. He thus rejected the 'Nordic' theories advocated by German scientists, for example, Kossina, Furtwängler, Schuchhardt (Palavestra 1999–2000: 17). Instead, he proposed a kind of diffusionist, *Ex Oriente lux* theory, more as an idea than in a clear chronological sense. This was in contrast to V. Gordon Childe's theory presented in his book *Danube in Prehistory* (1929), where Vinča is placed in the Neolithic period (the 3rd millennium BC). In 1932, Vasić dated Vinča in the middle of the 2nd millennium BC and described it as a settlement of Cycladic colonists. Finally, in 1936, he proposed later dates for the site, the 7th–6th century BC, and suggested Ionian colonists as its founders. Vasić insisted on his 'Ionian' attribution of Vinča even after the Second World War (Vasić 1948).

286 Palavestra (2013, 687) supplies another important detail on this issue. Namely, in some of Vasić's early publications about the Belo Brdo site, from 1907, 1912 and 1914, he introduced a model of Greek influences in the Danube Region in the 1st millennium BC.

287 The most illustrative is the case of Milutin and Draga Garašanin and Alojz Benac, leading prehistorians in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Second World War. They all received their first degrees with Vasić but, due to the disagreement with Vasić's views on Balkan prehistory they had to conduct their doctoral studies with J. Korošec in Slovenia. In the 1950s and 1960s, together with some other prehistorians of the younger generation in Yugoslavia (e.g. B. Čović, F. Starè and S. Gabrovec), they made great efforts towards developing new concepts of prehistoric archaeology in Yugoslavia, using as a basis the same foundations laid in German archaeology by G. Merhart and his successors from the so-called Marburg School (H. Mueller-Karpe, W. Dehn, G. Kossack, J. Werner, etc.). V. Milojčić, a pre-war student of Vasić, played a notable role in the reformation of post-war German Neolithic archaeology.

288 After returning from his doctorate studies in Prague, Grbić also looked for a job at the University of Ljubljana (Bandović 2016, 835). For a biography and the works of Miodrag Grbić, see Gačić (2005).

moved to the National Museum in Belgrade. In 1941, he was appointed the Belgrade City Museum Director and kept this position until 1944. During his time as the Belgrade City Museum Director, he founded the Municipal Institute for the Protection of Antiquities. He also acted as a high governmental official for museums and antiques at the Ministry of Education.[289] Accused of loyalty to the German occupiers,[290] Grbić was suspended and placed under investigation immediately after Belgrade's liberation in autumn 1944, but he was soon acquitted of any serious crimes. He moved to Novi Sad, where he started to work in the Museum of Vojvodina. He returned to Belgrade in 1949 and worked at the Institute of Archaeology until he died in 1969.

Miodrag Grbić was more active in fieldwork compared to Vasić, and was somewhat more versatile. He investigated many sites from almost all archaeological periods in Serbia and N. Macedonia. At the beginning of his professional career, in 1928, he initiated what turned out later one of the most critical research projects – the excavation of the Early Neolithic site at Starčevo near Pančevo. A few years later, in 1932, extensive excavations were carried out on this site by a Harvard University team (Vladimir Fewkes, Robert Erich and Hetty Goldman) with Grbić as co-Director. The Starčevo excavations were one of the rare examples of scientific collaboration with American institutions in pre-war Serbia and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Some other of Grbić's excavations that contributed significantly to the understanding of the Neolithic in this region also include one of the earliest Neolithic cemeteries with crouched skeletons, located in Botoš near Zrenjanin (1931), and the investigations in Pločnik near Prokuplje. This latter subsequently became an eponym for the latest stage of the Vinča culture.

In the period between the two world wars, Serbian archaeological institutions carried out quite a lot of research on the territory of today's North Macedonia, considered South Serbia at that time. The reasons for intensified archaeological activities in this region were part of the broader politics of 'Serbianisation.'[291] The largest project there was the research on the ancient town of Stobi ('the Serbian Pompeii', as promoted in the media in Serbia in the 1930s), but there were also several smaller prehistoric projects. Grbić for a shorter period excavated Stobi and another ancient town (Heraclea Linkestis near Bitola), but also in the area of Ohrid Lake (Gradište Sv. Erasmo, a site from the Hellenistic period, famous for its 'cyclopean' walls), jointly with the German archaeological team lead by Wilhelm Unverzagt and Wilhelm von Reiswitz. In 1933 Grbić was one of the organisers of the Fifth Excursion of the Danube archaeologists (*V. Studienfahrt der Donauländischen Archäeologen)*.[292] Following his

289 It is necessary to mention Grbić's attempt at maintaining the continuity of the university studies in archaeology through the war years. During the German occupation, the University of Belgrade was closed, so Grbić organised a special 'museum course' in the Prince Paul Museum, where he taught classical and prehistoric archaeology on his own. Among the attendees of the course were Jovan Kovačević, Milutin Garašanin, Draga Aranđelović (Garašanin), Vladimir Milojčić (Gačić 2005) and Irma Čremošnik (Bandović 2014). The course participants had practical instruction in archaeological excavations at Kalemegdan, where Wilhelm Unverzagt, Director of the Prehistoric Museum in Berlin, excavated in 1942. He later became one of the leading prehistorians in the Democratic Republic of Germany; Grbić had already collaborated with him in N. Macedonia in the 1930s.

290 These accusations were aimed at Grbić's collaboration with Wilhelm Unverzagt (German Archaeological Institute) and Johan von Reiswitz (the German military consultant for art and heritage in Belgrade). In the organisation of Ahnenerbe and Rosenberg's office, they both conducted archaeological research in Belgrade and in other places in Serbia during the German occupation (1941–1944).

291 On effects of the 'Serbianisation of North Macedonia see more in the chapter on North Macedonia.

292 The excursion was organised by the Roman-Germanic Commission of the German Archaeological Institute. Among the participants, there were several famous Central European scholars: Paul Reinecke, Oswald Menghin, Rudolf Egger, Ferenz Tompa, Gerhard Bersu, Ronald Syme, Albert Egges van Gifen, Raymond Lantier, and Andreas Alföldy. From Yugoslavia came Miodrag Grbić, Nikola Vulić, Mihovil Abramić, and Balduin Saria (Bandović 2016, 839). The excursion

rehabilitation after the Second World War, Grbić continued intensive field research within the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade.[293] His efforts and pre-war reputation were fundamental in establishing the links with international archaeological centres and the promotion of Serbian and Macedonian cultural heritage among an expert European audience.

For the period between the two world wars, it is also worth mentioning Balduin Saria. Although he made a great career in Slovenia at the University of Ljubljana, he also left traces in Serbian archaeology. He started his professional career in the National Museum in Belgrade and as an assistant professor at Belgrade University. Though he stayed in Belgrade only four years (1922–1926) before transferring to Ljubljana, he led extensive excavations at Stobi. Later, when he became one of the most renowned Yugoslav archaeologists, he used his experiences from Serbia and ties with Serbian colleagues to coordinate some major projects, such as the Archaeological Map of Yugoslavia and Tabula Imperii Romani.

It is evident that during the period between the two world wars three internationally recognised scholars had a dominant role in Serbian archaeology – Nikola Vulić, Miloje Vasić and Miodrag Grbić. In this sense, Belgrade certainly gained a reputation as an important regional centre of archaeological research of the Balkans and the Danube region. This reputation was additionally supported by the archaeological discoveries of a broader European relevance (e.g. Vinča, Starčevo, Trebenište, and Roman sites on Danube limes) that aroused the interest of a broader professional public. Nevertheless, it seems that the potential represented by Vulić, Vasić and Grbić was not fully taken advantage of. All three of them worked in the most important national institutions and had relatively good opportunities to direct the progress of still the poorly developed archaeological discipline, but the truth is that there was no proper synergy between these central figures. On the contrary, due to many disputes between leading scholars (e.g. between Vulić and Vasić), they followed parallel rather than converging paths in their work. Not even Grbić, who entered professional archaeology in Belgrade sometime later, could improve the relationships between the two of the most prominent archaeologists in Serbia.

In the first half of the 20th century, Belgrade was basically the only archaeological centre in possession of some research infrastructure for archaeology (the National Museum 1844, University of Belgrade 1881, Municipal Museum 1903, Municipal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments 1941).[294] Besides Vojvodina, where several local museums were already created in Austrian times, museums were very rare and modest in other Serbian regions. It was only in the 1930s when small local museums started to emerge in central and southern Serbia: Niš (1933), Negotin (1934), Šabac (1934). In 1923 the museum in Pančevo (Vojvodina) was also established.

One of the main reasons behind this situation was the poorly developed middle class and thus the related urban culture and traditions. In this respect, Vojvodina had a significant advantage over the rest of Serbia. Data from the 1931 population census (*Statistical Yearbook/Statistički godišnjak 1934–1935* from 1936) shows that Danube Banate (encompassing today Vojvodina and parts of Šumadija region south of Danube) had only 17% of the population who lived in towns, and that out of the 430,000 urban residents (in 15 cities in the Danube Banate), only 52,000 lived in towns outside Vojvodina (in Kragujevac, Smederevo and Požarevac). The urban

visited archaeological sites and museums along the Danube, from Budapest to Iron Gorge. A similar excursion to Dalmatia was organised in 1931.

293 Grbić's field projects are described in more detail in Gačić (2005, 10–14) and Grbić's bibliography (Gaj-Popović 1969).

294 In Belgrade the Military Museum also existed, which was established in 1878 (re-established in 1937) but which did not include archaeology until the 1960s.

population was even smaller in the Morava Banate (today central and eastern Serbia); there, out of the total of 1.5 million inhabitants listed in the census, fewer than 75,000 were from urban areas (Jagodina, Kruševac, Niš, Pirot and Zaječar). Belgrade had about 265,000 inhabitants and represented a special census unit.[295]

Of the local museums, the Museum in Vršac was in effect the only institution in which systematic archaeological work was carried out thanks to the efforts of Felix Milleker (1858–1942), a German from Banat, who did not possess a formal archaeological education but, nonetheless, invested significant energy in the discovery and protection of archaeological remains in south Banate.[296] Milleker was a typical polymath of the time, and published more than 200 articles on the history, culture and archaeology of Banate and Vojvodina. He turned the City Museum of Vršac into an example of an already successful local institution in the time of Austrian rule, and managed to preserve its reputation in the following decades.[297] His activities were very successful and put him side-by-side with other prominent figures in the development of Serbia's archaeological discipline. He conducted numerous excavations and topographical investigations,[298] of which the most well-known are excavations of the Bronze Age settlement and cemetery in Vatin – the eponymous site for the Middle Bronze Age regional culture.

As we have seen, during the Yugoslav Kingdom not many new institutions were established that dealt professionally with archaeology. Except for the museums in Vršac, Požarevac and Sremska Mitrovica, local museums' contributions to archaeology before the Second World War remained very limited. In principle, they did not include archaeologists in their activities because of the limited funding and lack of experts in the field.

It is interesting to observe the 'fortunes' of Serbian archaeology during the Second World War.[299] The war started on the 6th of April 1941 with a massive bombardment on Belgrade,[300] ten days after a coup d'etat by the Yugoslav Army officers who, supported by British diplomacy and intelligence, overthrew the government, which signed the accession to Tripartite Pact (Germany–Italy–Japan). Yugoslavia was invaded by Germans and its allies, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania, and capitulated on the 17th of April 1941. Along with most of his government, the King went into exile in the UK, and a marionette government under the German protectorate was established on Serbia's territory (without Vojvodina, Kosovo and N. Macedonia).

Due to the war and German occupation, the level of archaeological work declined substantially.

295 In comparison with continental Croatia, the size of the urban population in the Sava Banate was slightly less than 400,000 inhabitants across 19 towns, including Zagreb, or about 14% of the total population of the Sava Banate.

296 Milleker gained some basic archaeological knowledge by accompanying Karl Torma, prominent Hungarian archaeologist, during his investigations of south Banat (Medaković 2008, 20).

297 The excursion in 1933 (the Fifth Study Trip of the Danube Archaeologists) of some 30 archaeologists from ten European countries could serve as an illustration of the museum's reputation. The excursion visited important sites in the Yugoslav Danube region (Mursa, Vučedol, Vinča, Starčevo, Viminacium), as well as the City Museum in Vršac and the sites in the surroundings explored by Milleker. The organisers of this study tour were Ferenc Tompa from Budapest, Balduin Saria from Ljubljana and Miodrag Grbić from Belgrade (Medaković 2008, 48; Gačić 2005, 15).

298 In the catalogue of the exhibition about Felix Milleker (Medaković 2008, 53–55) more than 40 different field investigations are listed for Milleker. Concerning his topographical research, attention should be drawn to Milleker's archaeological map of Banat created over 22 years and ultimately containing 500 pages (Milleker 1887–1909; Medaković 2008, 25).

299 See more on this in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology.

300 Some 20,000 people were killed in this bombardment. Massive damage was caused to the town infrastructure and its buildings, including the National Library, where 350,000 books and 500,000 manuscripts and documents were destroyed. The damage inflicted on the National Library was estimated to be some 116 million USD in 1945 (more than 1.6 billion USD in 2018) (Kreso 1979, 42).

The few existing museums continued to exist at a minimum of their capacities, while teaching at the University of Belgrade was suspended. However, there were two episodes worth noting for their later consequences. The first is the so-called 'museum course' organised between 1942 and 1944 in the Prince Paul Museum[301] by M. Grbić and under the Serbian collaboration government's aegis. The course was meant as a temporary substitute for the suspended teaching at the university.[302] In this course some 50 students of archaeology, art history and architecture participated, among them Milutin and Draga Garašanin, Vladimir Milojčić, Dušanka Vučković Todorović, Irma Čremošnik, and Jovan Kovačević, who all made excellent careers in archaeology in post-war Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also strongly influenced the development of archaeology in Yugoslavia as a whole. At a certain point, some students of this course were engaged in the excavations at the Kalemengdan fortress in Belgrade, led by Wilhelm Unverzagt from the Ahnenerbe organisation and assisted by Grbić. German involvement was certainly ideologically framed – to discover and promote early Germans (i.e. Goths) at the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers in the context of their imperial politics, and claim a German historical right over this region. The collaboration with the Germans was one of the reasons why Grbić was suspended immediately after the liberation of Belgrade in autumn 1944. On the other hand, the course itself was praised by the participant students who learned several technical skills in archaeological excavation and helped maintain some archaeological education continuity and systematics during the war (Bandić 2014, 639).[303]

Another episode was associated with the activities of Adam Oršić (1895–1968), from a Croatian noble family, a civil servant in Niš and later in Belgrade, and one of the founders of the museum in Niš (1934). During his service in Niš in the 1930s, Oršič undertook several archaeological excavations (most important were those at the multi-period prehistoric site at Bubanj) and surveying campaigns in the Niš region. In these years, he closely collaborated with Grbić. He also participated in the Fifth Excursion of the Danube Archaeologists (*V. Studienfahrt der Deutscher und Donauländischer Bodenforscher*) in 1933, where he met some of the most influential scholars from Germany, Austria, Hungary, France and Yugoslavia. On this occasion, Oršić met Oswald Menghin from the University of Vienna and Wilhelm Unverzagt from the Berlin Museum, with whom he developed closer collaboration in the years to follow. During the Second World War, Oršić was appointed as Civil Commissioner of the Vranje Region (Janković 2018, 59) and was also engaged by *Kunst und Denkmalschutz,* the central German office for the protection of art and heritage monuments in occupied Serbia, and the Ahnenerbe organisation which worked in Serbia between 1942 and 1944.[304] Adam Oršić was in close contact with Kurt Willvonseder, and Austrian prehistorian, former student of Oswald Menghin, and Head of Ahnenerbe in Serbia. Oršić also met Herbert Jankuhn, German prehistorian, Head of the Excavation Unit of Ahnenerbe, and Wolfram Sievers, Ahnenerbe Secretary, who recommended Oršić as a local partner of Ahnenerbe (Janković 2018) and ordered the German and

301 The Prince Paul Museum was established in 1935 by merging the National Museum with the Museum of Modern Art.

302 For more on the 'museum course' see in Bandović (2014).

303 M. and D. Garašanin (1953b) published the manual for archaeological excavations largely based on their experiences learned from Unverzagt's excavations and recording techniques (Bandović 2014, 640).

304 M. Janković (2018, 67–89) presents reports on Ahnenerbe's activities in Serbia. The reports include excavations of Kalemegdan fortress, recording of major archaeological collections, particularly the Vinča collection, and catalogues of major historical monuments. Ahnenerbe had a monopoly over archaeological research in Serbia. As a special task, the establishment of a central institute for the protection of monuments was planned. Among other details, these reports also bring information on the training of local students (probably those from the 'museum course'), because they could not find enough trained archaeologists in the country. The Ahnenerbe records and catalogues were shipped to Germany before the liberation of Belgrade in October 1944.

Serbian police in Belgrade to issue all the necessary permits for Oršić.[305] In 1942 Oršić guided Willvonseder in his trip to southern Serbia and Niš and lobbied for research in this region. Oršić proposed a unique plan for archaeological research – "*Urgeschichtlichen Forschungsarbeit in Serbien und Macedonien in Sommer 1943, Vorschlag zur Organisation der urgeschichtliche Forschungsarbeit in Serbien und Macedonien in Sommer 1943*" (Janković 2018, 83, footnote 167) – which also included a 'Horsemen Archaeological Expedition" (Janković 2018, 84–89) aimed at surveying this region. However, due to several, mostly logistic reasons, Oršić failed to implement his very ambitious plan.[306] After the war, Oršić migrated, first to Austria, where he occasionally worked with the Provincial Museum in Linz, and then to Brazil in 1951.[307]

However, the German military occupation caused considerable damage to several cultural institutions. The National Museum had already been bombarded and plundered during Belgrade's Austrian occupation in the First World War; in the German bombardment in 1941, the National Library was completely destroyed. moreover, massive plundering of archives and art collections (belonging to Serbian Jews, mostly) took place, and some of the most valuable pieces were taken from the estates of the Karađorđević's (royal) family.[308]

305 Interestingly, Oršić had the citizenship of the Croatian marionette State of Independent Croatia (Janković 208).

306 Oršić was also lobbying for joint projects with the Bulgarian King Boris III and Prime Minister Bogdan Filov, who was also teaching archaeology at the University of Sofia, known for its excavations of the Iron Age graves with golden mask at Trebenište, nowadays in North Macedonia, at that time in Serbia.

307 Adam Oršić continued his archaeological career in Brazil, where he made an important contribution to the development of the archaeological discipline. Together with José Loureiro Fernandes from the University of Parana, he is considered the principal reformer of Brazilian archaeology. They worked on introducing modern archaeological field methods in traditional anthropological research (see more in Janković 2018, 92–101).

308 See the chapter on Yugoslavia for more on German activities during the Second World War.

Contemporary Serbian archaeology (1945–)

As with the national archaeological schools in the other former Yugoslav republics, Serbian archaeology made much more progress only after the Second World War. The development is predominantly seen in the expanding institutional network at regional levels and creating positions for a much greater number of archaeologists. Yugoslav society (including in all its republics) also underwent a radical transformation under the rule of the Communist Party in all social domains, science included. New political and ideological circumstances required re-thinking the direction and basis for further development of archaeology.

However, the most visible change that the intensive post-war modernisation brought was the appearance of many regional and local museums. In the period between 1945 and 1960, new museums were established in 22 towns. Considering also the developments in Croatia and Slovenia, where similar trends can be observed, one can imagine the magnitude of modernising Yugoslav society. Of course, there were also ideological reasons included in establishing such a great number of museums across the whole country. Still, one cannot deny the positive impact on education and general cultural development. After 1960, however, such dynamism was never repeated. It is also fair to say that archaeology was not included in all museums from the very beginning. Still, gradually many of them started to collect archaeological objects systematically and hire archaeological experts, and it proved essential to have an institution first for this whole process to be successful, with far-reaching consequences for archaeology.

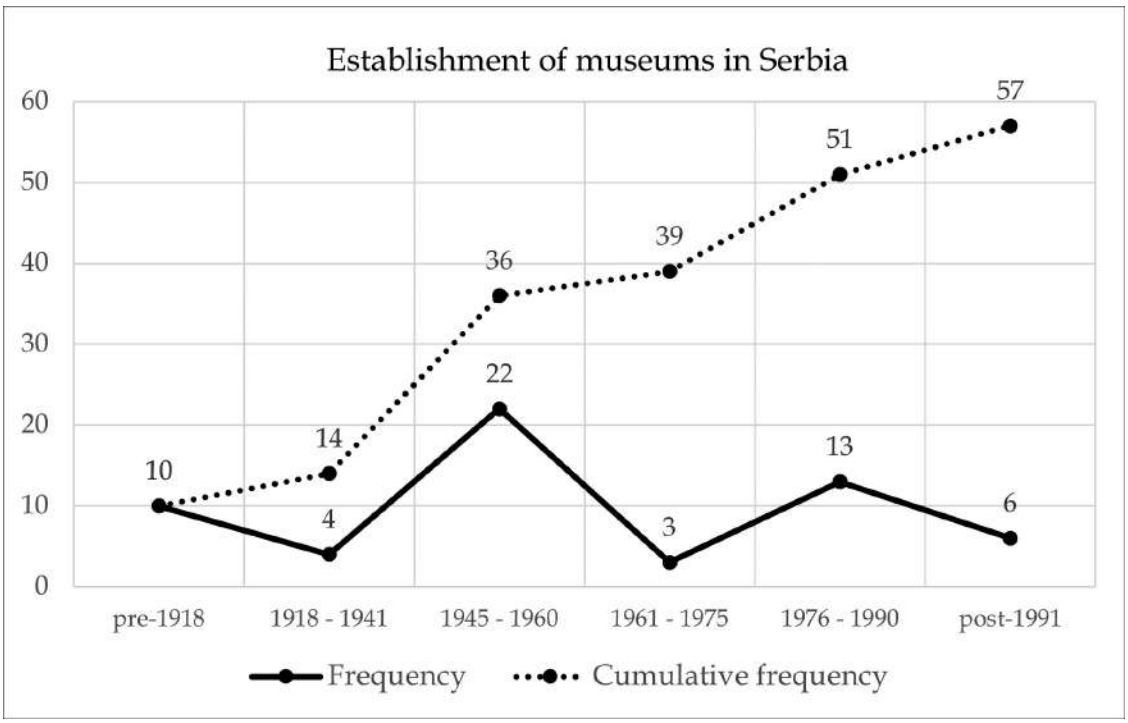


Fig. 78 Trend in establishing museums in Serbia.

1895 – Subotica
1896 – Požarevac
1903 – Beograd (Municipal Museum)
1906 – Zrenjanin
1923 – Pančevo
1933 – Niš
1934 – Negotin, Šabac
1946 – Kikinda
1947 – Novi Sad (Museum of Vojvodina), Pirot, Užice
1948 – Prokuplje, Leskovac
1949 – Kragujevac, senta
1950 – Kraljevo, Smederevo, Bor
1951 – Čačak, Zaječar, Kruševac, Valjevo
1953 – Bečej, Novi pazar
1954 – Novi Sad (Municipal Museum), Ćuprija, Jagodina
1955 – Zemun
1960 – Vranje

However, for archaeologies in the former Yugoslavia in the first half of the 20th century, it is fair to say that their institutions were only as strong and influential as the key archaeologists working in them. Archaeology was practised by a handful of scholars, and it was mostly upon them and their work that the progress of archaeology hinged. Their biographies, political and social influence, personal interests and even some traits of their personalities had a much greater impact on the discipline pathways than was generally the case in larger scientific communities. Each country had its own story regarding the transition of archaeology before the Second World War. Slovenia is highlighted as an example of discontinuity in terms of people and concepts. In 1945, it was essentially abandoned by all but one professional archaeologist. In contrast, in Croatia archaeology managed to preserve continuity over time. Serbian archaeology could be placed somewhere in between these two situations.

Several factors enabled continuity. Vasić, who, regardless of his advanced age became active once again after the war and restored archaeology studies at the University of Belgrade. Miodrag Grbić, despite his short suspension, was another vital source of support to this continuity. Then there was Vladimir Petković, former Director of the National Museum in Belgrade (1921–1935)

and professor at the University of Belgrade. He became the first Director of the newly established Archaeological Institute in 1947. However, Vasić and Grbić could not assume a leading role in the renewal of archaeology in post-war Serbia – Vasić mostly because of his age, but also due to the disagreements he had with his most prominent students about the issue of Vinča and the prehistoric developments in the Balkans and the Danube region, and Grbić for political reasons. Grbić was soon allowed to continue his career in archaeology, where he soon regained a high scholarly status, but not at the executive positions. Vladimir Petković could be considered instrumental in bridging the pre- and post-war periods, especially in renewing the institutional infrastructure rather than its conceptual renewal.[309] Another 'channel' of continuity can be seen in some participants of the 'museum course' at the Prince Paul Museum (e.g. Milutin and Draga Garašanin), who soon assumed influential positions in archaeological academia in Serbia (and Yugoslavia). Their concepts of archaeology were no longer those from the 1920s or 1930.

To better understand the paths of development of the archaeological discipline over this period in Serbia, the issue must be examined from different perspectives. Probably the most crucial aspect is the further institutionalisation of archaeology. It is only through the successful expansion of the network of institutions at regional and local levels that archaeology could change its status as a 'discipline of a few individuals' in which personal interests, attitudes and behaviours could significantly influence the discipline's progress. A developed and branching system can hinder such limiting tendencies, and ensure the continuity of the work and institutions.

It has already been mentioned that the network of urban and industrial centres in Serbia (excluding Vojvodina) was much less developed than the ones in Slovenia and Croatia, and that Belgrade was by far the largest and most developed economic and industrial centre in the country.[310] Such structural disparity effectively fuelled the centralisation of the country's governing power, which was imposed by the ruling regime in the early post-war period. In archaeology, this resulted in a greater concentration of personnel and financial and other material resources in national institutions in Belgrade (i.e., the Institute of Archaeology, University, National Museum, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments). It is not before the late 1950s that the development of a regional network for museums and the service for the protection of cultural heritage commenced. This co-occurred with increased industrialisation and urbanisation of Serbia, and pronounced economic growth in several centres in the areas outside Belgrade. Notably, before the war there was almost no locally institutionalised archaeological tradition in many of these regional centres. Except for few museums that employed archaeologists (e.g. Vršac), virtually all other archaeological institutions founded or renovated after the Second World War began to do professional archaeology from scratch.

Serbian archaeology entered into the 1970s with a relatively developed museum and heritage protection infrastructure. Several smaller museums established in the 1950s and 1960s already completed their staff with archaeologists and conducted archaeological investigations. Institutional development and expansion continued, although maybe not at the same pace as in the first two post-war decades. The institutional system of archaeology became more robust, and the

309 His research was focused more on Serbian medieval architecture (churches and monasteries) and art, the domains considered at that time more as subjects of art history. However, he was able to gather several already established scholars, architects, art historians and historians, who were active in archaeology since the 1920s and 1930s, e.g. Aleksandar Deroko, Đurđe Bošković, Svetozar Radojčić, and Đorđe Mano Zisi in the newly established Archaeological Institute, and make the institute the largest and strongest archaeological institution in Yugoslavia after 1945.

310 Excluding Vojvodina, where before the war, the largest town was Subotica with about 100,000 inhabitants, Niš, the second-largest city in Serbia, had seven to eight times fewer citizens than Belgrade, about 40,000.

development of the discipline did not depend so much on individuals. In the period between 1961 and 1990, 17 new museums were established:

1963 – Aleksinac
1966 – Smederevska Palanka
1972 – Ruma
1978 – Paraćin
1979 – Bačka Palanka
1980 – Knjaževac
1981 – Aranđelovac
1982 – Mladenovac
1983 – Vrnajčka banja, Trstenik, Bela Palanka
1984 – Loznica
1987 – Gornji Milanovac
1988 – Petrovac na Mlavi
1990 – Prijepolje, Odžaci, Priboj

By 1990, 52 museums, dealing directly or indirectly with archaeological heritage, were in Serbia; 38 were established after 1945. However, the development was not fully comparable in all Serbian regions. While in Vojvodina literally every town of more than 10,000 inhabitants had its own museum, southwestern Serbia (Sanjak) and Kosovo were much further behind.

The process of 'regionalisation' is also observable in the heritage protection domain. Although Serbia passed one of the first laws in southeast Europe that concerned the protection of cultural heritage in 1844 (the *Decree on the Protection of Monuments of Antiquity*) and a similar law in 1881, it was only after the Second World war that the formation of a more efficient public service for heritage protection took place.[311]

As was the case in other Yugoslav republics, creating a modern and efficient protection service was initiated immediately after 1945. The Institute for the Protection and Scientific Study of Cultural Monuments was founded in 1947 and based in Belgrade. Following the autonomous status of Vojvodina, a similar Provincial Institute was established in Novi Sad in 1951. Until the beginning of the 1960s, these two institutes were the only conservation institutions in Serbia. To perform their tasks productively, they had to work closely with regional and local museums in conducting fieldwork and monitoring the state of monuments. In the early 1960s, the formation of regional conservation branches or units began. The first wave included the establishment of the institutes for the protection of cultural monuments in Belgrade (1960, for the metropolitan area), Sremska Mitrovica (1961), Kraljevo (1965), Niš (1966) and Kragujevac (1966). The second wave came in the 1980s, when the institutes were opened in Subotica (1980), Knjaževac (1980), Smederevo (1981), Novi Sad (1983, for the city area) and Valjevo (1986). The creation of the regional network was completed by forming the institutes' regional units in Vojvodina – in Pančevo (1993) and Zrenjanin (2003).[312]

Along with the expansion of the regional network of institutions, significant progress was made in terms of the improved infrastructure in the central national archaeological institutions in Belgrade. In 1947, the Archaeological Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) was founded, planned as the central national institution in charge of strategic planning

311 Miodrag Grbić, working as a high official at the Ministry of Culture of the Quisling Serbian governments (under the German military protectorate), founded the first Municipal Institute for the Protection of Antiquities in Belgrade during the Second World War. This institution was abolished with liberation in 1944, but later re-established as a branch of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia.

312 There exists another institution of this kind – the Provincial Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Prishtina, with the central office in Leposavić. This institution was created in the years when Kosovo was gaining independence, whose statehood Serbia still does not recognise. In this context, some Serbian institutions (e.g. the University of Prishtina and some other public institutions) called for a formal continuity with the previous institutions of the province. Serbia established their temporary offices either outside Kosovo or in the parts of Kosovo with the Serbian local governments. Details on the activity or the current status of the institute in Leposavić/Leposaviq are not available. The official website of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia does not list the institute in Leposavić among its regional units.

for archaeology and carrying out the most important research projects nationwide. The idea of establishing a central, i.e. national institute for science and research, had almost no roots in the previous traditions.[313] Instead, it was conceived following the Soviet model of the organisation of scientific work and institutional hierarchy. Such institutes were at the top of the institutional disciplinary pyramid, and were responsible for science's strategic development.

In Yugoslavia, this model was followed in Slovenia and Serbia and, to a certain extent, in Croatia. The first task of the institute was to organise and coordinate local specialists, as well as to build its own team of archaeological experts. Besides, it was expected to design middle and long-term strategic plans. The institute, in its early years under the directorship of Vladimir Petković, was very successful in this respect. In less than two decades it institute hired more than 20 professional researchers, the largest team of archaeologists in Serbia and the former Yugoslavia.[314] On a more specific level, the most important project of the institute over the first two decades was the publication of Serbia's archaeological map. For many years, this project was considered the main instrument for developing the archaeological discipline and the conservation service. It already had a predecessor – in the Archaeological Map of Yugoslavia from the 1930s, which remained uncompleted.[315] Thus, already in 1951 the first inventory of archaeological sites came to light, authored by Milutin Garašanin and Draga Garašanin. In 1953 and 1956, it was supplemented by a much more detailed publication (in two volumes) of the Institute of Archaeology.[316] However, regarding the number of listed sites, the Serbian gazetteer could not match the similar publications in Slovenia (*Arheološka najdišča Slovenije* 1975), Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine,* in seven volumes, 1988) or N. Macedonia (*Arheološka karta na Makedonija*, three volumes, 1994, 1996, 2002).

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Institute of Archaeology continued to expand, and provided significant help in the development of other institutions in Serbia. Its members not only conducted research projects at key sites in the country but also frequently lectured at the University of Belgrade. At the regional and local levels, they coordinated with increasing success the work of local institutions and also contributed significantly to creating new positions for archaeologists in them, making these institutions capable of conducting larger archaeological projects. The institute also played a key role in improving the conservation service, especially in conducting field research of the endangered sites. The service was initially organised only at the national level. From the 1960s onwards, it started developing its regional network. In its early days, the service could not carry out substantial rescue projects due to the lack of competent staff; therefore, the work was accomplished by archaeologists from the institute and associated scholars. In the context of strong administrative centralisation in the entire country during the first two decades after the Second World War, the institute's plan effectively represented a major part of Serbian archaeology's national agenda.

313 In the mid-1920s, Miloje Vasić (1927) published a short paper advocating the establishment of the Yugoslav Institute of Archaeology which would be based in Belgrade and hire the best archaeologists from the country, but this was his more his personal view and not an official proposal.

314 For more on the early activities of the Institute of Archaeology, see Bošković Đ. (1968).

315 The concept of this project, in which Balduin Saria and Miodrag Grbić played a major role, followed the best standards at the time of archaeological topography and cartography (see Novaković 2003, 228–229). The project was suspended due to the Second World War (by then, only five maps had been published, for two areas in Slovenia, Ptuj and Rogatec, two areas in N. Macedonia, Bitola and Kavadarci, and the area of Zagreb in Croatia (Saria 1936; Vulić 1937; 1938; Klemenc 1938; Saria and Klemenc 1939). However, it was renewed in post-war Yugoslavia and given a different methodological and structural frame.

316 Milutin Garašanin and Draga Garašanin, *Arheološka nalazišta u Srbiji*, Prosveta-Beograd 1951; *Arheološki spomenici i nalazišta u Srbiji,* Knjiga 1: *Zapadna Srbija*; *Arheološki spomenici i nalazišta u Srbiji,* Knjiga 2: *Istočna Srbija*, Arheološki institut, Srpska akademija nauka, Beograd 1953, 1956.

The leading experts from the institute, together with archaeologists from the University of Belgrade and the rapidly growing Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, were fully aware of their responsibilities and roles (as well as their institutional powers). Thus, they succeeded in establishing a much more stable infrastructure at the national and regional levels within two decades.

Under the umbrella of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences (SANU), another institution began to operate more intensively in the field of archaeology – the Institute for Balkan Studies (*Balkanološki institut*). The predecessor of this institute was the Balkan Institute, founded in 1934. In its early years this Institute was primarily focused on research in history, ethnography, linguistics, Balkan culture, and also archaeology to a certain extent (Palavestra 1999–2000, 16). However, in the period before the war there were no archaeologists among its members. Still, the institute had in its possession some infrastructure and equipment which it offered to archaeological projects. Miloje Vasić, for instance, often published his papers in the journals of this institute in the 1930s, especially in the *Revue Internationale des Études balkaniques*, which was very much international thanks to its character and the foreign collaborators.[317] The institute was closed down in 1941 and in 1969 was revived under the name the Institute for Balkan Studies. When Nikola Tasić joined the institute, he put together a small team of archaeologists enabling an additional infrastructural framework for the archaeological research programme. However, the Institute for Balkan Studies did not develop a distinct profile or academic identity in the archaeological sphere; instead, its research area overlapped or was complementary to that of the much larger Institute of Archaeology.

Considerable progress was made at the University of Belgrade from the end of the 1950s. During the Second World War, teaching in archaeology ceased for almost six years due to the German closure of the university. I have already mentioned that some professors and specialists tried to compensate for this by conducting alternative teaching forms (e.g. the 'museum course').[318] The teaching was re-established in 1947, but the main problem was the lack of teaching staff. Vasić was thus called upon from his retirement to re-activate the Archaeology Seminar. In 1947, Branko Gavela (1914–1994), a classical philologist by education, was employed as Vasić's assistant for protohistoric archaeology.

Only after Vasić's definitive departure in 1955 were the first significant steps taken towards modernisation and growth of archaeology within the university. Two new subjects were introduced in 1954, Slavic Archaeology, taught by historian Jovan Kovačević, and Near Eastern Archaeology, taught by Dušan Glumac (1899–1980), a former professor at the Faculty of Theology and a student at the Universities of Munich and Leipzig.[319] Assistance in teaching was also provided by the experts from the Institute of Archaeology. Significant changes occurred between 1957 and 1962 when the new generation of scholars was appointed: Milutin Garašanin and Aleksandrina Cermanović Kuzmanović for classical and Roman archaeology, Dragoslav Srejović for prehistory, while Savo Tutundžić

317 Other authors who published in the 1930s were: N. Vulić, Rudolf Egger, Tadeusz Zelinsky, Guglielmo Ferrero, Ronald Syme, Carl Patsch, Marin Nilsson, R. Marić, Karl Kerényi, Charles Dilles, George Ostrogorsky, Alexander Solovyov, Vladimir Moshin, Franz Delger, Ivan Skazov. Another very influential publication was the monograph *The Book on the Balkans* (1936–1937), where the authors included Mikhail Rostovtsev, Charles Piccard, Paul Kretschmer and others (Palavestra 1999–2000: 21–23).

318 Apart from the 'museum course', professors and students of archaeology also had meetings and discussions with professors (mostly with Vasić) in private homes and other places to preserve some level of teaching and the social network of 'professionals' in archaeology. For more on the personal experience of these 'private' courses, see interviews with M. Garašanin (who was one of these students) by Babić and Tomović 1994 (also Milinković 1998: 435).

319 More detailed information on the history of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Belgrade is available in Milinković and Tasić Ne. (1990) and Milinković (1998).

and Vojislav Jovanović became lecturers in Near Eastern and medieval archaeology, respectively. It was in this period when different archaeological courses and chairs joined into a single department. In comparison with the universities in Slovenia, Croatia and N. Macedonia, by the mid-1960s the Department of Archaeology at the University of Belgrade became the largest in Yugoslavia in terms of teaching and research personnel. This upward trend continued in the following years; around the mid-1980s, more than one-third of the total teaching and research personnel in Serbian archaeology was affiliated with the Department of Archaeology at the University of Belgrade.

The Department of Archaeology expansion led to the foundation of two additional research units, active from the 1970s onwards: the Archaeological Collection and Centre for Archaeological Research. The Archaeological Collection was initiated as early as 1929 (Lazić 1998a), based on the agreement between M. Vasić and Charles Hyde, who financed the excavations in Vinča. According to this agreement, all findings from the investigations in Vinča were donated to the Faculty of Philosophy. Later on, when archaeology evolved into an independent discipline and was included as a separate organisational unit at the Faculty of Philosophy, the collection was integrated into the Department of Archaeology. Its main tasks were technical support in fieldwork, restoration of objects, publication and presentation of archaeological finds, and assistance in students' training in practical skills. The second unit, the Centre for Archaeological Research, was founded in 1978 (Lazić 1998b) to coordinate research projects and the Department of Archaeology infrastructure. The promoter of this centre was Dragoslav Srejović. One of the centre's principal tasks was the development of specialised research domains within archaeology, such as archaeobotany, faunal analysis, etc., to meet the new needs of archaeological research. Soon after its establishment, the centre began to carry out many large-scale projects (mostly directed by D. Srejović). It became a sort of a university equivalent of the Institute of Archaeology. Needless to say that the scholarly authority of D. Srejović, the famed discoverer of Lepenski vir and Gamzigrad, played an essential role in the centre's success.

The relatively favourable social and economic circumstances from the end of the 1950s onwards, and the increased investments in science and culture, coupled with great efforts of crucial figures in the organisation and realisation of archaeological projects, turned the Belgrade of the mid-1980s into one of the largest and most important archaeological hubs in this part of Europe. More than 80 professional archaeologists were employed in institutions in the capital city, representing more than 60% of all professional archaeologists in Serbia (and about 15% of all archaeologists in the former Yugoslavia).

Simultaneously with the accelerated development of archaeology in Serbia, international cooperation was also on the rise and, consequently, the reputation of Serbian (and also Yugoslav) archaeology improved. International cooperation already emerged in the period before the Second World war when Vinča held a prominent place among prehistoric sites in Europe. It aroused considerable interest not only because of investigations of the site itself, but for Neolithic studies in general. Along with some other discoveries (e.g. the site of Starčevo excavated by W.A. Heurtley), Serbia's Neolithic sites demonstrated great potential for research on the earliest agricultural communities in Europe and the process of Neolithisation. Besides Vasić, Nikola Vulić and Miodrag Grbić were also internationally quite recognised and frequently participated at international conferences and published in foreign publications. Foreign research teams from Great Britain, the United States and Germany were involved in investigations in Serbia and North Macedonia. With the Second World War and then change in political regime after 1945, these old international networks were broken up. Moreover, Nikola Vulić died in 1945 while Vasić could not act as a true *Gesprächspartner* in the international cooperation, not only because

of his great age but also due to a certain level of isolation caused by his refusal to accept alternative interpretations of the site of Vinča and prehistory of the Balkans and Danube region. An additional aggravating circumstance was the rather strict regime in Yugoslavia, which implemented very lengthy and complicated administrative procedures for permitting foreign research teams' work. In this context, the very unfavourable economic situation in the late 1940s and 1950s in Yugoslavia should also be mentioned. On the other hand, and contrary to some expectations, Serbian (and Yugoslav) archaeologists had relatively good opportunities for studying abroad during these years.[320]

From the 1960s onwards, the situation began to improve significantly. In this respect, it is necessary to point out the already relatively well-established and strengthened institutional networks. The important role also had some new archaeologists who were increasingly gaining a high reputation in international circles (e.g. M. Garašanin, D. Srejović). The well-known sites in Serbia represented central points around which international cooperation was arranged. Some of them had already been recognised (i.e. Vinča, Starčevo, Sirmium and Viminacium), but also new, highly attractive sites were discovered in the 1950s and 1960s that became the focus of the attention of international circles (e.g. Lepenski Vir). The Institute of Archaeology coordinated the largest part of international collaboration. The main areas of investigations were the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods and Roman cities (Viminacium, Sirmium) and palaces (Caričin Grad, later also Gamzigrad).

Collaboration with foreign research teams in Serbia significantly increased through time, especially with the US teams, such that it is almost impossible to list all of the international projects and even more challenging to list individual engagements of archaeologists from abroad, and thus this overview includes only some of the largest projects. Harvard University and the University of California at Berkeley conducted joint projects with the National Museum in Belgrade and the Institute of Archaeology at the Vinča culture sites of Selevac (1976–1978) (Tringham and Krstić 1990) and Opovo (1983–1984, together with the Institute for History from Novi Sad; see Tringham, Brukner and Voytek (1985)). The Brooklyn College of the City University of New York worked on a project which explored the archaeological topography of prehistoric sites in the Donja Morava river valley (1977–1980) and excavated some sites in the area, e.g. Novačka Ćuprija (Bankoff and Winter 1981; 1982; 1983). The University of Pittsburgh made the first caesium magnetometer survey in Yugoslavia on the sites Divostin, Grivac, Rajac and Dobrovodica in 1969 (McPherron and Ralph 1970). In the 1980s, together with a German team from the Free University of Berlin, excavations began of the Bronze Age settlement of Feudvar in Vojvodina (Hänsel B. and Medović 1998).

Among the Roman towns, Sirmium was of the highest interest to international teams, and this site had already had a long tradition of investigations conducted by local teams, and a local museum existed from 1946. The first international project here included a collaboration between Yugoslav (Serbian) archaeologists and the Denison University in Ohio, the University of New York (1969–1971), and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (1968–1972). The leader of these international projects on the Serbian side was Miodrag Grbić. The international research in Sirmium lasted between 1973 and 1975 with partners from France – the Louvre Museum and the French School of Rome.[321] The Serbian-French investigations of the Early Byzantine site of Caričin Grad (Iustiniana Prima) are of somewhat later date (Mano-Zisi 1979; Duval, Popović 1984). Additionally, over the last two decades, intensive research has been carried out at Gamzigrad (as a cooperation with the Free University of Berlin)

320 On internationalisation of archaeology in Yugoslavia in the 1950s and 1960s, see more in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology and in Lorber and Novaković (2020).

321 See the *Sirmium* series published by the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade (1971–1982).

and Viminacium (in collaboration with the State University of New York from Albany, USA).

In the early 1970s, the most important moment in promoting Serbian (and Yugoslav) archaeology was the 8th Congress of the International Association for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Archaeology (*Union internationale des sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques;* UISPP), the largest world organisation of archaeologists. The conference was organised in 1971 and was the biggest ever archaeological scientific meeting in Yugoslavia, which brought together hundreds of archaeologists and other scientists worldwide. The meeting was organised under the coordination of all principal archaeological institutions in Yugoslavia at the time. Since this was a joint Yugoslav project, the congress's description thematically fits better in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology, and thus here only some details are mentioned that are more relevant to Serbian archaeology. With 13 papers published in the conference proceedings,[322] archaeologists from Serbia were the most represented of all Yugoslav archaeologists. Eight papers have been published from other republics (two by Slovene authors, four by Croatian and two by Macedonian authors). These figures appear quite logical, since Serbian archaeologists were the hosts of the meeting and, thematically, the congress was about prehistory, which was relatively well developed in Serbian archaeology at that time.[323] It is worth noting that all of the leading Serbian prehistorians of the at time middle generation were at this conference: Milutin and Draga Garašanin, Bogdan Brukner, Borislav Jovanović, Dragoslav Srejović, and Branko Gavela.[324]

The main act of promoting Yugoslav archaeology at this congress was the publication of a special volume – volume IV or the 'blue' volume (named after the colour of the cover). It contained all essential information about the country's archaeological institutions and short presentations of some of the republics' most important archaeological sites. This volume came out during the conference, whilst the three remaining volumes with collated conference papers were published two years later. Although this was, without doubt, a highly significant event, it is surprising that the meeting and its importance from the aspect of the promotion of local archaeology were seldom mentioned in the years that followed. Moreover, there are very few records and comments in the domestic literature about the congress. It would be very interesting to find out the circumstances and activities that preceded the election of Belgrade as a host for the 8th Congress of the UISPP, given that often the important (political) events in archaeology around the world tend to be linked with the respective association and the congresses it organises.[325]

Conceptual renewal: coming out of Vasić's shadow

To better understand the processes of modernisation of Serbian archaeology after 1945, it is necessary to point out some significant changes

322 *Actes du VIIIe Congres International des Sciences préistoriques et protoistoriques*, Belgrade 1973, Vol. 1–3.

323 Only two out of the seven sections (Sections 6 and 7) were dedicated to the Greek and Roman periods and the early Middle Ages.

324 Along with them, R. Vasić, Đ. Mano-Zisi and D. Piletić published their papers in Section 6. The papers by J. Kovačević and a joint work of V. Jovanović and Lj. Vuksanović were published in Section 7. Z. Letica published her paper in Section 3 (the Paleolithic-Mesolithic section) (see *Actes* 1971–1973).

325 The UISPP was experiencing very turbulent years before the Second World War, when the organisation was about to dissolve due to German and Italian archaeologists' political views. In 1940, the congress was supposed to be held in Budapest but was cancelled because of the war. In 1949, Budapest was seen as a place where the UISPP could be renewed, but the congress was cancelled again and then held in Zurich the following year. In 1985, the congress was supposed to take place in Southampton in the UK, but two factions of the congress emerged following the decision of the national organiser not to allow participation of archaeologists from the South African Republic (at the time, the UN embargo on cooperation with the SAR due to apartheid was in force). The participants who concurred with the organiser formed a new world archaeological organisation, the World Archaeological Congress (WAC); the UISPP organised its next congress in Mainz, Germany in 1987. For more on the Southampton divide, see in Ucko (1987).

in its conceptual domains. The conceptual reconstruction of Serbian archaeology began immediately after the Second World War and went along with similar tendencies in the other Yugoslav republics' archaeologies. To a great extent, this was a synchronised process across the whole country, and similar changes could also be tracked in other European countries that had a much longer tradition of archaeological research.[326] There were, however, certain local peculiarities in Serbian archaeology that are also important for understanding the more general trends of development.

Of the leading pre-war archaeological trio (N. Vulić, M. Vasić, M. Grbić), Vasić was probably the most influential figure in Serbia, although after 1941, not the most active one. For the field of classical archaeology and ancient history in Serbia, the death of Vulić (1945) meant a considerable loss of an internationally recognised expert, and it took some time to find a scholar who was his equal. Indeed, it could be said that the subject of ancient history went through a period of stagnation, which ended around the beginning of the 1960s when the leading role was taken up by Fanoula Papazoglou, a professor at the University of Belgrade. Grbić, most active among the pre-war prehistorians in the 1930s, was involved in many different research projects, spanning from prehistory to the Middle Ages, but failed to form a specific, homogeneous scholarly group. His 'controversial' past during the German occupation may have prevented him from getting crucial decision-making positions in Serbian archaeology after 1945. Vasić, on the other hand, very early on imposed himself as the dominant figure in Serbian archaeology, primarily in prehistoric archaeology, and maintained this status until the end of his career.[327] His infamous mistake – the interpretation of the settlement in Vinča as an Ionian colony – and his decades-long persistence in this view excluded him from the international community of prehistorians of the time, which naturally also harmed the development of prehistoric archaeology in Serbia in general.[328]

Branko Gavela became Vasić's assistant in the field of prehistoric archaeology at the University of Belgrade in 1947. However, Gavela did not possess such a scholarly profile that would allow him to change the main direction and postulates of Vasić's idea of Balkan prehistory. On the contrary, in his first papers he even adopted some of Vasić's main principles.[329] By comparison, Milutin Garašanin was a much more important figure in changing the course of prehistoric archaeology in Serbia. He was a pre-war student of Vasić, also a participant at Grbić's 'museum course,' who commenced his professional career in 1947 at the Municipal Museum of Belgrade. A year later, he moved to the National Museum, and in 1950 took up a researcher's position at the newly established Institute of Archaeology. He gained his doctorate in 1951, with the thesis on the Vinča group's chronology defended in front of Josip Korošec at the University of Ljubljana. In 1957, he became a professor of classical

326 Due to the number of casualties and amount of material damage, along with the genocide against 'inferior' nations, races and unwanted social groups, the Second World War became deeply engraved in the consciousness of humankind as a trauma after which it was necessary to reconsider fundamental ideas about man, his existence, culture, history and development. Such an intellectual and spiritual climate also required a deeper reflection of and searching for new view of archaeology. The methods and pathways used to explain (early) history to legitimise ideological and political goals were no longer acceptable.

327 For the discussion on the authority and influence of M. Vasić in Serbian archaeology, see Palavestra (2013).

328 It is known that Vasić opposed the ideas of some of his most prominent students, such as, for example, M. Garašanin and D. Aranđelović (later D. Garašanin), who went on to complete their doctoral studies in Ljubljana, with Josip Korošec, who himself was a student of Vasić in the mid-1930s. By 1944, Korošec had already developed a career in the National Museum. Immediately after the war in 1946 and 1947 he took up the main role in the restoration of Slovene archaeology.

329 Palavestra (2013, 687, footnote 2) identifies Vasić's idea of parallel development of the Neolithic, Eneolithic and Bronze Age in the Danube at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, expressed in Gavela's doctoral thesis on the multi-period site of Židovar (Gavela 1952, 59–62).

archaeology at the University of Belgrade, and by default succeeded M. Vasić in prehistoric archaeology. He remained in this position until the end of his professional career. It is precisely in M. Garašanin that Palavestra (2013, 685) sees the leader of the group of Vasić's pre-war students (D. Aranđelović, A. Benac, J. Korošec) who began their careers "*as a result of resistance to Vasić's ideas, which culminated in the joint criticism of [the notion of] the Ionian colony*" (Palavestra 103, 685), jointly published in *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* (Korošec, Benac, M. Garašanin, and D. Garašanin 1951).[330]

Nonetheless, M. Garašanin did not confine himself only to mending the chronology of the Vinča culture, that is, the dating and interpreting the central Balkans Neolithic. Instead, he soon started introducing modern, far-reaching concepts and methods in prehistoric archaeology that also significantly echoed in the Yugoslav archaeological community. At this point, another important fact should be noted, that the conceptual modernisation of archaeology, especially prehistoric, in Yugoslavia in the early post-war years was, to a great degree, a project of a particular group of scholars. The leading promoters of this movement were J. Korošec, J. Kastelic, S. Gabrovec, F. Stare in Slovenia, M. Suić, D. Rendić-Miočević, Z. Vinski in Croatia, M. and D. Garašanin in Serbia, and A. Benac in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They belonged to a group of young scientists between 30 and 40 years of age when they took up influential positions in the national archaeological institutions. Half of them were Vasić's pre-war students.[331] In the 1950s and 1960s, they frequently very closely collaborated on all-Yugoslav issues in archaeology. Many of them started their careers in the positions previously held by their professors, who either died or had left Yugoslavia or had to resort to less prominent roles because of their loyalty to the Axis occupation authorities. This 'void', in a way, gave the new generation of archaeologists more freedom to introduce their concepts in archaeology. M. Garašanin (Babić, Tomović 1996, 91-93) described the situation in the following way:

The lucky set of circumstances was that, in 1949, if I recall correctly, a large excavation was organised in Ptuj under Korošec's directorship... The excavations were organised as a training course. The Federal Ministry of Culture organised them – I do not know its exact name at the time; the name kept being changed every couple of months. A group of young Yugoslav archaeologists got together at the dig. From Serbia, there were Rastko Rašajski, Jova Kovačević, Mirjana Ljubinković, Branko Gavela, Draga and me. Irma Čremošnik came from Bosnia, where she was appointed a curator at the National Museum. From Croatia, there were Duje Rendić, Zdenko and Ksenija Vinski, Stipe Gunjača, and Ivo Petrićoli, who later completely focused on art history. From Slovenia, there was Korošec, who led the excavations, and Paola Korošec accompanied him. Of the younger people, there was also France Stare. From Macedonia, which did not yet have professional archaeologists, came Dušanka Vučković, the then Director of the Archaeological Museum. I am not sure if Blagoja Aleksova also joined. In fact, for the largest part, this was a team of those who, across the whole Yugoslavia, were in some way already connected with archaeology and were trying to create something. These excavations lasted for a month, and we had many discussions. Of the older generation, it was only Grga Novak who cooperated with us. Miloje Vasić distanced himself from all these activities. Anyway, he died soon after. Viktor Hoffiller withdrew completely, as did Mihovil Abramić. Rajko Ložar and Balduin Sari emigrated...

Among the trends that considerably changed the prehistoric archaeology in Central Europe were the ideas developed by a group of prehistorians gathered around Gero von Merhart at the University of Marburg on Lahn, Germany.[332]

330 M. Garašanin published the first critique of the respective idea in 1949 in the *Historical Gazette* (Garašanin 1949).

331 J. Korošec, A. Benac, D. Rendić-Miočević, M. Garašanin, D. Garašanin.

332 Gero von Merhart (1886–1959), not being a member of the archaeological institutions or groups that were loyal to the Nazis, paid a price for criticising the Kossienan-style archaeology in Germany. In

Merhart's ideas strongly influenced most of the 'young Turks' in post-war Yugoslav archaeology, especially Gabrovec and Stare in Slovenia and Garašanin in Serbia. This is how Gabrovec remembered Merhart's approach:

Merhart strictly adhered to the material culture; the object itself to him was the primary source of knowledge of history. Through a precise analysis of an archaeological find, i.e. an object, through its accurate description and the comparison of all the compiled data, he would explain the object's creation, changes, disappearance, distribution, and routes of its spread. The knowledge acquired in this way Merhart wanted to translate into the historical discourse. Based on the described analysis of material culture, he defined regional groups, that is, 'cultures' in the archaeological sense. In the prehistoric world, culture is the agent of development, an outcome of social, that is, historical entities. In the emergence, transformations and disintegration of culture, in the mutual relations of individual cultures and their expansion, the identifiable history lies, and which an archaeologist can demonstrate with archaeological material. Concerning his method, Merhart logically continued in Reinecke's footsteps: temporal and spatial determinations were not his ultimate goal. They were, instead, the means of acquiring historical knowledge.

On the other hand, this theoretical approach itself exerts pressure on archaeological material. This resistance is not only scientific but is also highly ethical. In Hitler's Germany, with Reinerth featuring in Kossina's methodological approach, German prehistoric archaeology became a part of the National Socialist ideology. Merhart stood up against this and left the professorship in Marburg. In this way, he saved Reinecke's positivism; all totalitarian regimes are against facts because facts are of minor importance relative to their ideological truths... (Gabrovec 1984, 5, translated by P. Novaković)

1938 he was forced to resign from the University of Marburg am Lahn, then retired in 1942, to be reinstated in 1949. Archaeologists who replaced him at the university after 1938 either died during the war (Friedrich Holste) or were temporarily '*entnazifiert*' – denazified (Wolfgang Dehn).

Following these guidelines and collaborating with Merhart's former students, who focused their research on the Balkans and Danube areas, the new generation of Yugoslav archaeologists succeeded in shaping prehistoric archaeology based entirely on positivistic approaches. This also represented an attempt to 'cleanse' archaeology of the speculative and uncritical interpretations as was also proposed in the Resolution of the First Meeting of the Yugoslav Archaeologists in 1950 in Niška Banja (Korošec 1950, 214; more on this meeting see in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology). The successful introduction of new ideas was also supported by the visits of the German archaeologists Wolfgang Dehn, Joachim Werner and Georg Kossack, and the study visits of Yugoslav archaeologists to Germany. In Serbian archaeology, M. Garašanin was the principal advocate of these ideas, upon which he constructed his archaeological *credo*. The application of Merhart's methods and categories made it possible to constructively modify outdated, often too speculative theses and interpretations of the previous authors. In this view the case of Vinča and M. Vasić is the most conspicuous one, but certainly not the only example. One of the key priorities, to which M. Garašanin (often with his wife Draga) dedicated most of his scientific work until around the mid-1970s, was the establishment of a chronological and cultural-typological system of the prehistory of the central Balkans (i.e. the broader region of Serbia and N. Macedonia) from the Neolithic to the Iron Age.[333] His bibliography deals with these problems

333 Garašanin, M.: *Arheološka nalazišta u Srbiji* (Archaeological sites in Serbia, with D. Garašanin), Prosveta, Beograd 1951; *Hronologija Vinčanske grupe* (Chronology of the Vinča group), doctoral dissertation at the University of Ljubljana; *Neolithikum und Bronzezeit im Serbien und Makedonien*, Bericht der Römisch-Germanisch Kommission 39, Berlin-Frankfurt 1958, 1–130; *Chronologische und Ethnische Probleme der Eisenzeit auf dem Balkan*, Atti VI Congresso Internazionale delle scienze preistoriche e protostoriche I, Firenze Sansoni ed. 1962, 179–195; The Neolithic in Anatolia and the Balkans, *Antiquity* 35, Cambridge 1961, 246–280. *Praistorija na tlu SR Srbije* (*Prehistory in Serbia*). Srpska književna zadruga, Beograd, 1973. For the complete bibliography of M. Garašanin – about 350 works – see Miletin (1989–1990).

quite clearly and reflects his systematic building of a comprehensive picture and structure of the prehistory of Serbia and its neighbouring areas. This brought him the reputation of being a pre-eminent expert in Balkan archaeology, and he became a member of numerous international scientific associations, including the German Archaeological Institute, the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, the Austrian Archaeological Institute, the Italian Institute for Prehistory, and the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts.

In the early post-war years, M. Garašanin also attempted to contribute to the renewal of Slavic archaeology, which was the most underdeveloped research topic in all the then Yugoslav republics, with the exception of Croatia. The development of Slavic archaeology was one of the top priorities in Yugoslav archaeology following the war. Together with Jovan Kovačević, professor of medieval archaeology at the University of Belgrade, Garašanin published one of the first monographs on the material culture of the Slavs in the territory of Yugoslavia (Garašanin M. and Kovačević 1950). Though this study was conceived as one of the fundamental archaeological handbooks for this period in Yugoslavia, it was challenged by the harsh critiques of historians and archaeologists from Croatia and Slovenia. Naturally, such a project was not only motivated by the need for developing Slavic archaeology, but was also determined by internal and external political circumstances and factors.

The internal factors include the ideology of the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples, strongly promoted by the ruling Communist regime that sought a historical context and legitimacy for this ideology. Externally, the main driver was the need to respond to the neighbouring countries' territorial aspirations by using historical (i.e. archaeological) arguments.[334]

The monograph by Garašanin and Kovačević was written in the period of an especially heated political climate (there was an issue of the border with Italy, the special status of the Free Territory of Trieste and the question of Istria and the Primorska region, the open conflict with Stalin and the states of the Eastern Bloc, the unresolved status of the Slovene minority in Austria, and Yugoslav support to the communist movement in the Greek civil war, among other issues).

At that time, Merhart's critical concept of material culture analysis was not yet fully developed and applied in Yugoslav archaeology, nor had Garašanin fully adopted it yet. Hence, the method of studying ethnogenesis was, in general, still very much influenced by Kossina-like views, including all the simplifications and reductions of social and cultural categories used in the analytical and conceptual apparatus. Bogo Grafenauer (1916-1995), a leading Slovene medievalist, clearly pointed out numerous problems in terms of the simplified archaeological and historical methodology used in this monograph, which led to ungrounded constructions and interpretations that did not satisfy modern historiographic standards (Grafenauer 1951, 170-174). Nevertheless, despite Grafenauer and some other historians' critique, the monograph by Garašanin and Kovačević served as an important textbook for generations of archaeology students in Yugoslavia. It took almost twenty years to start applying more critical methods and develop more detailed scholarly analysis in Slavic archaeology.[335] Indeed, Slavic studies even today continue to have a political undertone and represent a latent political issue. This became clearly evident in the recent wars in Yugoslavia. Here again, the attractiveness of "simple and effective methods in ethnogenesis" was obvious (for telling examples in Serbia, see Babić S. 2002, 318).

334 The development of Slavic archaeology is listed among the chief priorities in the Resolution of the First Conference of Yugoslav Archaeologists held in Niška Banja in 1950 (for the conclusions of this conference and the relevant documents, see J. Korošec, 1950).

335 In this respect, Croatian archaeologist Zdenko Vinski played a significant role. In his works, he established more credible standards in this research area; as a professor, he directly influenced younger generations of archaeologists in Slovenia and Croatia.

Another very influential figure in Serbian post-war archaeology was Dragoslav Srejović. He came to the fore of Serbian archaeology sometime in the late 1960s and can be seen as a sort of a 'complementary opposition' to Milutin Garašanin. The pathway of his professional career and how he gained international recognition diverge significantly from those of Garašanin. Without a doubt, Srejović was an excellent archaeologist who, like Garašanin, dealt with many archaeological topics; his approach, however, was significantly different. For decades, Garašanin kept building the system of Serbian and Balkan prehistoric archaeology upon detailed analytical work based on strictly positivistic starting points. Srejović, on the other hand, displayed different qualities in his work – an exceptional intuition, eclecticism and, indeed, excellent organisational and media skills. In Serbian archaeology, Milutin Garašanin's name is more associated with the essential type-chronological studies and definitions of the main cultural group. At the same time, Dragoslav Srejović is directly linked with discovering some of the Balkans' most attractive sites – Lepenski Vir and Gamzigrad.[336]

Unlike Garašanin, who insisted on rigorous positivist methodology, Srejović's archaeological interpretations went beyond the typical "cultural historicism" of Garašanin's school (Babić S. 2002, 313). Srejović observed archaeological practice as "*the art of discovering past human culture*". He never explicitly justified his idea of archaeological interpretation that remained highly intuitive throughout his career; he labelled his approach 'poetic' archaeology (Babić 2002, 313). He began his career as a prehistorian. He received his doctorate in 1964, and in the following year became a professor at the Department of Archaeology at the University of Belgrade. His first major appearance in international archaeology was associated with the discovery of Lepenski Vir, a Late Mesolithic and Early Neolithic site in the Iron Gorge (Đerdap) encountered during the construction of the hydroelectric plant. Srejović conducted a relatively long-term research project in the Đerdap area (1965–1970), where he was able to unveil some truly spectacular findings that significantly affected the interpretation of Neolithisation in southeast Europe. The site of Lepenski Vir consisted of several dozen small house structures of trapezoidal layout, located on the very banks of the Danube and containing hearths, altars, beneath-floor burials, and small stone sculptures, which proved to be unique in the broader regional and chronological context of the 7th and 6th millennia BC.[337]

The research at the site of Gamzigrad made Srejović even more famous. The immense complex of Roman buildings' remains had been known since the mid-19th century when Felix Kanitz made the first drawings of the site during his visits to the area in 1860 and 1864. In the early 1970s, Srejović started with extensive excavations and, after a decade of work, demonstrated that the site represented Emperor Galerius's palace (*Felix Romuliana*) – one of the architecturally most beautiful buildings in the central Balkans. His research's significance was even greater because the palace exemplifies a rare, purpose-built type of architecture erected exclusively during the period of the Tetrarchy (AD 293–313). Therefore, the site of Gamzigrad was placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (Srejović 1983; Srejović and Lalović 1991).

It would be wrong to observe Srejović and his role in the development of archaeology in Serbia only through the lens of his most important discoveries. However, these discoveries indeed brought him a worldwide reputation,and he knew how to use these sites quite effectively to promote the archaeological heritage in Serbia

336 In the obituary for Srejović, the *Independent* newspaper labelled him as "the archaeologist with golden fingers". Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/obituary- professor-dragoslav-srejovic-1315345.html (December 20, 1996).

337 Among the numerous studies and publications on Lepenski Vir, two 'classical' ones stand out: D. Srejović, *Lepenski Vir*, Beograd 1969; D. Srejović and L. Babović, *Umetnost Lepenskog Vira* (The Art of Lepenski Vir), Beograd 1983.

(and Yugoslavia) and archaeological discipline in general. From the 1980s onwards, Srejović was practically a synonym for archaeology in the eyes of the popular media in Serbia. Still, his lexicographic projects were also well recognised (e.g. Srejović 1997). In addition to such work, Srejović was a prime organiser, and the number and size of his investigations in Serbia (and Montenegro) put him at the very top of Serbian archaeology. In 1978, he founded the Centre for Archaeological Research (Lazić 1998b) at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, which soon became one of the most important institutions for carrying out field research in Serbia and Montenegro.[338]

Garašanin and Srejović were, by all measures, the most prominent figures in Serbian archaeology in the period between 1970 and 2000. They significantly contributed to the development of contemporary Serbian (and Yugoslav) archaeology. However, with the increasing number of archaeologists employed in the Institute of Archaeology, the National Museum in Belgrade and the University in Belgrade, other scholars also came up with substantial achievements, and prehistoric archaeology in Serbia certainly took great steps forward. Alongside Garašanin and, later, Srejović, a prominent place was undoubtedly held by Draga (Aranđelović) Garašanin, Milutin's wife,[339] one of the first female archaeologists in then Yugoslavia. She graduated in 1946 and received her PhD in 1953 with Josip Korošec in Ljubljana. Her thesis on Starčevo culture (published in Aranđelović-Garašanin D., 1954) was the first updated text on the Early Neolithic in Serbia.[340] Later on, she frequently collaborated with her husband in several seminal publications in the 1950s.[341]

Other prominent scholars include Nikola Tasić (1932–2017) of the Institute for Balkan Studies at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and Bogdan Brukner (1931–2006) of the Institute for the Study of History of Vojvodina in Novi Sad (who later worked at the University of Novi Sad). Most of their research relates to the archaeology of the Neolithic and Copper Age. It is also necessary to mention Borislav Jovanović, who, together with Tasić and Brukner, co-authored the major synthesis of the prehistory of Vojvodina (Brukner, Jovanović and Tasić Ni. 1974) that was published a year after Garašanin's synthesis of the prehistory of Serbia (Garašanin 1973). Jovanović was also a researcher who produced the first key papers on early metallurgy in Yugoslavia (Jovanović 1971).

Before the Second World War, Roman archaeology was developed primarily by Vulić, who represented a competent discussant in the international discourse. However, for some time after the war, ancient archaeology could not return to its former high standards. But the quality of studies in this field began to increase when Fanula Papazoglou, in the 1960s, assumed the role of a reference historian for the Greek and Roman periods. At the beginning of the 1970s, Aleksandrina Cermanović-Kuzmanović (1928–2001) started systematically teaching ancient archaeology at the Department of Archaeology, University of Belgrade. She did not carry out large field research projects during her career; instead, she mostly limited herself to studies of certain types of material culture from Antiquity and

338 From 1980 to 1996, and mainly within the centre, Srejović conducted more than thirty field projects in Serbia and Montenegro. The list of his field projects and bibliography was published by Lazić (1997b; 1997, 74–83). For the evaluation of Srejović's work in archaeology, see also *Rad Dragoslava Srejovića* (1998; 2003).

339 They both studied together in the late 1930s with M. Vasić and participated in the 'museum course' during the Second World War.

340 She submitted her PhD in Ljubljana for the same reason as her husband Milutin Garašanin; their professor at Belgrade, Miolje Vasić, was unwilling to accept alternatives to his interpretation of the Neolithisation.

341 For example, Garašanin D., (1954), *Katalog Metala*. Beograd Narodni muzej, 1954; Garašanin M. and Garašanin D. (1953b), *Priručnik za arheološka iskopavanja*. Savezni institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Beograd; Garašanin M. and Garašanin D. (1951), *Arheološka nalazišta u Srbiji*, Prosveta Beograd).

epigraphy and the analysis of ancient art objects. Her cooperation with Dragoslav Srejović was of importance, and they jointly published a lexicographic work – *The Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology* (Srejović and Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1979) – which has so far seen several editions.

In the development of modern Serbian archaeology, it is particularly important to consider the tremendous boost catalysed by large hydro plants' construction in the Iron Gorge. The dam of hydro plant Đerdap I would cause a considerable rise of the water level of Danube more than 100 km upstream and flooded or endangered many archaeological sites, among them also those of the Roman Danube limes.[342] An integrated salvage project started in the mid-1960s, coordinated by the Archaeological Institute from Belgrade. The project included detailed surveying of the riverbank and several dozen of excavations in two extensive field campaigns (1964–1972, 1978–1988). This project was by far the most extensive archaeological project in Serbia, and also in Yugoslavia. Considering the circumstances and state of development of archaeology in Serbia, this salvage project was a great success not only in terms of what was recorded, researched and salvaged – more than a hundred sites were recorded in total – but also in proving the infrastructural capacity of Serbian archaeology to answer challenges of such a magnitude. The final result was that the broader area of the Iron Gorge became one of Serbia's most detailed researched regions.[343]

The establishment of new archaeological institutions outside Belgrade and increased international cooperation enabled the development of high-quality expertise in other parts of Serbia, especially in Niš and Novi Sad, and to some degree in Sremska Mitrovica. After Belgrade, Novi Sad became the second archaeological centre in the country with a large Museum of Vojvodina, Municipal Museum of Novi Sad, Provincial Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, and the University of Novi Sad. In the 1970s, some fifteen archaeologists were employed in these institutions. Among them, Bogdan Brukner (University of Novi Sad) and Olga Brukner (Provincial Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments) were some of the experts with considerable scholarly authority in the whole of Yugoslavia. Bogdan Brukner (1931–2006) was already briefly mentioned in the text above as an expert in Neolithic and Eneolithic archaeology of the Danube and Balkan areas, well known in broader central European archaeology. Olga Brukner (1930–2018) was an expert in the Roman period. Her study on Roman pottery in Pannonia (O. Brukner 1981) was, for a long while, the primary reference work in the field and among the most frequently consulted study on ancient pottery in the former Yugoslavia. A highly influential scholar from the Museum of Vojvodina was also Predrag Medović (1930–2021), a specialist for the Bronze and Iron Ages of the Danube region.

For a long time, medieval archaeology lacked advanced systemic tools (typology, chronology, reference collections and archaeological materials) of the kind available to prehistoric and classical or ancient archaeology, both having long tradition and practised by a greater number of experts. In 1954, a new subject was introduced in the curriculum of the University of Belgrade – Slavic archaeology. From 1955 it was taught by Jovan Kovačević (1920–1988), whose first degree was in history. He began his career at the National Museum in Belgrade (1944–1948) and subsequently transferred to the Historical Institute at the SANU; in 1955, he started at the Faculty of Philosophy in

342 It is exactly in this context where the sites of the Lepenski vir group were discovered on both river banks.

343 Major publications of the Iron Gorge projects include the special issue of the journal *Starinar* XXXIII–XXXIV (1982–83) where a complete bibliography of the first research campaign was published. The results of the second research campaign were published in a special edition of *Đerdapske sveske/Cahiers des Portes de Fer* I (1980), II (1984), III (1986), IV (1987) by the Archaeological Institute from Belgrade. Today, more than 100 archaeological sites are recorded on the Serbian Danube bank alone. In 1974, Đerdap National Park was founded, encompassing nearly 640 km^2 along 100 km along the right riverbank. In 1996 the Archaeological Museum of Đerdap (branch of the National Museum) was established in Kladovo.

Belgrade. Kovačević was the author of pioneering studies on the material culture of the Slavs, among which stands out the study of jewellery (Kovačević 1949; 1950). His most well-known early work is the monograph on the material culture of the South Slavs, created in co-authorship with M. Garašanin (Garašanin and Kovačević 1950). Among his later works, particularly significant is the archaeological and historical synthesis of barbarian colonisation in the Yugoslav regions (Kovačević 1960).[344] Similar to medieval archaeologists in the other republics, Kovačević had to explore the quite undeveloped area in Serbia, in which several key instruments were missing in the first decades after the Second World War, such as the typology and chronology of pottery and jewellery in Slavic material culture; a clearer distinction between Slavic and Byzantine material cultures and that of the Late Antiquity; and the lack of data on the settlements in the early Middle Ages. The archaeology of the early Slavs was a topic with significant political weight, which meant an even stronger pressure placed on the researchers in this field to establish a valid critical scientific and classification system.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the development of archaeology in Serbia, just like in the other republics of the former Yugoslavia, took large steps in virtually all domains – academic, museum and heritage protection. This can be best illustrated by the fact that from 1971 to 1988 there was exceptional progress in the development of the infrastructure. The number of archaeological institutions increased by about 50%, from 27 to 40, while the number of professional archaeologists increased by 60% in less than twenty years, from 79 to 137. Such growth, however, was not even across Serbia. Though several new institutions (museums and institutes) were founded in 'inner' Serbia (the territory excluding Belgrade, Vojvodina and Kosovo), more jobs were available in Belgrade. The Institute of Archaeology, the National Museum and the Faculty of Philosophy expanded the most, especially the latter. There, alongside the Department of Archaeology, also worked the Archaeological Collection and the Centre for Archaeological Research.

In the conceptual sense, Serbian archaeology of the 1970s and 1980s was entirely at the same level as the schools of culture-historical archaeology elsewhere in central and southeastern Europe. This was also evident in the excellent reputation of some leading Serbian archaeologists who intensively collaborated in the international arena. Concerning the international cooperation and its intensity, especially in comparison with other countries in the region, one should not forget that, already from the 1960s, Yugoslavia was much more open than any other East European country of the time, which greatly facilitated communication and cooperation with archaeological academic and research centres in Europe and the wider world, and paved the way for an extensive exchange of scholars and acquisition of foreign literature.[345]

Serbian archaeology after 1991

Archaeology was affected in different ways in the countries involved in the wars marking the breakup of Yugoslavia. It is true that the social and cultural circumstances and views of the future differed significantly among the former republics/emerging states, just like the experience of the conflicts was different in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro (and later Kosovo). Therefore, comparing how individual national archaeologies responded to the dramatic social events and changes must be very precisely contextualised. On the other hand, from Slovenia to N. Macedonia, what was common to all was the surge of nationalist ideas and

344 The bibliography and a short biography of Jovan Kovačević are available in Jovanović V. (2003a, 2003b).

345 Among the numerous scholars who visited Serbia was Lewis Binford. In 1986, during his guest teaching in Ljubljana, he also gave a couple of lectures at Belgrade and a longer interview on Serbian national television.

demands for revising the past. Such tendencies reverberated through archaeology in the late 1980s and 1990s.[346]

The discussion of the social role and responsibility of archaeology, catalysed mainly by the wars in Yugoslavia, initially unfolded in Slovenia, where the experience of the joint state's dissolution was quite different from in other parts of Yugoslavia. The development of such a discussion was supported by the already existing critical distance and reflection cultivated by the younger generation of Slovene archaeologists gathered around the journal *Arheo*. Under the influence of Anglo-American archaeology, this group tried to develop its own critical stance in the 1980s. Indeed, between 1985 and 2000, numerous topics urgently required critical reaction: the boom in pseudo-archaeology, the relations between archaeology and nationalism, the ideological assumptions of archaeology, the concept of national archaeology, the justification of political programmes and goals using 'archaeological' arguments, the social responsibility of science (i.e. archaeology), and other similar issues. These were the questions addressed by many European archaeologists in the 1990s, who were stunned by such an unexpected burst of national, ethnic and religious conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and some other countries in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Serbian archaeology did not participate in the critical discussion in the 1990s, at least not within international forums. However, such criticism did exist and was directed against the war and dominant politics of Slobodan Milošević. Still, its expression was mostly limited to small circles of critical intellectuals, often present as groups within various non-governmental organisations and associations, or in 'alternative' educational institutions and initiatives, in which some archaeologists actively participated. Nevertheless, the fact is that the 'mainstream' of Serbian archaeology remained to a great degree passive. Quite the opposite was Croatia's case, where archaeologists were very actively engaged in alerting national and international communities about the damage inflicted to their archaeological heritage (and their country in general). However, a very effective method for increasing apathy and neutralising criticism that was adopted by the ruling regime was to tighten control of the distribution of the basic means of existence and the elementary functioning of several institutions and the media.

An additional aggravating factor was the United Nations' economic embargo upon Serbia and Montenegro (then the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), which stayed in place for almost the entire first half of the 1990s.[347] Due to the embargo and introduction of a rather rigorous visa system, almost all communication between the local and foreign academic institutions stopped. There were also no funds for purchasing literature and travelling to international conferences. One of the repercussions was the very weak exchange of critical ideas with colleagues in neighbouring countries and Europe in general. Staša Babić (2002) well described the situation, as one of the main protagonists of the new, critical wave in Serbian archaeology, in her paper suggestively entitled "Still innocent after all these years? Sketches for a social history of archaeology in Serbia", the first domestic critical text published in a foreign publication after the wars in Yugoslavia. Babić (2002, 318) describes the inclination of Serbian archaeology in the 1990s towards "self-marginalisation", its retreat to the periphery of the contemporary social life, where there was no expectation, and no need felt, for active public opposition to the political views of

346 In the Serbia of the early and mid-1980s, and in Kosovo's political turmoil, a particularly vexed archaeological issue was the thesis on the Illyrian origin of Albanians. There was a continuous discussion on this topic, even at the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia.

347 In 1992 the annual rate of inflation in Serbia and Montenegro (then the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) reached a level of more than 19,000. In 1993 the National Bank of Serbia issued a banknote with a nominal value of 500,000,000,000 dinars.

the governing regime. Also characteristic was the lack of movement against numerous popular pseudo-theories about a "magnificent" Serbian past and the historical rights to territories. In fact, in some cases, part of the 'mainstream" archaeology was actively involved in revising the past following the then-dominant national ideology's goals (Babić 2002, 318). The most unfortunate episode was with Slavic archaeology (i.e. 'archaeology of Serbs'), where some Serbian scholars (e.g. Đorđe Janković from the Department of Archaeology, University of Belgrade) carried out research in Croatia in areas controlled by the rebel Serbian minority, to prove Serbian 'historical' rights to the territory.

Following the end of Milosević's rule and of the wars in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo (1999), Serbian archaeology after the year 2000 began to rapidly emerge from the isolation. The broken connections with foreign partners and those from the countries of former Yugoslavia were quickly revived. This process clearly could not happen without a reflection on the 1990s. In Croatia, the archaeological discipline's fundamental standards and integrity were very much preserved, despite the intense pressures from the nationalist authorities to create a "new and different" past. Similar could be said for Serbian archaeology in general. In the more open atmosphere after 2000, some of the most striking examples of nationalist instrumentalisation of archaeology, ranging from pseudo-archaeological theses to 'serious' theories about early medieval ethnogenesis of the Serbs on account of the neighbouring nations, were successfully marginalised. The key factor in this process was intensified international communication. The leading role in this process was played by a younger generation of archaeologists at the University of Belgrade,[348] centred around critically oriented professors (Staša Babić and Aleksandar Palavestra) who introduced courses on archaeological theory, the history of archaeology and other topics involving critical analysis and the discipline and practice of archaeology, including a very critical reflection on the character and role of archaeology in Serbia. In this discussion,[349] the nationalist discourse that largely permeated Serbia's historical sciences in the 1990s was very clearly and competently analysed. This process has not been easy and is still going on, not only in Serbian archaeology but also in neighbouring countries.

In terms of the most recent developments, especially in the domain of organisation and infrastructure, archaeology in Serbia is still strongly feeling the economic consequences of the 'bleak 1990s'.[350] We should not forget that almost all archaeological activities are funded from public funds. While in central institutions in Belgrade, the shortage of resources was relatively less felt, the situation in 'inner' Serbia is much worse. There have been very few investments

348 It must be emphasised that Milutin Garašanin, as an unquestionable authority in Serbian archaeology, appealed for the integrity of archaeology and did not want to participate in such an abuse of the discipline (Babić and Tomović 1994, 123–125).

349 The main instrument of this group, which is mostly composed of doctoral and master's students of S. Babić and A. Palavestra, became the journal *Ethnoantropological Problems* published by the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. In it, many young archaeologists have in the last several years published a relatively large corpus of some forty papers that analyse the cognitive process and classification mechanisms of archaeology; criticise the archaeological discourse and practice in Serbia; offer new, critical readings of classical works of Serbian archaeology, and so on (see issues EAP 2006, Volume 2, 2008, Volume 3, 2009, Volume 1 and 2; 2010, Volume 1 and 3; 2011, Volume 3; 2012, Volume 2 and 3; 2013, Volume 3 and 4). It is fair to say that this is today the most progressive and most active group of (younger) authors in the field of archaeological theory and epistemology in the region of former Yugoslavia.

350 According to the World Bank (https://data.worldbank.org/country) Serbia's 2017 GDP per capita was 5,900 (current) USD, which corresponds to Yugoslavia's GDP in the mid-1980s. A lower GDP is found in N. Macedonia (5,442 USD), Bosnia and Herzegovina (5,180 USD) and Kosovo (3,894 USD). Slovenia (23,597 USD), Croatia (13,294 USD), and Montenegro (7669 USD) fare much better. Moreover, other neighbouring countries, which in the mid-1980s had a lower GDP than Yugoslavia, are today considerably better off better than Serbia – see Hungary (14,224 USD), Romania (10,813 USD) and Bulgaria (8,031 USD).

in archaeological infrastructure or its public presentation in the past two decades. Indeed, even in the case of the two largest investments in 'inner' Serbia – the visitor centre at the Lepenski Vir (opened on 25th of June 2011) and the visitor centre at Viminacium (steadily growing after 2000), are both part of the central institutions in Belgrade, the National Museum and Archaeological Institute, respectively.[351]

The general impression is that almost all regional and local museums can maintain a certain (low) level of archaeological activities (small research projects, small exhibitions, etc.) but with no larger or longer-lasting impact, especially compared to the local and regional museums in Slovenia and Croatia. The situation with archaeology in museums is still problematic. The National Museum in Belgrade opened its doors after more than ten years of very slow and contested renovation; the Municipal Museum in Belgrade is still without venues for the permanent exhibition, and in many cases of other regional and local museums, their venues and equipment for exhibiting items and information related to archaeology (and also many other topics) are far from adequate. Especially at the regional and local levels, the museums remain largely underfinanced and understaffed. However, there are also cases of successful and highly attractive displays of archaeological sites and discoveries made in the last twenty years, such as at Lepenski Vir, Viminacium, Gamzigrad, Kalemegdan fort in Belgrade, and Caričin grad (*Iustiniana Prima*), to list just the most famous examples. Another positive aspect was the emergence of new local museums founded after 1991, completing the already rather dense network of the local museums in Serbia.

1991 – Aleksandrovac
1996 – Kladovo
2002 – Bačka Topola
2008 – Sokobanja
2012 – Nova Varoš
2014 – Veliko Gradište
2015 – Vrbas
2016 – Žagubica

In the heritage protection sector, the changes were of a much lesser magnitude than in Slovenia and Croatia. In general, the system and organisation of heritage protection as it developed in the 1970s and 1980s is still largely in use, with more or less the same institutional framework, and only with some minor improvements (see more in Rajkovača 2019). The principal legal act (*Law on Cultural Properties*) dates from 1994 and is firmly based on previous acts. These problems increased significantly during the recent construction of motorways in Serbia. While in Slovenia and Croatia, the construction of a network of motorways catalysed significant changes in legislation and the practice of preventive archaeology, this was not so much the case in Serbia, where Rajkovača (2016, 282) notes that Serbian archaeology is still heavily reliant on tradition. Due to government pressure to construct motorways as fast as possible, there were numerous cases of severe time constraints on archaeological salvage works and last-minute rescue campaigns done in rather inappropriate conditions and with poor organisation (see Rajkovača 2016).[352] The main reason for not fully exploiting the motorway development's potential should be looked at in the outdated legislation.

351 Quite illustrative is the case of Mediana near Niš. In 2013, a large visitor centre started to be constructed for the occasion of the celebration of the 1,700th anniversary of the Edict of Milano (proclaimed by Constantine the Great, who was born in the area of Niš). After a year or two, due to the shortage of resources, the construction was stopped.

352 Tonko Rajkovača, a former curator at the Museum of Metallurgy in Bor, Serbia, and geoarchaeologist at the University of Cambridge. For several years he worked in development-led archaeology in the UK. Between 2012 and 2019, he also acted as a consultant archaeologist for ARUP, the consultant company to the World Bank, which provided loans for the motorway construction in Serbia. His first-hand observations and texts on the heritage protection system (2016; 2017) are crucial for understanding today's preventive archaeology in Serbia.

Preventive archaeology is not fully considered in the planning phases of the development, and almost all 'protection' is concentrated in a few weeks prior to or during the construction works. In addition to this, it is only the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage and a few other public institutions which are allowed to carry out the excavations and all preventive research in general (Rajkovača 2016, 288). While this, *per se*, may not be the problem, since it depends on the individual countries in Europe with regard to how they will organise and fund preventive archaeology (varying from a fully public model in France to fully 'commercial' development-led archaeology in the UK), the Serbian public institutions simply do not have enough staff to carry out such challenging projects in a short time-frame. The problems were also in the monitoring system, where the institute was legally authorised to monitor the excavators, including itself.[353]

In Slovenia and Croatia, where archaeological heritage services faced similar challenges some ten to fifteen years earlier, a solution to public institutions' insufficient capacities was found in allowing private archaeological enterprises to be hired for preventive projects. The consequences in both countries were far-reaching. For some years, many younger archaeologists in Slovenia and Croatia were employed in preventive projects, which contributed considerably to meeting the challenges of rapid motorway construction. Moreover, the concepts and practices that developed in the motorway archaeology over the years significantly raised the level of archaeological expertise and in practice made archaeology a very competent partner in spatial planning. Unfortunately, this was not the case with Serbia. While in Slovenia and Croatia preventive archaeology developed after major motorway projects were concluded to a level which can sustain some 20–30% more jobs than before 2000, in Serbia, after the cessation of the major field projects on motorways, the teams – mostly operating on short-term contracts with the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage – were dissolved. The discussion to allow private or some kind of hybrid (public-private) arrangements in archaeology in Serbia lasted for more than a decade, and this practice is now encouraged by the successful development of this domain in Slovenia and Croatia. However, the opposition to this idea is still very strong, including in archaeological circles.[354] However, despite severe problems in the organisation and implementation of preventive archaeology on motorways, the actual research has produced some genuinely spectacular discoveries (e.g. Neolithic settlements at Drenovac and Pavlovac, Late Antique basilica at Kladenčište, Via Militaris at Dimitrovgrad, Thracian burial with a chariot at Mađilka near Pirot and more).

The situation with academic archaeology in Serbia is somewhat different. After 2000 when the country gradually came out from the isolation, the University of Belgrade and Archaeological Institute successfully renewed international cooperation and access to international funding (EU and other), which also proved to be instrumental for conceptual renewal after a decade or more of stagnation. With great efforts, some new intellectual circles of younger scholars were formed to follow global developments in archaeology (e.g. Centre for Theoretical Archaeology, Centre for Digital Archaeology, and Laboratory for Bioarchaeology University of Belgrade). Significant improvements can also be seen at the University of Novi Sad,

353 A similar model also existed in Slovenia and Croatia for a few years, but it was soon changed for obvious conflicts of interests. Today, in both countries, the Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Heritage set out obligatory conditions for rescue research and monitoring, and re not allowed to carry out the field research.

354 It seems paradoxical that the actual Act on Cultural Goods (1994) states, in its article 102, that *"Investigations of cultural goods, defined by the successful application of the project and the accompanying archive, could be carried out by institutions responsible for the protection as well as other firms and companies, other parties and commercial units, employing adequately qualified and trained staff, with the necessary equipment and in accordance with this act"*. (See more in Rajkovača 2017, 148–152).

where the teaching of archaeology (as a part of the history curriculum) was renewed with the appointment of new and younger staff. At the universities, a significant step forward was made with new regional programmes of student exchange starting in 2005 (with the ARHEOPED Network within the Central European Exchange Program for University Studies). However, Serbia only became a full member of the EU Erasmus+ programme in 2019. The competencies of Serbian archaeological researchers have been recognised and also awarded with research funds from the EU.[355] In general, international cooperation has mostly increased in the last decade, with foreign teams from the UK, Ireland, Germany, Slovenia, the USA and other countries regularly present in the modern Serbian archaeological 'landscape'.

At the very end of this chapter on Serbia, one rather peculiar institution also deserves to be noted – the Petnica Research Station. The station, a non-profit institution established in 1982 near Valjevo, is aimed primarily at the extracurricular education of high-achieving elementary and high school students in various sciences (chemistry, physics, astronomy, ecology, biology, anthropology, and also archaeology). Its venues, a campus which can host some 170 people, plus fully furnished laboratories, along with very dedicated teachers, have made this station an exceptional place for educating young people. For its achievements, Petnica recently gained the official support of UNESCO. Archaeology was part of Petnica's programmes already from the mid-1980s, and so far probably more than a thousand young students have participated in numerous workshops, field training schools and courses. One can hardly find an educational institution with a similar impact on the promotion of archaeology anywhere else in the southeastern Europe.

However, the events and massive economic crisis of the 1990s also took a toll on the academic sector, especially with regard to accelerating the 'brain drain'. A relatively large number of younger scholars, especially compared to other former Yugoslav republics, went abroad and continued their careers in foreign countries (the USA, UK, Germany, Spain...), to a great extent due to the rather bleak prospects at home for their careers.

355 Currently, Sofija Stefanović (University of Belgrade, BioSense Institute Novi Sad) coordinates a project funded by the ERC, one of the most prestigious EU research funding schemes.

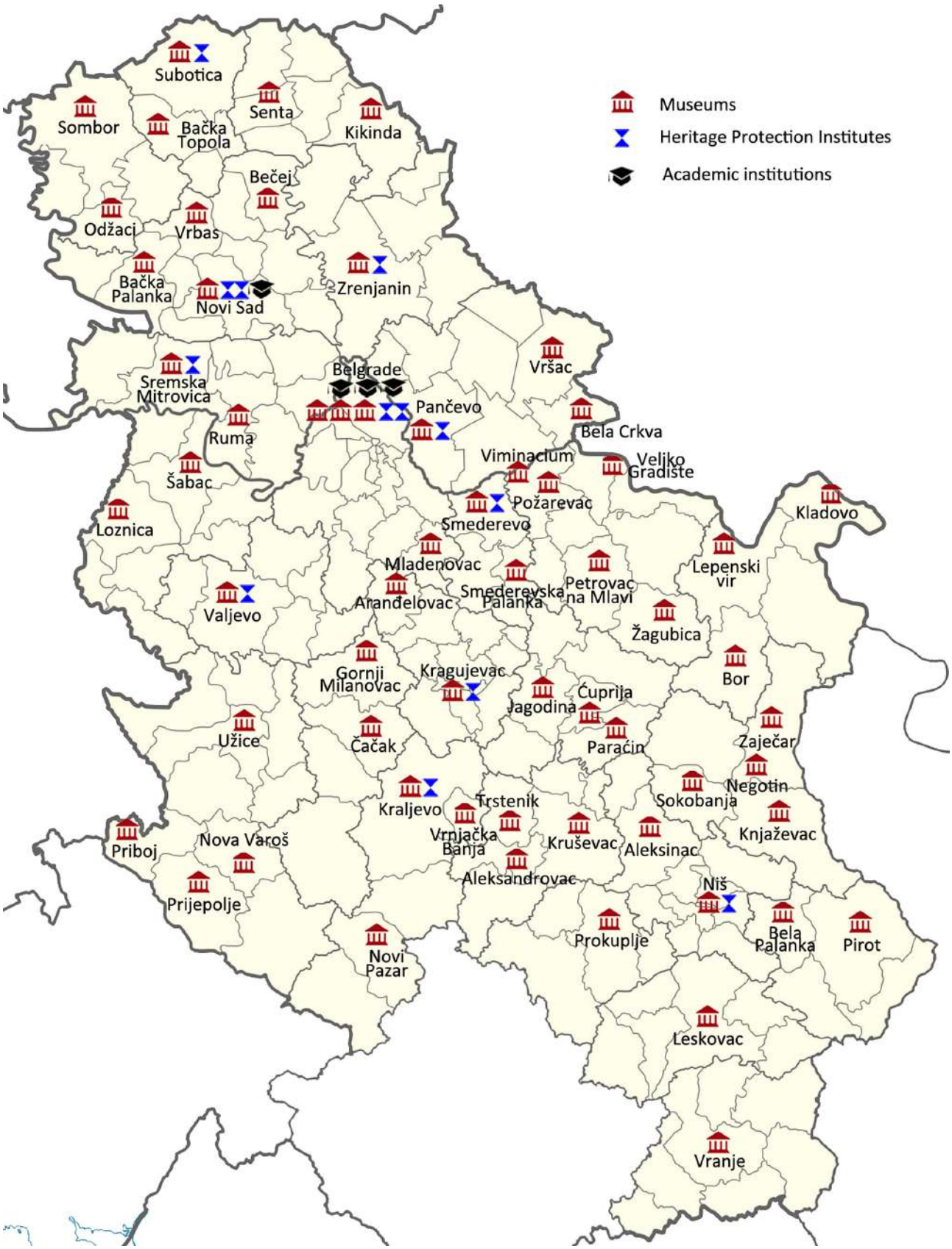


Fig. 79 Archaeological institutions in Serbia.

Concluding thoughts on Serbian archaeology

Compared to Slovenia or Croatia, Serbian archaeology lacked local antiquarian traditions and started to develop later, in the second half of the 19th century. The main reasons for this were twofold. The Ottoman political and cultural dominance in the period between the 15th and 19th centuries introduced different principal cultural and intellectual trajectories than in the rest of 'Christian' Europe, which went through the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods in which modern scientific thought gradually developed, and where antiquarianism presented a firm base for the development of the archaeological discipline. The second reason is the poorly developed urban culture in Serbia during the Ottoman rule, including the whole 19th century. The development of medieval centres, which would eventually grow into towns after the 15th century, was abruptly stopped with the Ottomans' arrival. They introduced a completely different administrative and economic system that prevented urban centres' autonomous development in Serbia. New 'urban' places were associated either with larger military garrisons or some mining areas, but both were under the strict control of the central court in Istanbul. In addition to this, until the beginning of the 18th century, when the border between the Austrian and Ottoman Empires was stabilised on the Danube, Serbia did not have such a strategic and economic importance as did Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was considered as an outpost of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. It is also important to note that Serbia in the 18th and 19th centuries experienced substantial migration processes of mostly rural populations both to and out of Serbia, which considerably changed the population structure in this country and neighbouring areas.

However, soon after gaining independence Serbia started an intensive process of 'Westernisation', mostly following Austrian cultural patterns which for a century or so had existed in Vojvodina, where the sizeable national community of Serbs (and the Serbian Orthodox Church) developed their first national and cultural institutions. In this process, Belgrade soon developed as the principal political, economic, and cultural centre, with the country's first museum and university. Thanks to some outstanding scholars who all studied abroad and became the first professors at Belgrade University, Serbia soon caught up with neighbouring countries with regard to the sciences, archaeology included.

However, the development of science and archaeology was not a cumulative linear process. Since 1900, Serbia has been involved in three regional and two world wars. After each of them, radical social, political and cultural changes ensued, often including the replacement of leading figures in numerous important social and cultural institutions. This, inevitably, left a mark on archaeology as well. In addition to this, archaeology in Serbia, being practised by a small number of scholars, was also very vulnerable and exposed to the positive or negative effects of the interests, attitudes and ideas of the individual scholars. The episode with M. Vasić's decades-long insistence on the completely wrong dates for the Vinča site and the overall image of the Balkan Neolithisation illustrates well the long-lasting effects of such conditions.

Significant developmental change in Serbian archaeology emerged after the Second World War in the context of Socialist Yugoslavia. Archaeology in Serbia, as a national disciplinary framework, was established at the turn of the 19th to 20th centuries, but it remained mostly concentrated in the capital. It was only after 1945 when most of the actual regional and local museums and regional network of the public heritage protection service became established. This process went hand-in-hand with the intensive industrialisation and urbanisation of Serbia between the 1950s and 1970s. In academic archaeology, this was a period marked by a large increase of teaching and research staff at the University of Belgrade, research institutes at the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, and National Museum.

Academic archaeology. Assisted by local and regional institutions, these central institutions became capable of undertaking large-scale projects (e.g. Iron Gorge project and similar). In terms of conceptual development, one could say that Serbian archaeology reached a certain maturity towards the end of the 1970s. Publications of Serbia's archaeological maps, chronological and typological studies enabled the first in-depth syntheses of prehistoric periods, while the experience gained in joint international projects and intensive participation at international conferences also helped to develop the discipline. These all illustrate the positive outcomes of the successful modernisation of Serbian archaeology and its communication with other archaeologies in Yugoslavia and abroad.

Belgrade's dominant position in the 'hierarchy' of Serbian archaeology was incontestable for all these years. It only grew in importance through time, particularly during and after the wars and crisis since 1991. This fact has much to do with the country's overall traditionally centralised structure and the influential weight of its capital.[356] Centralisation is also reflected in the organisation of archaeology, which is structurally far more centralised and hierarchically organised than, for example, in Croatia, where a much larger number of archaeologists is employed compared to Serbia. It appears that such centralisation had (and still has) two opposing effects. On one side, the large concentration of scholars (and for that matter also resources and assets) resulted in a series of outstanding achievements, especially in academic archaeology in the last 50 or more years. But the situation is very different when observing the level and extent of archaeology in regional and local institutions. No other major city in Serbia, except for Novi Sad (capital of the Province of Vojvodina), has more than five professional archaeologists in all its archaeological institutions combined; in most cases, there are one or two.[357] The 1990s were years of isolation and stagnation in the development of almost all domains of archaeological practice: economic, infrastructural and conceptual. All the archaeological institutions survived through this period, but they were left with modest resources and potential in the 'new capitalism' era, which was particularly obvious at the local levels. It is here, I believe, where one of the critical problems lie, and thus the responsibility of archaeological centres in Serbia in assisting in establishing a much more robust network of regional and local archaeological institutions. The case of preventive archaeology on the motorways illustrates very well this problem.

The large concentration of 'archaeology' in Belgrade has also resulted in a dominant position of academic archaeology, mainly when reflecting the discipline's achievements. Compared to Slovenia, where considerable changes in preventive archaeology led to much more comprehensive discussion about the status of archaeology, its organisation and practice in all domains, and heritage protection in particular, such discussion did not develop in Serbia. To a great degree, academic archaeology remained a raw model for measuring the achievements of archaeologists in the museums or at the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, making the discussion about the role of archaeology in non-academic domains less profound, analytical and elaborated. In this context, one could observe the reluctance to allow the engagement of private enterprises in archaeology. While the questions of how, where, and to what degree should private enterprises be allowed in archaeological practice

356 Today, the population of Serbia is estimated at 7 million. Belgrade's municipal area has a population of around 1.6 million, nearly five times larger than Novi Sad (340,000), and six times larger than Niš (260,000). Such differences, and the large concentration of population in the capital, cannot be seen in any of the other countries presented in this book.

357 In contrast, in Belgrade today there are about 100 professional archaeologists in seven institutions: the National Museum, Municipal Museum, University of Belgrade, Archaeological Institute, Institute for Balkan Studies, Republic Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Cultural Heritage, and Belgrade Municipal Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Cultural Heritage.

are entirely legitimate, the negative attitudes and reactions against such developments were never adequately discussed.

The successful examples from Croatia and Slovenia clearly show the positive effects of opening up the market for archaeological research (primarily in preventive archaeology). The lesson learned was that a significant outcome was not the replacement of public institutions with private ones, but the engagement of a much larger professional population which, altogether, was able to cope with a significant increase – by several orders of magnitude – of the number of archaeological experts and researchers required. The final result was a great amount of new knowledge acquired about the archaeological past, opening up many new potential areas of interest for academic and heritage archaeology.

Images

Fig. 80 Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658–1730), Italian scientist, military officer who mapped border between Habsburg and Ottoman Empires after the peace treaty in Sremski Karlovci (1699); during this work he also recorded ancient sites and ruins along the Danube.

Fig. 81 Janko Šafarik (1814–1876), Slovak scholar who worked in Novi Sad and Belgrade, Director of the Serbian National Library, professor at Belgrade Lycaem, Director of the National Museum in Belgrade, conducted the first archaeologcal excavations in Serbia.

Fig. 82 National Museum and University in Belgrade (early 1910s). Courtesy of the National Museum in Belgrade.

Fig. 83 Serbian Archaeological Society.

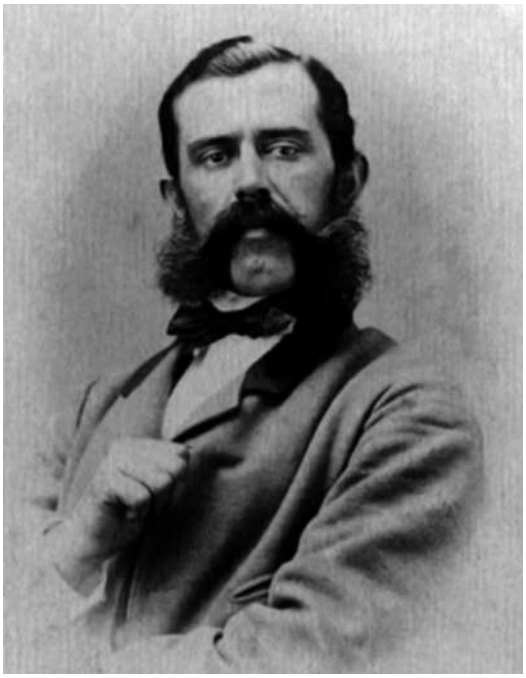


Fig. 84 Felix Kanitz (1829–1904), Austrian-Hungarian journalist, ethnographer and archaeologist. Researcher of Roman antiquities in Serbia from the 1850s to 1890s.

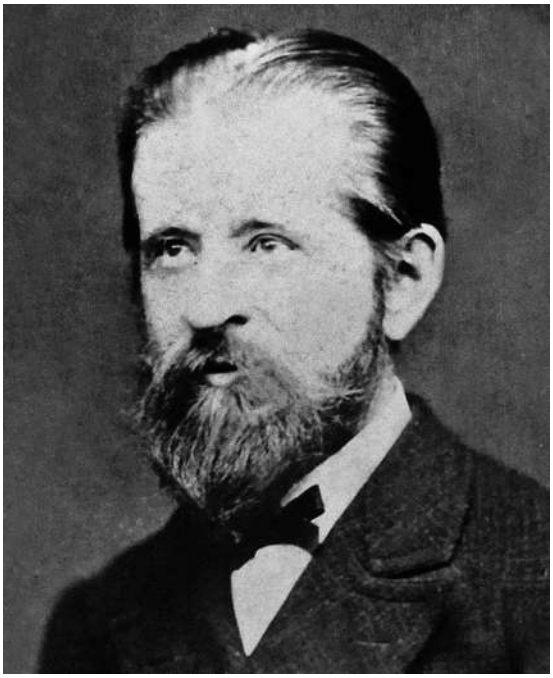


Fig. 85 Mihajlo Valtrović (Michail Walter) (1839–1915), first professor of archaeology at the University of Belgrade, curator at the National Museum (1881), founder of the Serbian Archaeological Society.

Fig. 86 Vršac, Palace Concordia, the seat of Municipal Museum established in 1882. Photo from early 1910s. Courtesy of the Municipal Museum Vršac.

Fig. 87 Felix Milleker (1858–1942) in his cabinet in the Museum of Vršac (around 1910). Courtesy of the Municipal Museum Vršac.

Fig. 88 Serbian King Alexander and Queen Draga visiting excavations at Viminacium in 1902 (D. Jacanović, http://archanthis.org/arheoloski-vremeplov-pogledajte-fotografije-viminacijuma-iz-1902-godine/.

Fig. 89 Miloje Vasić (1869–1956), professor of archaeology at the University of Belgrade, Director of the National Museum in Belgrade, researcher of Vinča site.

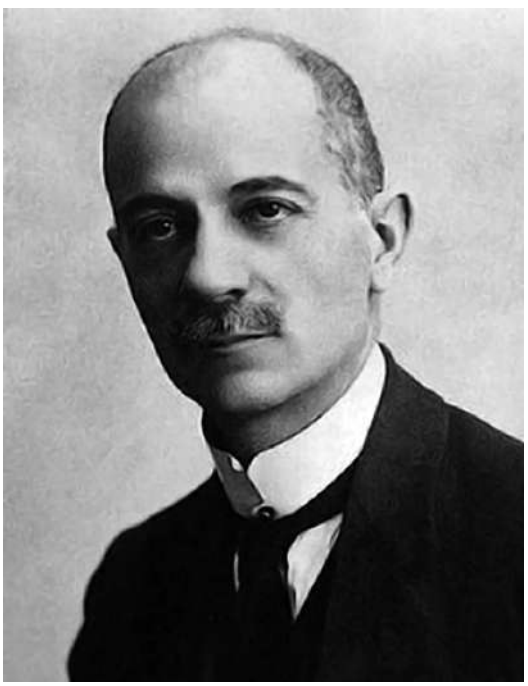


Fig. 90 Nikola Vulić (1872–1945), professor of ancient history at the University of Belgrade.

Fig. 91 Miloje Vasić in Vinča (1908). Courtesy of the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade.

Fig. 92 House of the Chrystodolous family in Niš, the first venues of the Museum of Niš (1933). Courtesy of Marko Janković.

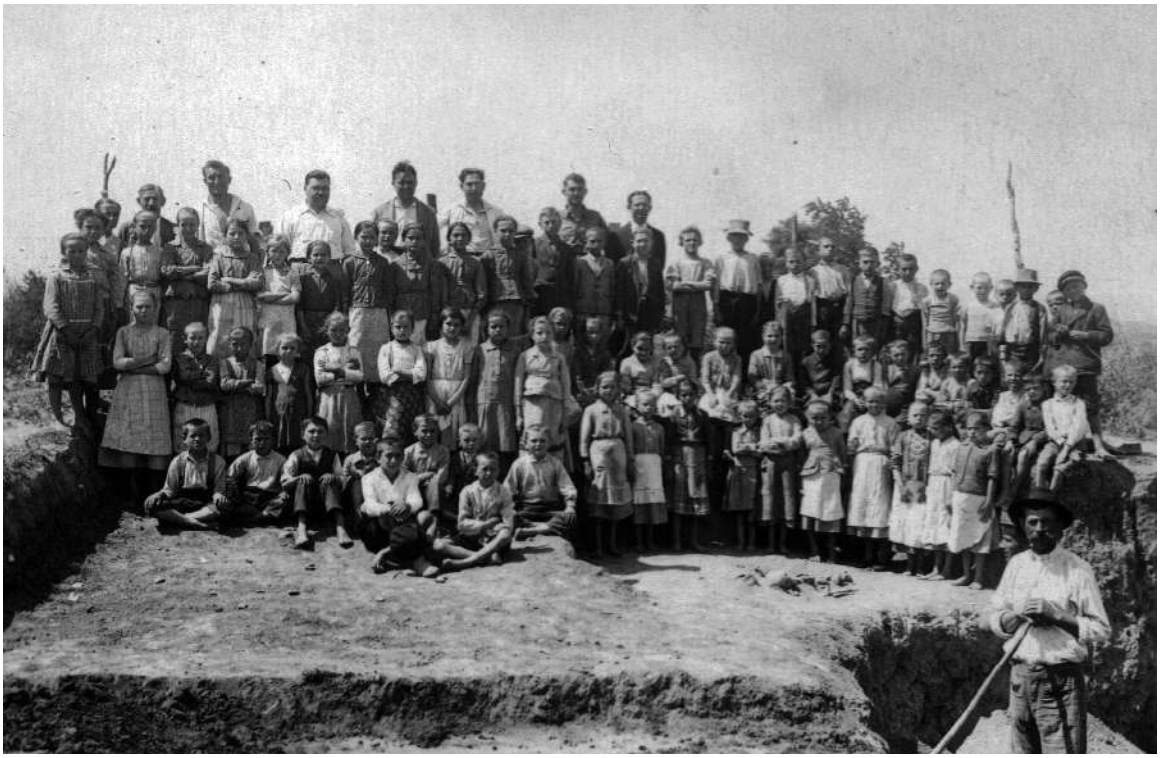


Fig. 93 Excavations in Starčevo (1931–1932). Courtesy of the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade.

Fig. 94 Miodrag Grbić (1901–1969). Curator at the National Museum in Belgrade (before WW2), researcher at the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade. Photo: Gačić (2005).

Fig. 95 German excavations at Kalamegdan, Belgrade (1942).
Courtesy of the National Museum in Belgrade.

Fig. 96 Vladimir Petković (1874–1956), Director of the National Museum in Belgrade (1921–1935) and Archaelogical Institute in Belgrade (1947–1956).

Fig. 97 Đurđe Bošković (1904–1990), professor at the University of Belgrade, Deputy Director of the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade.

Fig. 98 Reichel Palace, the seat of the Municipal Museum in Subotica (1948–1968).

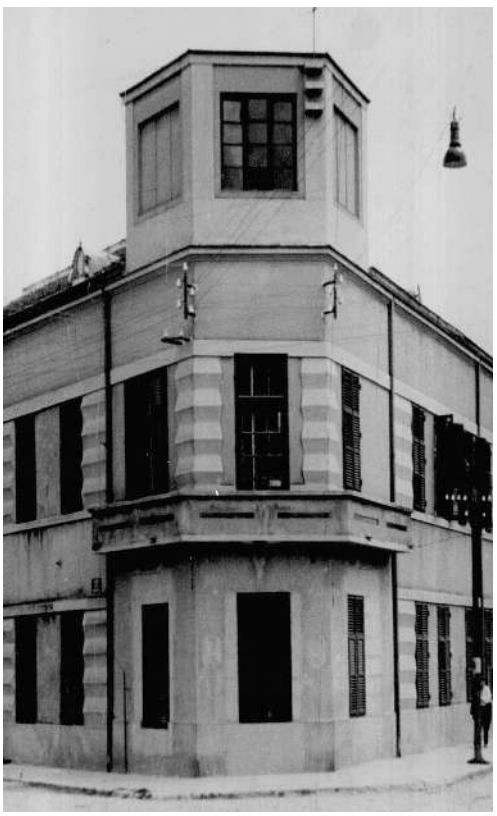


Fig. 99 Municipal Museum in Negotin (1934).

Fig. 100 From left: Milutin Garašanain (1920–2002) Draga Garašanin (1921–1997) and Galaba Palikruševa in Ohrid, N. Macedonia (1960). Courtesy of Milutin Garašanin jr.

Fig. 101 Milutin Garašanain at Anzabegovo, N. Macedonia (1969). Courtesy of Milutin Garašanin jr.

Fig. 102 Dragoslav Srejović (1931–1996) and Zagorka Letica at Lepenski vir (late 1960s). Courtesy of the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade.

Fig. 103 Relocation of Tabula Traiana (1967–1969) during the construction of the Đerdap powerplant. Photo Mihailović M. (2016).

Fig. 104 Aleksandrina Cermanović Kuzmanović (1928–2001), professor of classical archaeology at the University of Belgrade.

Fig. 105 Fanula Papazoglu (1917–2001), professor of ancient history at the University of Belgrade.

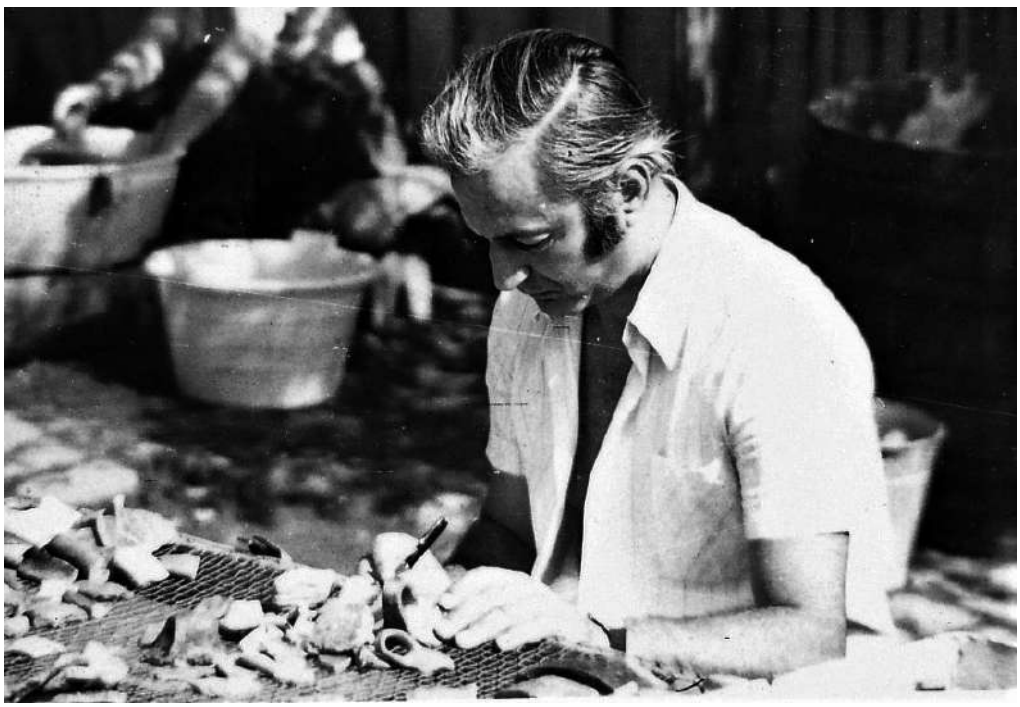


Fig. 106 Nikola Tasić (1932–2017), Director of the Balkanological Institute, Belgrade, at Gomolava (1970s). Courtesy of Nenad Tasić.

Fig. 107 Olga Brukner (1930–2018) (second from the left), conservator at the Provincial Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Vojvodina., visiting the site of Rimski Šančevi near Novi Sad (1962). Other archaeologists: Dragutin Vilotijević (fourth) and Predrag Medović (seventh). Courtesy of the Provincial Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Vojvodina.

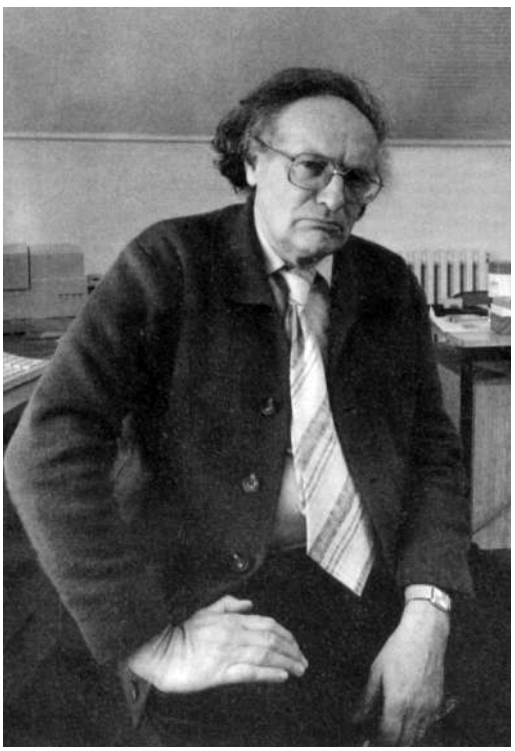


Fig. 108 Bogdan Brukner (1931–2006), curator at the Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, professor of archaeology at the University of Novi Sad.

Fig. 109 Visitor centre at the dislocated site of Lepenski vir (opened in 2011).

V. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Bosnia and Herzegovina occupies an area of 51,129 km^2. It currently has about 3.5 million inhabitants (according to the 2013 census).[358] Three major ethnic groups live in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosniaks (50%), Serbs (31%), and Croats (15%), with these proportions also corresponding to the major religions in the country, Islam, Orthodox Christian and Catholic Christian, respectively. The country comprises two historic regions, Bosnia, extending over northern and western parts of the country (ca. 75 % of the total territory) and Herzegovina (ca. 25% of the territory) in the south.[359] The difference between the two regions is discernible in the geological and ecological characteristics (see below). The border between the two regions runs along the line connecting the mountains Vran – Raduša – Vranica – Bitovnja – Bjelašnica – Treskavica – Zelengora – Maglić. Herzegovina occupies a typical Adriatic hinterland area, with large, bare karst areas and rocky relief and several relatively flat, low-lying karst plains. In contrast, Bosnia is more typical of continental areas; it consists of densely forested mountains cut by river valleys in the central parts and lower sub-Pannonian and Pannonian terrains in the north.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is situated between the Pannonian Plain and the Adriatic Sea in the south. Except for a 20 km wide corridor at Neum, where Bosnia and Herzegovina reaches the Adriatic shore (cutting Croatian Dalmatia), it is a landlocked country. It is predominantly mountainous; almost 50% of its terrain is made of high hills and mountains covered with dense forests, mostly in its central parts. From the north, west and south, Bosnia and Herzegovina borders on Croatia, while its eastern and southeastern neighbours are Serbia and Montenegro. The northern border with Croatia runs along the rivers of Una and Sava.

In contrast, the western and southern border with Croatian Dalmatia runs across high mountain ridges of the Dinaric Alps. The major part of the border with Serbia is marked by the course of a river, the middle and lower Drina. The southeastern border with Serbia and Montenegro runs along high mountain tops and ridges.

358 Bosnia and Herzegovina suffered the greatest depopulation among all countries of former Yugoslavia. In the 1991 census, Bosnia and Herzegovina had a population of nearly 4.38 million. In less than three decades, its population decreased by 20%. The major reason was migration during and after the 1992–1995 war.

359 The name Bosnia (*Bosna*) very probably derives from a hydronym, River Bosna, the central river which springs near Sarajevo and flows northwards to the Sava. Interpretations associate the Roman hydronym *Bathinus flumen* with the River Bosna. In its current form, the name appears in the 10th century, in the works of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus (Imamović 1995, 25). On the other hand, the name Herzegovina (*Hercegovina*) came from the title of a medieval Duke (*Herzog*), Stjepan Vukčić Kosača, ruler of this region in the 15th century. It literally means 'the land of Herzog'. The joint form – Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Bosna i Hercegovina*) – first appeared in 1833 after Ottoman administrative reforms. Before that period, under Ottoman rule, today's Bosnia and Herzegovina was the Bosnian elayet (also Bosnian vilayet or Bosnian Pashaluk; i.e. Bosnian province).

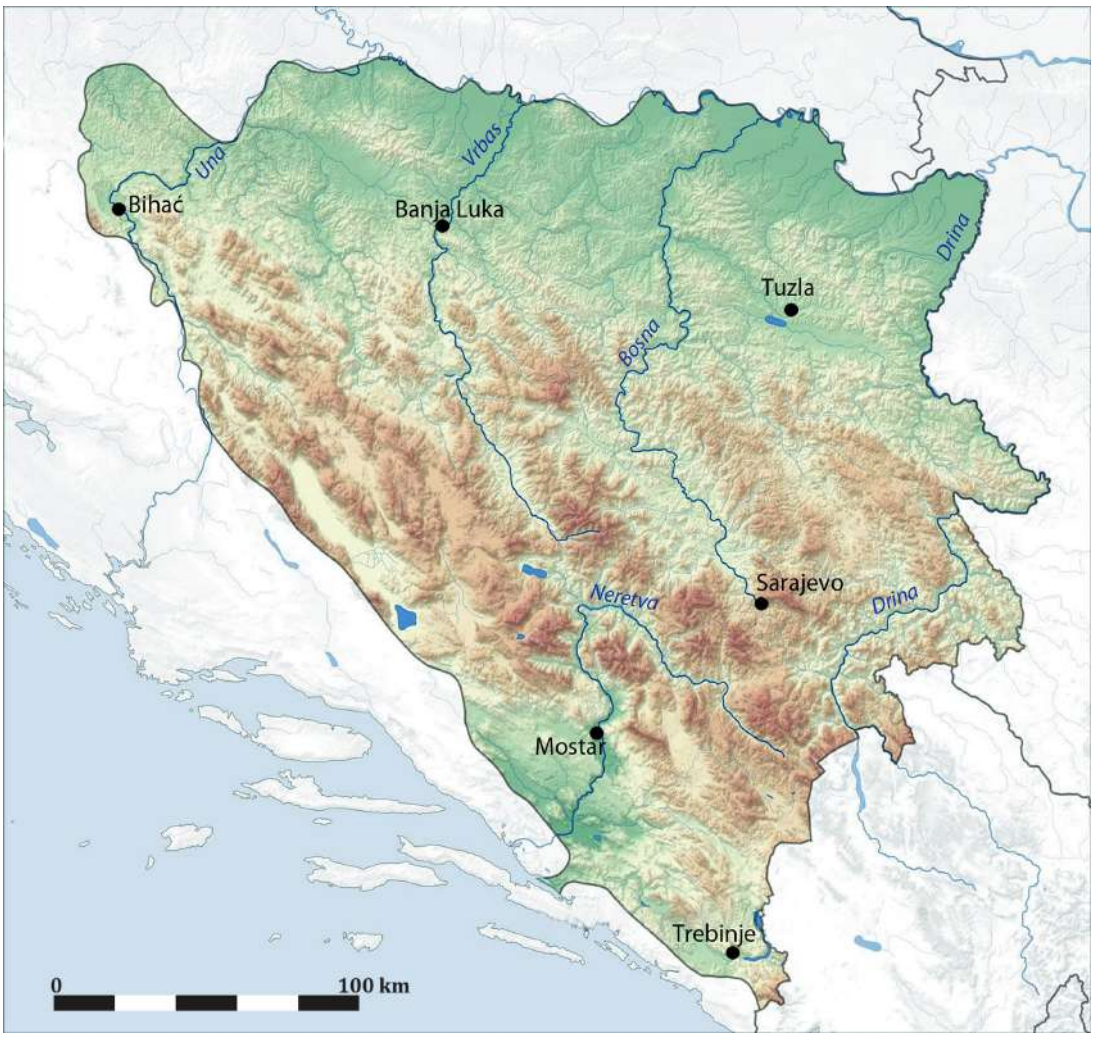


Fig. 110 Relief map of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is composed of three major physio-geographic regions. Along the whole northern border with Croatia (or River Sava) extends a ca. 50–80 km wide belt of lowlands and lower hills presenting the Pannonian lowland's southern edge. This region is called Northern Bosnia, also Bosanska Posavina (Bosnian Sava Valley). Here, the natural landscape is very similar to Croatian Slavonia north of the river, mostly made of alluvial and periglacial deposits. Bosanska Posavina is well-drained terrain with large soil-rich areas, making it the most suitable region for agriculture. To the south begins a large region of central Dinaric mountains and high hills intersected with river valleys. This region (called Central Bosnia) extends across the whole country, from east to west, occupying more than 50% of its territory. The Dinaric mountains represent a 'backbone' of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The dominant geology here is 'deep' karst with relatively thick soil deposits, with alluvial areas along the rivers. This area is the most wooded region. The third region, Herzegovina, lies further in the south. It is also a karstic landscape of predominantly barren karst with large areas of rugged landscapes. Bosnia and Herzegovina is hydrographically a relatively rich country. Some 70% of rivers (e.g. the Una, Vrbas, Bosna, and Drina, with their tributaries) flow towards the north, to the Sava (and then to the Danube). Herzegovina, with its main river Neretva, belongs to the Adriatic river catchment. Bosnia and Herzegovina is also relatively rich in minerals, such as iron, copper, silver, and coal. Another vital resource, especially in the past,

is salt in the area of Tuzla in northeastern Bosnia, already exploited from Neolithic times.

Very dynamic relief and high mountain barriers make the climate in Bosnia and Herzegovina regionally diverse. In general, there are two major climatic zones which are divided by the Dinaric mountains. In the south and southeast (in lowland Herzegovina), the climate is Mediterranean and sub-Mediterranean, while in central and northern Bosnia the climate is continental, in high altitudes also alpine. The major climatic zones also correspond to the major types of vegetation, varying from Mediterranean to continental and alpine types. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a densely forested country (50% of the land). Deciduous forests, predominantly beech, extend across the central and outer Dinarides, while coniferous forests dominate the terrains above 1000 m. Except for the peri-Pannonian area of Bosanska Posavina and Lower Neretva Valley, Bosnia and Herzegovina is not very suitable for agriculture. In central Bosnia, suitable land for farming is sparsely found in major river valleys, karstic fields and other flatter areas below 1000 m.

During the Roman Empire (1st to mid-5th century AD), most of the territory of today Bosnia and Herzegovina was part of the province of Dalmatia; the northern region, along the Sava, was in Pannonia Inferior. Being in the hinterland of major Roman urban and military centres on the Adriatic coast, Bosnia and Herzegovina was rather modestly urbanised in the Roman period. Having no large urban centres, it did not attract large migrations of peoples after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, as the neighbouring Pannonia did, until the arrival of Slavs. Parts of Bosnia were settled by Early Croats, during their settlement in Dalmatia, probably sometime in the 7th century.[360] Later on, large parts of Bosnia were included in the Kingdom of Croats in the late 9th and early 10th centuries. From the 10th to 12th centuries, several different rulers changed in Bosnia or its parts: Serbian princedoms, Bulgarians, Byzantines, and Croat kings. In the second half of the 12th century, Bosnia started to develop its own political autonomy with its first *bans* (viceroys of the Hungarian kingdom which annexed Croatia), especially under Ban Kulin (1180-1204). The largest territorial expansion Bosnia achieved was in the 14th century under the local Kotromanići dynasty. Bosnia's medieval state reached its peak under Ban Tvrtko I (1338?–1391), crowned as the first Bosnian King in 1391. During his reign, Bosnia became the largest kingdom in the western Balkans, extending over most of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia, western Montenegro and southeastern Serbia. Following Tvrtko's death, a period of fragmentation along with the rise of local princes and dukes started. The most well-known among them was Duke (Herzog in German) Stjepan Vukčić Kosača, the ruler of Herzegovina, which soon took its name after his ruling title.

Ottoman raids in Bosnia and Herzegovina started towards the end of the 14th century, and by 1463 the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II conquered what remained of the Bosnian Kingdom, with Herzegovina conquered two years later. After that, both regions remained under Ottoman rule for more than 400 years, until 1878. Initially, Bosnia belonged to a large province (*beylerbeylik*) of Rumelia and was divided into three *sanjaks* (military administered regions). In 1580 the Bosnian *sanjaks* were united into one province (*elayet* or *pashaluk*) of Bosnia. The provincial capitals were Banja Luka (1580–1639), Sarajevo (1639–1697; 1850–1878), and Travnik (1697–1850). The governor of Bosnia had the title of *beylerbey* (*Pasha of Pashas*).[361] The reasons for making Bosnia a province were strategic; Bosnia was the westernmost frontier province surrounded by Christian countries (Austria, Venice, Hungary) which all organised a military

360 Until the 15th century, the territory of today Bosnia and Herzegovina was named Bosnia.

361 The formation of a united province enabled the territorial integrity of Bosnia (and Herzegovina) throughout the period of Ottoman rule, which continued as a province in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire (1878–1918), and as a republic in Socialist Yugoslavia (1946–1991), and then an independent state from 1992.

buffer zone around Bosnia. The Ottomans also organised a similar military buffer zone in Bosnia.

With regard to Sarajevo, it is important to note that the Ottomans actually built the city, as before their arrival no urban settlement existed there. Under the Ottomans, Sarajevo, in the first half of the 16th century, developed into a very prosperous city with a fairly strong local elite. It was home to the first high school (Hanikah) in the land for studying Islamic theology, law and philosophy. The school was opened in the 1530s, together with the university library, and was of the same rank as the Madrasah of the Sultan Bayezid (a university) in Istanbul. The Ottomans' most beautiful architectural monuments in the Balkans date from the 16th century (e.g. the Gazi Husref Bey's mosque). At the end of the 16th century, Sephardic Jews settled in Sarajevo and contributed to the city's economic and cultural prosperity. According to the data from censuses between 1520–1530 (Sugar 1996, 51), in that period 100% of all households were Muslim, clearly showing that a new population settled in the town after its establishment, as well as a high religious conversion rate (voluntary or forced) among the local population. The city reached its peak in the mid-17th century with an estimated population between 70,000 and 80,000, making Sarajevo one of the largest Ottoman cities in Europe in general.

Compared to Serbia, Montenegro and N. Macedonia, the population in Ottoman Bosnia became more 'Islamised' over time. However, Islamisation and religious conversion were a slow and gradual process, and it probably took more than 100 years for Muslims to become the majority. Islamisation and conversion included different processes. The immigration from Asia Minor and other formerly occupied countries in the Balkans (e.g. Serbia, Bulgaria, N. Macedonia) probably had the least impact with regard to numbers, and it included mostly military officials, troops, and state administrators. In fact, many people fled from Bosnia to neighbouring countries, and many of them were settled in the Austrian Military Frontier. A more significant number of Muslims came to Bosnia later, after the Great Austrian-Turkish war (1683-1699), when the Ottomans lost all their lands north of the Sava and Danube rivers.

However, the most far-reaching and intriguing process was the religious conversion of the local Christian (Orthodox and Catholic) population, a process that took time and different form. The fact is that Christian subjects had comparably fewer rights, and they belonged to the class of *raya* (flock), together with the Muslim peasants. In contrast, Muslim subjects had more opportunities for careers in state jobs (administration and the army) which were inaccessible for non-Muslims. Other reasons for conversion should also be looked for in the weaker organisation of both Catholic and Orthodox churches. In Bosnia, between the 13th and mid-15th centuries, there was a strong local heresy ('*Bosnian Church*') supported by local rulers. Neither Orthodox nor Catholic ecclesiastic authorities were able to establish more robust religious centres or institutions in medieval Bosnia. Both churches had their bishops 'authorised' for Bosnia outside the country itself, and had not been able to exercise their powers effectively for some 200 years before the arrival of the Ottomans (Džaja and Lovrenović 2007). With the lack of a more robust tradition of Orthodox and Catholic centres in Bosnia, and traditions of different, heretic and local churches (officially abandoned in the mid-15th century), the new and strongly organised Muslim religion had a much greater appeal and more chances for more large-scale, peaceful conversion.[362]

362 In addition to this, there were some saints who were worshipped by both Christians and Muslims (e.g. St. Elia/Alidjun). Since the Ottomans did not ban the Christian faith, syncretism was quite widespread and popular among the local peasants, especially when mixed with popular magic. Such a situation is well illustrated by the phrase *Dopodne Ilija, popodne Alija* (*Elia in the morning, Ali in the afternoon*). Frequently there were cases where members of one family were Muslims and Christians, especially when looking at different generations (e.g. parents and children).

In general, the process of conversion was thus a peaceful and gradual one, and not aggressively forced on the population. Technically, the Ottoman state did not prohibit other religions, but did not assist them in their lives and practices. On the margins of the predominantly Muslim cultural, public and political life, the Catholic and Orthodox populations, although economically and politically disadvantaged, managed to preserve a large part of their identity at the local level.[363] Islamisation was the strongest in towns, especially in those established by the Ottomans (e.g. Sarajevo) or those that were given important administrative or military roles (e.g. Travnik, Banja Luka, Mostar). Most of the pre-Ottoman medieval towns in Bosnia were established relatively late, in the 14th and the 15th centuries, mostly as fortified castles with small settlements around them. With the arrival of the Ottomans, many of them were used for military purposes. On the other hand, Ottomans established new towns or moved some older settlements to a lower municipal level following their traditions of town organisation. The result was a relatively dense network of small towns (*kasbahs*) throughout the country.

Numerous wars with Austrians and Venetians mark the period between the 16th and 18th centuries. In the 19th century there were uprisings of the local populations, both Christians and Muslims. Christians, encouraged by uprisings in other parts of the Ottoman Empire (e.g. Serbia, Greece), started to associate their national identities with neighbouring nations (Serbs and Croats), gradually abandoning the notion of Bosnian identity. Bosnian identity grew stronger among the local Muslim nobility, which also rebelled against Istanbul, claiming Bosnian autonomy. The Muslim nobility in Bosnia and Herzegovina strongly opposed *Tanzimat* (i.e. reforms for modernising the Empire, 1839–1876) as their traditional privileges were threatened by introducing a more secular type of government giving equal rights to the non-Muslim population. However, after losing Greece and its effective powers in Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania, the Ottoman Empire soon renounced Bosnia too. At the Berlin Congress in 1878, Austria was given the mandate to occupy Bosnia, and after a short period of local resistance they had established a protectorate.[364] Though this country *de jure* still belonged to the Ottoman Empire, it became *de facto* Austrian. In 1908, Bosnia and Herzegovina was made a province of the Austrian part of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Austria, which became the first European state with a relatively large Muslim population, started a very ambitious programme of 'Westernisation' of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Based on the policy of a multi-national Empire, Austria attempted a similar model for Bosnia and Herzegovina by promoting a new national identity of inter-confessional 'Bosnians' (Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic) loyal to the Emperor. In this way, the Austrians also attempted to challenge the rising Serbian, Croat, and Muslim nationalisms. Substantial modernisation of the country was needed for such a concept to come to life. Austria *de facto* invested considerable efforts and funds to build a new province in Bosnia and Herzegovina according to the political and cultural matrix of the West.

The idea was to fundamentally change the province's character by radically improving the economic well-being of the country and thus ensure loyalty to the crown. Priority was given to industrialisation, urbanisation, modernisation of the communication infrastructure, and Western-style social, political, and economic institutions. A significant role in changing the country's identity was given to new cultural politics of 'bringing back' Bosnia and Herzegovina to the West, which,

363 Their main institutions in this respect were monasteries; the Franciscan Order was particularly active in this area.

364 Some seventy years before the takeover of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria – after Napoleon's defeat – took control of the former Venetian Dalmatia, becoming so the strongest power in the Balkans. The shift of Austrian focus towards the Balkans was also the consequence of the rising power of Prussia, which pushed Austria out from being a uniting force of the new united German state.

last but not least, included the introduction of Western education and science. In this way, Bosnia and Herzegovina became an object of Austrian proxy-colonial politics. However, despite substantial economic improvements, tensions in the country did not diminish during the period of Austrian rule. Local Muslim, Croatian and Serbian national movements constantly opposed Austrian attempts to create an integrated Bosnian-Herzegovinian nation; they also often clashed among themselves. Austrian politics met its ultimate failure with the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914, orchestrated by nationalists from neighbouring Serbia. This occurred in a political atmosphere of highly tense relationships among the great European powers of the time, and Ferdinand's assassination became into *casus belli* for the First World War.

After the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina, together with other Austro-Hungarian countries and provinces in the Balkans (Croatia, Dalmatia, Slovenia, Vojvodina), joined with the Kingdom of Serbia[365] into a new state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (the Kingdom of SHS). The new state's territorial division (33 provinces or *oblasti*) ignored former historical or ethnic territories and their relative autonomies. The territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided among nine provinces. With the reforms of 1929, when the Kingdom of SHS changed its name into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, a new territorial division with nine banates was introduced.[366] Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided among four banates with their seats in Banja Luka (Banate of Vrbas), Sarajevo (Drina Banate), Split (Littoral Banate) and Cetinje (Zeta Banate). Another change came in 1939 when the Littoral Banate joined other Croatian banates in the united Banate of Croatia. In 1941, Bosnia and Herzegovina was annexed to the quisling Croatian state (i.e. Independent State of Croatia).

It is worth noting that during the first incarnation of Yugoslavia (1918–1941), the only nations officially recognised were Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.[367] Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sanjak in southeastern Serbia combined (more than 90% of whom were Slavic speaking) comprised some 8% of Yugoslavia's total population. However, in terms of their nationality, they were considered as 'Muslimised Croats or Serbs'. Except for their religious rights, no other political or national rights were conceded to the Muslims.

During the Second World War in Yugoslavia (1941–1945), Bosnia and Herzegovina was the region of the largest battles against the Germans, Italians and various Croat and Serb quisling formations. Until 1944, the National Liberation Movement's headquarter, led by Tito, mostly operated within Bosnia and Herzegovina. In November 1943, in the town of Jajce, the second meeting of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia formed the provisional government of Yugoslavia, forming the basis for the post-war federal organisation of the country. Following these resolutions, Bosnia and Herzegovina, after the war, gained the status of a constituent Yugoslav republic within the borders from the Austrian period (1878–1918).[368] In 1971, with amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution, the Muslims were given the status of the constitutive nation.[369] Bosnia and Herzegovina also amended

365 The Kingdom of Montenegro, before the proclamation of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (on the 1st of December 1919), joined the Kingdom of Serbia, which after the Balkan wars (1913) annexed Vardar (Northern) Macedonia.

366 The 10th banate was the city of Belgrade.

367 In 1921, in the Kingdom of SHS, some 30% of the population (nearly 4 million) were members of other Slavic and non-Slavic national or ethnic groups. Approximately 15% were Slavs (Macedonians, Muslims, Montenegrins, Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Jews) and a similar percentage of non-Slavic people/non-Slavic speaking groups: Germans, Hungarians, Albanians, Romanians, and Turks.

368 In fact, there were some minor readjustments, one of them was the 20 km wide corridor through Croatian Dalmatia at Neum, giving Bosnia and Herzegovina contact with the Adriatic Sea.

369 The official name of the nation was Muslim, while the term muslim (in lower case) was used as a generic term for the people of the Muslim religion. In the 1971 census Muslims (ca. 8.4%) represented the third the largest nation in Yugoslavia, after Serbs (39.7%) and Croats (22.1%). In 1991, Muslims represented 10% of the total population.

its constitution to become a republic with three constitutional nations (Muslims, Serbs, Croats).

Following the Second World War, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina went through rapid growth over four decades, which significantly changed the country. The new Communist regime in Yugoslavia launched a massive programme of modernisation of social and economic life in the 1950s and 1960s (e.g. industrialisation, urbanisation, education, etc.).[370] Between 1960 and 1980, Bosnia and Herzegovina experienced significant economic progress. Heavy industry complexes were erected in areas rich in ores, accompanied by modern transport infrastructure and many new urban centres. Large industrial and urban centres thus developed (Sarajevo, Tuzla, Banja Luka, Mostar, Prijedor, Zenica).[371] Between 1953 and 1971, the population working in industry and mining in Bosnia and Herzegovina grew from 97,000 to 225,000 (Vrišer 1980, 213).

Along with the republican political and economic institutions, several institutions in culture, science, and other aspects of social life were quickly founded. The gradual liberalisation and federalisation of Yugoslavia led to increased autonomy of the individual republics. The economic crisis and dissatisfaction with the ruling Communist Party's ability to cope with it also accelerated the rise of nationalism in Yugoslavia in the 1980s. Bosnia and Herzegovina, ethnically and religiously inextricably mixed, was particularly vulnerable in this respect.

Amid the breakup of Yugoslavia and the war that, in Bosnia, began in 1992 and was mostly engineered by the neighbouring republics – Milošević's Serbia and Tudjman's Croatia, whose aim was to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina – the Bosnian-Herzegovinian national communities confronted each other and came into armed conflict. The statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina was preserved mostly due to pressure from international powers that in 1996 implemented the Dayton Agreement and the current administrative structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The country emerged from the war markedly impoverished, with numerous casualties and extensive material damage, along with significant emigration. Some 100,000 people were killed, more than 1,500,000 displaced, and ethnic cleansing and movement of the population resulted in regions being ethnically 'compact'. The damage inflicted to towns, industrial infrastructure, and roads was also enormous.

Today's administrative structure of the country is the outcome of the Dayton Peace Agreement. The state of Bosnia and Herzegovina is highly federalised. It has three federal units, two major 'entities': the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (around 50% of the state territory with a dominant Bosniak and Croatian population) and the Republic of Srpska (49% of the territory, with the Serbian population dominant), and a special District of Brčko (1% of the territory with a mixed population and with no absolute majority). This district in northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina with a territory of around 500 km2 located at the border with Croatia is separated due to its peculiar strategic position at the contact of the two other major entities.[372] Such a complicated form of constitutional and territorial organisation was imposed primarily to end the war and secure the necessary stability. Today, however, it complicates the country's development and reconstruction. More than twenty years after the war, the country is still under the EU Special Representative's supervision, and the process of recovery is still very slow. Bosnia and Herzegovina suffered the most among all the former Yugoslav republics in the war. According to the World Bank, in

370 One should also not ignore the intensive and frequently forced secularisation of the country, which severely limited the economic powers of all religious institutions in Yugoslavia.

371 Before the Second World War, approximately 20% of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina lived in urban settlements; some 50 years later, it was 50%.

372 The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is administratively divided into ten cantons that possess high levels of autonomy, while the Republic of Srpska is much more centrally administered.

2000, the Bosnia and Herzegovina GDP per capita was less than 1,500 US dollars, making it one of the poorest countries in Europe. The situation is gradually improving but still at a very slow pace.

Over the last century and a half, of all the countries of former Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina probably went through the most significant political and cultural transformations. Different cultural traditions came together here – principally the tradition of Ottoman culture, largely supplemented by the traditions of the national cultures of the Serbs and the Croats and cultural practices from the surrounding regions. Together, they contributed to forming a specific cultural amalgam that cannot be simply incorporated into the classical models of national cultures development in Europe.

Archaeological and historical background of Bosnia and Herzegovina[373]

The first Palaeolithic sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina were discovered in the late 1940s and 1950s, while more systematic research (i.e. small test excavations and surface surveying) was initiated in the 1970s. Thanks mostly to the pioneering endeavours of Đuro Basler from the Provincial Museum of Sarajevo, some 80 Palaeolithic sites were registered by 1990, most of them in northern Bosnia (Basler 1998, 15). However, no Palaeolithic site in Bosnia and Herzegovina had been the subject of more extensive excavations until the late 1980s, when the Provincial Museum of Sarajevo had a joint project with the University of Michigan at Badanj near Stolac in Herzegovina (see Whallon 1989; 1999). Palaeolithic research intensified in the last decade. The University of Cambridge, together with the museums from Banja Luka and Doboj, organised a project *Paleolithic in Northern Bosnia,* which took place between 2006 and 2012. More than 190 sites were registered in this project, re-evaluated or discovered anew, mostly by small test excavations, surveying and sampling (see more in Pandžić 2014). Due to the late beginnings of the Palaeolithic archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the limited nature of the data derived mostly from surface surveys and small test excavations, it is still difficult to obtain a comprehensive archaeological image of Bosnia and Herzegovina for this period.[374] At present, it appears that the region of the Sava Valley (Bosanska Posavina, i.e. Pannonian and peri-Pannonian area) has a much greater density of sites compared to other parts of the country.

Interestingly, more than 90% of sites in Bosanska Posavina are not in caves or rock shelters but open ground, frequently in more elevated places (Pandžić 2014, 46, 48). All Palaeolithic sites (combined) span a period from approximately 87,000 BP to 18,000 BP. The lithic assemblages exhibit chrono-typological features of the Mousterian (e.g. Danilovića Brdo, Kadar, Kamen, Londža, Zobište, Rastuša), Aurignacian (e.g. Kamen, Luščić, Londža, Visoko Brdo, Mala Gradina), and Gravettian periods (e.g. Kadar, Londža). Palaeolithic sites in Herzegovina are much less known. So far, only the Late Upper Palaeolithic finds were discovered in this region. At present, the only relatively well-researched site is Badanj near Stolac, dated to the Epigravettian period.[375] This site is particularly

373 Due to the war, prolonged political and economic recovery, and last but not least, a significantly smaller professional archaeological community, archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina suffered a great recession in all domains. Its gradual recovery started only a decade ago. With the increasing presence of foreign researchers from Germany, Great Britain, Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia, jointly working with local institutions, the situation is changing. However, not all research domains have been equally developed since 2000; some topics are still waiting for a step beyond the 'old school' views from the 1970s and 1980s. In my short sketch of Bosnia and Herzegovina's archaeological periods, I have tried to use the newest data where possible.

374 The major synthesis was published by Đuro Basler (1979) based on data collected until the mid-1970s. In recent decades, new research made an important contribution, mainly in terms of the number of new sites and new settlement zones. However, these are still not researched in more detail.

375 Radiocarbon dates for Badanj suggest a span of site between 14,179 +/- 439 and 10,000 BC (calibrated) (Whallon 2007). The site also contained finds from the Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age periods.

interesting because of the cave art (an engraved image of a horse on one of the stone walls) and jewellery made of animal bones, teeth, and molluscs (Basler 1976). The Mesolithic period is even less known, with only a few lithic artefacts which may belong to this period found in the Neolithic cave sites in Herzegovina.

In the Neolithic period, clear cultural-geographical differentiation developed, mainly corresponding to principal physio-geographic zones in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Northern and central Bosnia exhibit substantial similarities with the Neolithic developments in neighbouring continental areas (southern Pannonia and western Balkans), while Herzegovina was connected with the Adriatic Neolithic. It is also worth noting that from the Neolithic period onwards, the Bosna river valley became the primary settlement zone and communication route connecting central Bosnia with the Pannonian Plain; its communication importance will only increase over time.

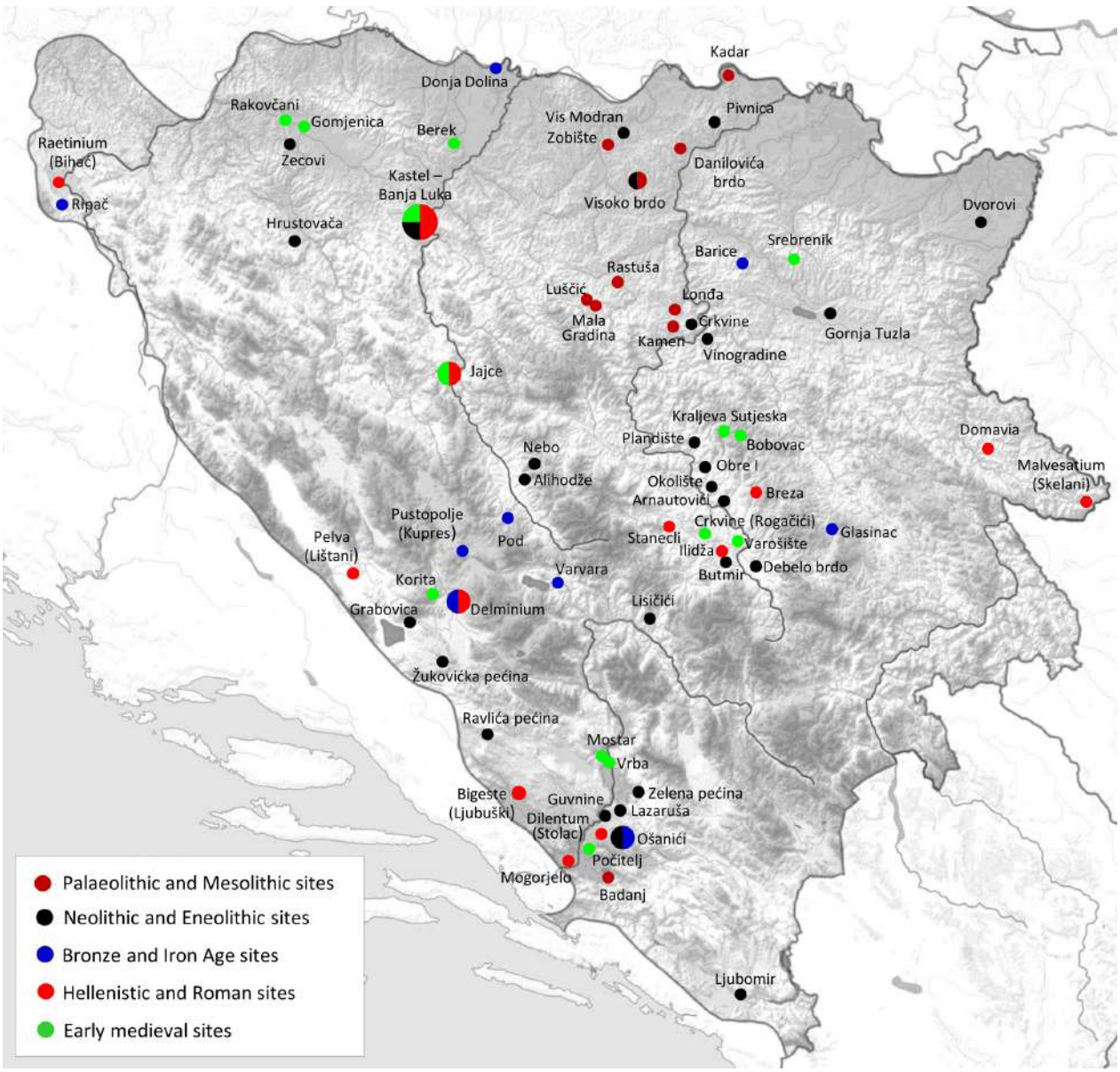


Fig. 111 Archaeological sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina mentioned in this chapter.

The earliest Neolithic finds are dated to the beginning of the 6th millennium BC. They appeared first in central and northern Bosnia, while the earliest Neolithic sites in Herzegovina are some 300 to 400 years later. In cultural terms, the Early Neolithic in continental Bosnia and Herzegovina is represented by the already developed Starčevo culture, which expanded from its centres in Southern Pannonia across the Sava river. The earliest site with Starčevo culture is Obre I (Raskršće) near Kakanj in central Bosnia, a tell-type site of some 2 ha in size which was excavated by Alojz Benac (1973a) and Marija Gimbutas (1974a; 1974b) between 1964 and 1970. The beginning of this site's occupation is dated to the first two centuries of the 6th millennium BC. Altogether, its occupation lasted for some thousand years (for C-14 dates, see Vander Linden, Pandžić and Orton 2014). The Obre I site is also interesting because of the earliest Neolithic burials found in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another site with evidence of the Starčevo culture is Gornja Tuzla (5674 BC–5475 BC; Vander Linden et al. 2014, 17), excavated by Benac in 1950. This area was particularly attractive throughout prehistory for its rich deposits of salt.[376] In terms of the general sequence of Starčevo culture, the Bosnian sites emerged in this culture's middle and late phases.

On the other side of the country, in karstic Herzegovina, the earliest Neolithic was part of the Adriatic Impresso cultural area and is dated to the beginning of the second half of the 6th century BC, e.g. Žukovička pećina (5478–5340 BC, 5486-5361 BC; Vander Linden et al. 2014, 18) and Zelena pećina. This area also lacks the earlier Impresso phase of the late 7th to early 6th millennia BC recorded in neighbouring Dalmatia. At present, in both areas of continental Bosnia and Herzegovina, the early Neolithic sites (in local chronology) are still relatively rare, and it isn't easy to discern any particular settlement patterning. Though this may also be due to the relatively poor state of research, the low number of the Early Neolithic sites and the missing evidence from the late 7th millennium BC speak more in favour of considering Bosnia and Herzegovina as a secondary settlement zone of early farming communities spreading from Pannonian or Adriatic areas. Reasons for this 'delay' probably lie in the very mountainous relief of the majority of the country.

The settlement density substantially increased with the Late Neolithic (end of the 6th and the first half of the 5th millennia BC) when settlement spread across the country.[377] Three major zones of denser settlement can be discerned: central Bosnia (area of Kakanj, Visoko Basin and Sarajevo) in the Bosna river valley, northeastern Bosnia, and Herzegovina. In the continental part, the settlement was concentrated mostly in the Bosna river valley (Butmir culture), in northeastern Bosnia in the region of Tuzla and the Lower Drina area (Vinča culture), and in the northern plain along the Sava river (Vinča, Sopot/Lengyel cultures). Butmir culture, colloquially a 'synonym' for the Late Neolithic in Bosnia, has been discovered on more than a hundred sites in continental parts.

376 The name Tuzla comes from Turkish *tuz*, meaning salt. In the Late Roman and Early Medieval periods, Tuzla was known as *Salines*.

377 Recently, the Middle Neolithic as a special 'cultural' period has been contested for Serbia and Bosnia. Earlier interpretations (e.g. Benac 1979, 392–412) followed the traditional three-period scheme and saw the Kakanj culture as continental Bosnian Middle Neolithic. The Kakanj culture was defined by Benac mostly based on pottery forms and decoration style, but with no firm stratigraphic evidence – as a local 'transitional' culture from Starčevo (Early Neolithic) to Butmir culture (Late Neolithic). Benac found this culture's pottery in sites of Arnautovići, Plandište, Okolište (all in Visoko basin) and in neighbouring Obre I. However, based on more recent results of radiocarbon dating (Perić 2012; Vander Linden et al. 2014) and revision of the stratigraphic data on several sites in Serbia and Bosnia (so-called Kakanj culture layers also contained Butmir type pottery on several sites) Perić (2012) proposed a two-period scheme for the Bosnian Neolithic – Early Neolithic (Starčevo culture, 5700–5400 BC) and late Neolithic (Butmir culture, 5400–4500 BC). In the late Neolithic, in northern and eastern bordering areas of Bosnia also appeared evidence of Vinča (e.g. Gornja Tuzla) and Sopot/Lengyel cultures. In Herzegovina, the situation is different. Here the Middle Neolithic is marked with the emergence of evidence of the Danilo culture or the Eastern Adriatic Middle Neolithic.

The eponym site of Butmir near Sarajevo was extensively excavated in the 1890s, so the data is of relatively limited use today.[378] However, these early excavations revealed large amounts of richly decorated pottery and rather unique 'realistic' clay sculptures (heads with faces). Being one of the largest and richest Neolithic sites excavated in Europe in the late 19th century, revealing some of the earliest examples of Neolithic art, Butmir was for a long time the most internationally known site from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Recently, the Visoko basin area (some 40 km northwest of Sarajevo) has been a subject of intensive research between 2002 and 2008 in a joint project of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo with a German team from the Roman-Germanic Commission from Frankfurt and Universities of Bamberg and Kiel. The most extensive and detailed research was done at the site of Okolište, where archaeological excavations (combined with geophysics and various environmental studies) provided a much more complete and accurately contextualised dataset which can serve as a basis for the current understanding of the development of the late Neolithic in central Bosnia (Müller, Rassmann and Hofman 2013; Benecke et al. 2008, Benac 1952). The example of Okolište and neighbouring sites (including Nebo near Travnik) clearly demonstrates a high development level in terms of economy, technology, and settlement organisation during the Butmir culture.

On the southern and southeastern edge of the country, in Herzegovina, after the initial Adriatic-type Impresso wares, the development followed the general cultural and chronological pattern of the Eastern Adriatic Neolithic – the Middle Neolithic was marked by Danilo culture, and the Late Neolithic by Hvar–Lisičići culture. Here two areas distinguish themselves as hosting relatively larger concentrations of sites, the region of Posušje and the area around Stolac. Unfortunately, since 1990 there has been no field research of any Neolithic sites in Herzegovina. However, new data and new interpretations, backed by better-contextualised data and radiocarbon dating, challenge traditional interpretations of the Neolithic in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This is not the case with the Eneolithic, which is probably among the least researched periods in Bosnian and Herzegovinian archaeology in general. Brunislav Marijanović (2003) described how difficult it is to understand the Eneolithic of Bosnia and Herzegovina described in his monograph. He points to four major problems (Marijanović 2003, 4–5): a) stagnation in field research of Eneolithic sites since the 1970s[379]; b) highly unequal state of research in different parts of the country, with Herzegovina having been especially poorly researched;[380] c) all Eneolithic sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina were attributed to the cultures whose major settlement areas were outside Bosnia and Herzegovina; and d) very uneven quality and validity of data accumulated over time. In addition to this, the very concept of the Eneolithic in the Balkans has been recently questioned.[381] However, this being said, the

378 In 2002 only small test excavations were made for obtaining samples for C14 and other scientific analyses. More than one hundred years after the excavations in the 1890s, no new field research has been done on this site.

379 Among other problems, there are also far fewer C-14 dates of the Eneolithic sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina compared to the previous period.

380 Marijanović (2003, 28) speaks of only 14 Eneolithic sites in Herzegovina.

381 Recently Blagoje Govedarica (2011; 2016), one of the best experts in the prehistory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (and the Balkans in general), expressed doubts about whether the Eneolithic period can be used at all in for western Balkans, Adriatic and central Europe. According to him, the Eneolithic *proprie dicti* is present only in the central and eastern Balkans, the only areas where systematic use of non-alloyed copper in the 5th millennium BC was present. He claims that the whole later period of Vinča culture (first half of the 5th millennium BC is of Eneolithic character, and the Vinča culture settlements in the Morava Valley, which produced copper chisels and axes, are to be considered the core area of the Balkan Copper Age. The systematic use of non-alloyed copper in the central and eastern Balkans was also closely associated with major social changes (e.g. large settlements, large communities, considerable population growth in the 5th millennium BC, 'markets' for surplus production, the emergence of social ranking...) corresponding to the area of tell settlements in the central and eastern Balkans. Govedarica proposes a longer Late Neolithic chronology instead. For discussion on the Eneolithic, see also Schier (2014).

long-term effects of Bosnia and Herzegovina's transitional position between Pannonian, Balkan and Adriatic regions are evident during the Eneolithic, resulting in a very heterogeneous developmental and cultural picture of the country.

The principal reasons for such heterogeneity are at least two geographic and environmental influences (mountain barriers, openness to large geographical-cultural regions north and south of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the course of major rivers flowing to the Pannonian basin, highly wooded landscapes, a limited quantity of areas suitable for farming in continental Bosnia), and social and historical changes in the principal Eneolithic areas in the neighbourhood, including migrations. Both Marijanović (2003) and Govedarica (2011) see the latest phases of the most widely distributed Late Neolithic cultures in Bosnia (Butmir culture) and Herzegovina (Hvar–Lisičići culture) continuing 'deep' into the Early Eneolithic period (in the sense of traditional periodisation). This speaks in favour of a thesis that the settlement reached a certain level of stability maintained for more extended periods of time during the Late Neolithic. Marijanović (2003, 217) argues that there are only two periods in the Bosnian Eneolithic that can be distinguished by 'proper' Eneolithic material culture: Early and Late. In the earlier phase, the real *novum*, appearing from the second half of the 4th millennium BC, is represented by new types of pottery of the south Pannonian Eneolithic origins: Lasinja (Vis near Modran, Visoko Brdo, etc.) and Baden cultures (Dvorovi, Vinogradine, Alihodže, etc.), while the later phase (or Developed Eneolithic, to use Marijanović's term) is marked by Kostolac culture (Pivnica, Vis near Modran) and, especially, by Vučedol culture, which in the Late Eneolithic spread across the whole region of Bosnia (e.g. Hrustovača, Zecovi, Crkvine near Turbe, Debelo Brdo, Banja Luka–Kastel, etc.).

In Herzegovina, the traditions from the Late Neolithic Hvar–Lisičići culture continued in the Early Eneolithic (e.g. Ravlića pećina). At the same time, new cultural elements appeared with grooved- and corded-style decorated ware as influences from the Pannonian area (Baden and Vučedol cultures, respectively). An important new element in the Herzegovinian Eneolithic, present also on a larger regional scale in the eastern Adriatic zone, are burials under barrows (e.g. Ošanići barrows, Guvnine, Lazaruša, Zelena pećina, Ljubomir) (Marijanović 2003, 235); Grabovica near Buško Blato (Čović 1983a, 138), a feature which will substantially mark the following Bronze Age period. Many authors from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and then Yugoslavia, frequently associated both phenomena, Corded Ware and burial barrows, with the direct and indirect effects of the migrations from the east (see Marijanović 2003, 116–118).

Developmental differences between Bosnia and Herzegovina continued in the Bronze Age. However, two significant features are common to both regions – the defended hilltop settlements (hillforts) and burials under barrows; they distinctively mark the Bronze and Iron Age landscapes across large parts of the territory. The essential features of the settlement and land-use patterns of hillforts created at least in the Middle Bronze Age (in some regions even earlier) are locations near areas suitable for farming, micro-regional 'niches' of settlement containing farming land, woodland, pastureland, location at communication routes or locations enabling monitoring them, ramparts made of stone or combined materials, and a hierarchy of settlements and sites, and these existed throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages, virtually until the arrival of the Romans. Traditional cultural classification and regionalisation for local Bronze Age groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina are made principally based on pottery and metal finds. In continental Bosnia, sites distinguished for their duration and importance for understanding the development of the Bronze Age are Debelo brdo near Sarajevo, Pod near Bugojno and Varvara hillforts occupied from the Early Bronze Age and continued for a millennium or so. Another group of sites are from the Glasinac plateau,

some 50 km northeast of Sarajevo. There, already with the Late Eneolithic, probably in the mid-3rd millennium BC, emerged the first barrows, which, subsequently, in the Bronze and Iron Ages, grew into one of the largest barrow groups in Europe.

Glasinac Middle Bronze Age burials (1600–1300 BC) also contain the richest collection of bronzes in Bosnia and Herzegovina (especially a wide variety of jewellery and ornaments), clearly indicating cultural contacts in the broader regional setting of southeast Europe. Another very intriguing group of barrows was found in Kupres field, south of Bugojno. Here, barrow 16 at Pustopolje brought to light some extraordinary findings: a wooden sleigh as a coffin with the remains of a woollen body cover, with an ochre topping of the coffin. Radiocarbon analysis suggested Middle Bronze Age dates (mid-17th century BC; Benac 1986, 66).[382] According to the excavator, A. Benac (1986, 76), this was an elite burial typical for the steppe peoples, more frequently found in regions east of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the southeastern Pannonian Plain and Bulgaria. In general, the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in continental Bosnia are not distinguished by any particularly rich metal finds, ornaments or artistic objects. Dominant is relatively coarse pottery with corded or grooved ornaments, which are typical of a much wider region and can be considered a post-Vučedol tradition. There are also no particularly large settlements that could serve as centres of regional elites. Even in cases of large barrow groups, it is almost certain that more settlements used one such barrow cemetery. In the case of Glasinac, some 50 hillforts are recorded in the area surrounding barrow burials.

In karstic Herzegovina, the classical Early Bronze Age is attributed to the Cetina culture distinguished for its large barrows, mostly made in dry-wall construction technique (as also the hillforts in this area). The central area of this culture was in neighbouring Dalmatia, in the region of the river Cetina. The barrows typically contained single cremation or inhumation burials only, and the ratio of these two rites is almost equal. The 'richer' graves contained bronze and stone daggers, axes, and richly decorated vessels on high legs.

In the Late Bronze Age there emerged significant changes in the broader region of southeast Europe, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. These are associated with the direct spread of the Urnfield culture in northern Bosnia or indirectly with its cultural influences in central Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the principal change in Bosnia and Herzegovina was demographic, and the number of sites increased considerably compared to the Middle Bronze Age, as people settled all areas except the highest altitudes. Compared to the earlier period, the variety of settlements increased (hillforts, lowland settlements, pile-dwellings, defended and undefended settlements). The spread of the Urnfield culture is also visible in the appearance of flat cremation cemeteries with a larger number of burials (e.g. Barice in northern Bosnia). Hoards with bronzes, typical for the Urnfield culture, are very rare in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In central Bosnia, the primary centre continued to be at the Glasinac plateau, where traditional inhumation burials persisted. The Late Bronze Age period in Herzegovina is much less known. In terms of cultural attribution, this area is associated with neighbouring Dalmatia, where similar processes with regard to the concentration of settlements and the emergence of local central places can be observed. These centres continued their existence in the Iron Age and were associated with the first historically recorded peoples in the Adriatic and its hinterland (e.g. Delmati).

The Iron Age period is best represented by the Glasinac group, which extended over central

382 Benac (1986, 83), using the traditional chronology, dated this barrow in the middle part of the Early Bronze Age.

and eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina.[383] Major Bronze Age characteristics, hillfort settlements and inhumation burials under barrows remained almost unchanged.[384] One of the factors for the long-term development of the Glasinac area since the Early Bronze Age – its geographical position at the crossroads of Adriatic, Pannonian and Central Balkans – became even more evident in the Iron Age. One of the most prominent features are elite burials, traditionally termed as princely graves, with grave goods imported from the Aegean and central and southern Italy (e.g. helmets, *knemidae*, metal vessels). In the region of Bosnian Posavina (northern Bosnia) developed another important site distinguished by its metal production and trade role in the Iron Age, Donja Dolina near Bosanska Gradiška, on the right bank of the Sava. The site was formed first as a pile-dwelling settlement in the 7th century BC and later, in the Late Iron Age, as a large site with a rectangular arrangement of larger houses. The finds at Donja Dolina speak of intensive contacts with neighbouring regions of Pannonia, Macedonia, Italy and Greece, and long-distance exchange (e.g. amber jewellery, Graeco-Illyrian helmets). In the Iron Age in western Herzegovina there continued the development under the strong influence of the Central Adriatic cultural area,[385] which had intensive contacts with the Ionian and Aegean areas and Italy. Another large area of Iron Age pile dwellings was discovered at Rimač near Bihać in northwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the Iron Age in the Adriatic area there developed several local polities known or assumed from the ancient sources, Delmati being the most known.[386] The settlement pattern remained rather traditional, with densely dispersed hillforts of different sizes and functions, some functioning as local central places, as the dominant type of settlements. Less frequent and smaller were undefended settlements in open areas. Hillforts are most densely found around karstic fields and other areas with a relatively larger accumulation of soils suitable for farming. The significant change here was in burial rites. In the Iron Age, burying under barrows almost completely ceased to exist and became replaced by flat cemeteries. However, inhumation remained dominant. Since Herzegovina and Dalmatia are generally very poor in metal ores, most of the resources for metallurgy (and also plenty of metal objects) must have had been exchanged with the neighbouring communities, most probably from central Bosnia.

Celtic migrations and settlement in the western Balkans concentrated in the Pannonian areas north of Bosnia and Herzegovina, avoiding going south.[387] This, to a large extent, enabled polities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and on the Adriatic shores to continue their development until the arrival of the Romans. Intensive contacts with Hellenistic Greek and Roman civilisations in the last centuries BC further accelerated the formation of stronger proto-state polities (princedoms, chiefdoms). The best example of Hellenistic influences – in the 4th century BC, two Greek colonies were established on Vis and Hvar islands – can be seen at Ošanići near Stolac (supposed ancient *Daorson*) in eastern Herzegovina, the probable seat of the people of Daorsi. This site has an impressive monumental rampart – the so-called 'cyclops walls' made of very large rectangular stone blocks. It contained a significant quantity of Hellenistic finds and, what was even more indicative, a mint for

383 The Glasinac culture, as defined by the Yugoslav authors (e.g. Benac, Čović), extended over western Serbia and Montenegro and was similar to Mati culture in northern Albania. Both were considered as core Illyrian groups.

384 Though at marginal areas of the Glasinac group cremation was becoming more frequent towards the mid-1st millennium BC (Čović 1987b, 639).

385 Eastern Herzegovina had a much stronger character of the Glasinac group in this period.

386 These larger polities include Histri and Japodes in the northern Adriatic, Liburni.

387 The so-called 'western Celtic group' settled Upper Sava and Middle Drava Valleys, while 'eastern Celtic group occupied Lower Drava Valley, the region of Srem and Danube area between Belgrade and the Iron Gorge.

producing coins with the images of local 'kings', dated from the mid 2nd century BC onwards.

Since the end of the 3rd century BC, the Romans fought several wars for control over the Adriatic Sea. In the mid-2nd century BC, the Romans established control over the eastern Adriatic shores and southern Herzegovina. The annexation of western Herzegovina to Roman Illyricum happened in 135 BC, while the expansion inland started during Julius Caesar's wars against the allies of Pompeius and continued with Augustus (36-33 BC). The final pacification of most of Bosnia and Herzegovina's territory followed after crushing the rebellion of the Dalmatian and Pannonian tribes (6-9 AD). After this rebellion, the Romans established two provinces, Dalmatia and Pannonia.[388] Central and southern Bosnia and Herzegovina belonged to Dalmatia, northern Bosnia to Pannonia. The Roman province of Dalmatia extended from almost as far as the Sava river in the north to the Adriatic Sea in the south, and eastwards nearly to the Morava river in Serbia; its capital was Salona near Split. The province of Dalmatia remained almost unchanged for the whole duration of Roman rule. Romanisation in this province was much more intensive in the coastal areas, where all principal towns were established in the first century BC (e.g. Iader, Salona, Narona). In inland Dalmatia (i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina), Romanisation was a much slower process. For the Romans, Bosnia was particularly crucial for its mines (silver, lead, copper and iron ores, and salt) monopolised by the state. Most local communities were given the lesser legal status of *civitates peregrinae*, save some local elites that formed the core of citizens in local municipia. Romans founded urban settlements in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian part of the province of Dalmatia relatively late, some 150 years later than on the coast. In most cases, the new municipia were centres of the pre-Roman local communities.

The most known and probably the largest colony in Bosnia and Herzegovina was in Ilidža near Sarajevo (*Aquae S*). It is located in the old Bronze and Iron Age settlement area, near the River Bosna's springs. The place was also known for its mineral-rich springs used for medicinal baths. Aquae S is probably the largest excavated Roman site in Bosnia. It brought to light typical urban architecture, houses, temples, baths, roads, etc. Another important colony was Domavia at Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, in the core mining area for silver and lead. For a century or so, Domavia was the seat of *procurator metallorum Pannonicorum et Delmaticorum* (Superintendent for Pannonian and Dalmatian mines).[389] In Herzegovina, the municipia were also historical centres of the pre-Roman communities raised to urban status rather than founded anew.[390] Another vital factor in the Romanisation of the inland of the province of Dalmatia, Bosnia in particular, was the construction of state roads that began at the beginning of the 1st century AD and continued for some 50 years. Most of the *viae publicae* led from Salona, the provincial capital, towards the north, to the Sava Valley in Pannonia, crossing the Dinaric mountains. These roads were instrumental for securing appropriate transport routes for mines and founding urban and semi-urban settlements in inland Bosnia.

Compared to the coastal (Croatian) parts of the Roman province of Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been the focus of less archaeological research. Most of the ancient history in Bosnia and Herzegovina was reconstructed on the basis of relatively numerous inscriptions. Except for Aqua S,[391] and partly Domavia and Malvesatium

388 So far, the most exhaustive synthesis on the Roman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina was published by Ivo Bojanovski (1988).

389 Other municipia in Bosnia: *Bistue vetus* in Rama Valley, *Bistuensium* in the Upper Vrbas Valley and Stanecli near Kiseljak (all central Bosnia), *Castra* (Banja Luka) and *Raetinium* near Bihać (northwestern Bosnia), *Malvesatium* near Skelani (eastern Bosnia).

390 Pelva in Livanjsko field, Delminium near Tomislavgrad, Bigeste near Ljubuški, Diluntum near Stolac.

391 Most of Aquae S's excavations were done rather early, at the end of the 19th century and in the mid-1950s. The best known finds are the statue of Apollo, baths, luxury houses, sanatorium, and mosaics.

(Skelani), no larger urban areas or cemeteries have been excavated, and even less is known about the rural settlements. From Herzegovina, with its landscape typical for the Adriatic (i.e. Mediterranean) hinterland, several countryside villas are known. The most spectacular Roman site is a large fortified villa at Mogorjelo near Čapljina. It was built in the 1st century AD as a typical countryside *villa rustica* but turned into a heavily fortified *castra* (?) with 11 towers and a palace in the 4th century. From the Late Roman period, the major researched sites were Early Christian basilicas. At present, there are some 50 known basilicas (and more than 20 still unconfirmed) found mostly in central Bosnia and Herzegovina, clearly indicating the centres of local communities between the 4th and 6th centuries.[392] Among them, the basilica at Breza, some 30 km north of Sarajevo, stands out for its dimensions (nearly 600 m^2), stone sculptures and Germanic runic inscription (sic). Other Germanic finds were discovered in cemeteries in Rakovčani near Prijedor, Korita near Tomislavgrad, Vrba near Mostar, and Varošište near Sarajevo.

The Early Medieval period (6th to 12th centuries) in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the archaeologically least known epoch, since systematic research on it began only after the Second World War. Historically, the earliest raids of Germanic peoples (Visigoths and Ostrogoths) are dated to the 5th century. Though their presence was not very long, they left some interesting archaeological traces.[393] More considerable consequences for Bosnia and Herzegovina arose from the raids of Avars and Slavs who conquered Sirmium and Salona at the beginning of the 7th century. After the Byzantines re-established their rule over Dalmatia and the Balkans and allowed the settlement of Slavs (Early Croats and Serbs) in Dalmatia and its hinterland, the Slavic communities started to form their first polities (*sclaviniae*), which, in the 9th and 10th centuries, gradually developed into stronger local princedoms (e.g. of Croats). Among the early Slavic sites, the most interesting are their settlements (e.g. Jazbine near Butković in northeastern Bosnia, mid-7th to 9th centuries (Miletić 1988, 42) and the burg-type site at Berek near Banja Luka. The remains of churches from the 9th and 10th centuries indicate Slavic settlements (e.g. Crkvine near Rogačići and Crkvine near Vruce, both in the Sarajevo region).[394] Early Slavic settlement was also documented in the cemeteries. The richest and largest cemetery was at Gomjenica near Prijedor in northwestern Bosnia, which contained 246 graves dating to the 10th and 11th centuries, linked to the Belo Brdo culture (Miletić 1967). Archaeological research of the medieval state of Bosnia (12th to 15th centuries) was mostly focused on architectural remains: castles, churches, fortresses, mausoleums etc., and on the analysis of small objects (e.g. jewellery, pottery, weapon) and inscriptions.

A great deal of research on the medieval period, especially after the Second World War, was done in the context of preventive archaeology due to the development of the historical town cores throughout the country. Such research was frequently in collaboration with architects and art historians. Many architectural objects, including those from the Ottoman period, were also restored (e.g. royal castles at Bobovac and Kraljeva Sutjeska, the crown church of Saint Luke in Jajce, Jajce fortress, the castle of Srebrenik, Banja Luka–Kastel). It is interesting to note that, until very recently, the Ottoman period's archaeology was not considered a special branch or specialisation of archaeology.[395] Nevertheless, the archaeological studies of Ottoman architecture, art and small objects existed from the beginning of archaeology's institutionalisation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Due to the vast number of

392 See more in Veletovac (2014).

393 For example, Ostrogothic burials were found in Roman sarcophagi at Vrba near Mostar (Radimsky 1890) and Varošište near Sarajevo (Miletić 1956).

394 Some ten smaller churches from the 9th and 10th centuries were found in Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly in Herzegovina. They are frequently made and decorated in the 'Byzantine' style (Miletić 1988, 42).

395 For more on this issue see in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology.

researched and restored Ottoman architectural monuments, impossible to list here, we will mention only two of the most spectacular examples of the urban culture – the late medieval town of Počitelj, built-in Oriental-Mediterranean style, and the Old Town with the Old Bridge in Mostar, both in Herzegovina.[396]

Antiquarianism in the Late Ottoman period (1700–1878)

For more than four centuries (1463–1878) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the dominant cultural milieu was Ottoman and Islamic. Thus, naturally, the advancement of archaeology cannot be expected to have been similar to that seen in the neighbouring countries with their Renaissance and Enlightenment traditions. Neither can the early days of archaeological research be explicitly linked with the emergence of national movements in the 19th century, as noted, for instance, in Serbia and Macedonia. Though both were under the same Ottoman rule, the Muslim populations in these two countries were not as strong as in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Slavic nations in Serbia and Macedonia could, to a large extent, legitimise their idea of a nation using history and historical narratives and myths referring to the period before the Turkish conquest, and in the case of Macedonia, even from before the 10th century AD or earlier. However, this was not the case with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

With the arrival of the Austrians in 1878, the shift in the character of elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina was less radical compared to other Balkan countries under Ottoman rule. While in other Balkan countries (except for Albania) the 'Westernisation' after gaining independence in the 19th century was more radical and included not only the transformation of towns by the radical removal of old 'Turkish' architecture and mosques, but also the complete replacement of social, political and economic institutions, and last but not least, changes in demography (emigration of local Turks and Muslims to Turkey). Austrians in Bosnia and Herzegovina attempted more inclusive politics to make a 'multiconfessional Bosnian nation'. Though the local Muslim elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina saw a decrease in their political strength, they still managed to maintain significant influence in many cultural and religious aspects of social life. The situation was somewhat different concerning the Croatian and Serbian populations. They could not attain any significant political power or autonomy during Austrian rule unless adhering to the Austro-Bosnian ideology.

How the archaeological discipline was established in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an excellent example of such a situation. In the Ottoman culture, antiquarianism, or similar 'archaeological' activities, were considered of lower importance than in the neighbouring Christian countries. In fact, except for the activities of the Franciscan priests from Bosnia and Herzegovina,[397] the evidence of antiquarian practices by local Muslims

396 The original Old Bridge in Mostar, one of the most famous monuments in 'Ottoman Europe', was destroyed in 1993 by Croat paramilitary forces. After the war, the bridge was rebuilt with the original materials as much as possible. Today, the bridge and Mostar's Old Town are listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (since 2005).

397 After the arrival of the Ottomans, the Catholic Church almost completely withdrew from the country. The only regulated Catholic organisation that remained in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the Franciscan monks, who established their first monasteries in Bosnia in the 14th century. Before the arrival of the Ottomans, the Franciscans were organised into the Bosnian Vicariate. In 1463 the Sultan Mehmed II issued a decree (*Ahd-nama*) granting the Franciscans freedom for their activities among the Christians. They also kept their monasteries, churches and other property. In 1517 they were organised in the church Province of Bosnia Srebrena. However, the relationships between Ottomans and Franciscans varied considerably from tolerance to open aggression and the destruction of monasteries and churches. Nevertheless, the Franciscan province, effectively the only working Catholic structure in Bosnia, survived, and through time their monasteries became important cultural centres nurturing Christian traditions in Bosnia. By contrast, the Serbian Orthodox church was far more fragmented during the Ottoman period.

is very scarce until the 19th century. In the chapter on Serbia we have already mentioned the famous traveller Evliya Çelebi from Istanbul, who also visited several Bosnian towns in the period between 1660 and 1665 (e.g. Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Jajce, Foča, and Zvornik) and, among other observations, also wrote short notes on some major buildings, monuments and sometimes also on some historical events. However, there are no systematic accounts in his work on any kind of antiquities.

One may also ask why such accounts are missing in the works of local (Muslim) scholars between the 15th and 19th centuries. Ottoman Bosnia had a relatively well-organised education system up to the level of higher secondary/university schools (*madrasahs*).[398] Such schools were in Sarajevo (1537), Mostar (1557), Tuzla (1627), and Travnik (1706) (Kulanić 2015). Most of the teaching in these schools was in religious and moral subjects and Sharia law. Over time secular subjects were also taught (e.g. natural sciences, philosophy, and history) but were considered appendices to the standard curricula. The Gazi Husfrev Bey's madrasah in Sarajevo was probably the most renowned in 'European' Turkey, and highly respected throughout the Empire. Having one of the richest Ottoman libraries in Europe before the sacking of Sarajevo by Eugen of Savoy in 1679,[399] one would expect that some local historical studies were also kept there. However, despite some highly influential local intellectuals teaching in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or even at the major schools in Istanbul, they did not leave any crucial texts on ancient history or Antiquity in general. As yet, there has been no good answer to the question as to why interest in archaeology and antiquarianism was so low in the Ottoman culture(s) before the modernisation of the Empire in the mid-19th century, although some thoughts on this have already been presented in the chapter on Serbia.

Nevertheless, the fact is that the Ottoman culture had a different view of the 'old' history and its material remains, especially of the times before the Ottoman arrival to Europe. However, before jumping to conclusions, it is necessary to consider that this aspect of archaeological thought in Islamic countries is still largely unexplored. In fact, at local levels there is evidence that throws a somewhat different light on archaeology's cultural history in this region. This especially pertains to the areas along the state borders, where cultural development progressed through a mixing of the local traditions with those of the neighbouring countries, particularly among the non-Islamic population.

It is only recently that the first study has been published on the history of antiquarianism and early archaeological practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the late Ottoman era (Kaljanac and Križanović 2012). Being the only such text available, this study is the primary bibliographic source used. Kaljanac and Križanović state that there were two main components among the early traditions that sparked archaeological interest in Bosnia and Herzegovina: foreign travel writers and local (Bosnian) Franciscans. Ami Boué (1794–1881), an Austrian-French geologist, is listed as one of the most influential foreign travellers. In his book *La Turquie d'Europe* (Boué 1840), he presented his observations and insights from numerous journeys across Ottoman countries in the Balkans. Boué visited Bosnia and Herzegovina on three occasions (1836, 1837 and 1838) and frequently noted old (i.e. medieval) architectural remains (fortresses, bridges, etc.), which he often (erroneously) attributed to the Romans, as he also did for the medieval tombstones ('*stećci*', plural in Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian, 'stećaks' in English texts). Of the foreign travel writers, Kaljanac and Križanović (2012, 241) also mention Aleksandr Fedorovich Hilferding (1831–1872), a Russian linguist who, during his stay in Bosnia

398 Studying at madrasahs took between 12 and 16 years.

399 During this sacking the Gazi Husrev Bey's Medresha's library was very probably destroyed. However, it recovered, and today this library hosts more than 10,000 Islamic manuscripts in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian, and an abundant collection of early prints. Copying the manuscripts was a regular task for students.

and Herzegovina in 1857, listed several archaeological sites for which he received information from the local population, which was, obviously, familiar with their historical significance. The most prominent place among the foreign writers must belong to Arthur Evans (1851-1941), who visited Bosnia and Herzegovina before starting his archaeology career.

In his younger years, Arthur Evans acted as a sort of a freelance agent of the British government in areas of major political and national upheavals in southeastern Europe (e.g. in the Carpathian region in 1872, where he first came into contact with the Turkish population). It is in this vein that he, three years later, visited Bosnia and Herzegovina (1875), at the time when a great rebellion against the Turks had flared up; his reports seemed to influence the decision of the British government to extend more political help to the native Slavic population in its battle for independence. In 1876 and 1878, he published two texts in which he described his travels and some of the historical and archaeological monuments from Bosnia and Herzegovina.[400] His third text is of particular interest; it was published in 1883 and was entirely dedicated to the archaeological and historical themes of the Balkan and Adriatic areas – *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum* (Evans 1883;1885). Evans structured this work in the unique combination of a travelogue and archaeological topography presenting Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this monograph, he also published some of the earliest topographic maps with archaeological, primarily Roman, sites in the central part of Bosnia and Herzegovina (about twenty of them). On these maps, he also drew the routes of Roman roads. It is indeed around the Roman roads that Evans structured his topographical observations. The territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was presented in chapters II (*Notes on the Roman road-lines – Siscia, Salonae, Epitaurum, Scodra*) and III (*Notes on the Roman road-line from Salona to Scupi, and on the municipal sites and mining centres in the old Dalmatian and Dardanian ranges*). Evans presented the coastal area of Illyricum in more detail, especially eastern Herzegovina and the region around Trebinje. He effectively combined his topographical observations with historical sources, epigraphic monuments and information on the archaeological objects found. His book thus appears significantly more coherent than was generally the case with similar travel-and-topography essays of the time.

Nonetheless, for the development of a local tradition of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the activities of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Franciscans were far more relevant.[401] Indeed, it was from the Bosnian Franciscans' cultural milieu that the first historical and geographical work on Bosnia – *Epitome vetustatum Bosnensis provinciae* (Survey of the antiquities of the Bosnian province) originated.[402] This work was published in 1765 in Ancona, Italy, by Filip Lastrić (1700–1783; also Philippus de Occhevia), Head of the Franciscan province of Bosnia and teacher at the monastery of Kraljeva Sutjeska. Being a rather rare text, though somewhat brief and concise, Lastrić's text had a long-lasting influence.[403]

400 *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina on the Foot During the Insurrection, August and September 1875: With an Historical Review of Bosnia and a Glimpse of Croats, Slavonians, and the Ancient Republic of Ragusa*, 1876; and *Illyrian letters: a revised selection of correspondence from the Illyrian Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia during the troubled year 1877*. Both books were published in London by Longman, Green and Company.

401 The book on the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Museum in Livno (Petrinec, Šeparović and Vrdoljak 1999) offers many details about the Franciscans' antiquarian and archaeological activities. On the other hand, Škegro (1997, 41) see the earliest Franciscans activities in collecting and protecting historical heritage already at the end of the 18th century.

402 In 2003 also the bilingual (Croatian–Latin) translation was published (Lastrić 2003).

403 Lastrić, when arguing for the higher status of his ecclesiastic province, presented mostly a historical background of the Catholic Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina (see in Zirdum 2003, 29). In chapter VII, he brings some general observations on Bosnia's ancient history (Illyrians' origins, on the name Bosnia, medieval Bosnian rulers...). Chapter VIII is about the geography of the country, including the lists of fortresses and towns.

The history of the Franciscans in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially after the Ottoman conquest, is highly engaging. Immediately after the conquest in 1463 they were granted freedom for their religious services, and they could keep their property. In living and working in a non-Christian country, the Bosnian Franciscans gradually developed a certain 'autonomy' from the Vatican and dioceses in the neighbouring Austrian or Venetian countries when governing their ecclesiastic province in which they had some 60 monasteries. Moreover, due to the lack of ordinary priests the Franciscan friars frequently replaced them in parishes. In fact, they achieved a certain monopoly over the Catholic religion as the only effectively organised Catholic ecclesiastic structure in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Bosnian Franciscans were also frequently missionaries in other Ottoman occupied territories, such as Hungary and Bulgaria (Tóth 2002), where large Slavic-speaking populations lived. Their relationships with the Ottoman government, Imperial and Provincial, had frequent ups and downs, especially after the wars with Austrians. However, over time the relationship developed into a certain 'balance' or 'symbiosis' with the local Ottoman culture, which itself was highly syncretic anyway.[404]

Kaljanac and Križanović (2012, 245) start their paper with the chronicle of the Franciscan priest Jako Baltić (1813–1887) as the oldest explicit evidence for the collection of antiquities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[405] This chronicle contains allegations of the quest for and export of antiques from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first recorded example dates back to 1829, which Kaljanac and Križanović mark as a *terminus ante quem* for antiquarian practices in this country. When speaking of the earliest archaeological activities, Kaljanac and Križanović (2012, 242-246) give prominence to another Franciscan priest, Lovro Karaula (1800-1879), who taught young friars about archaeological sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina and who followed his instructions in their parishes (e.g. Filip Kunić, Mijo Sučić, Anto Brešić and others) (Petrinec, Šeparović and Vrdoljak 1999, 10). Among his disciples, the most influential was Grga Lozić (1810–1876), the author of the work *Adnotationes varie,*[406] in which he recorded several archaeological and historical monuments in the regions of Livno, Kupres and Glamoč. He conducted several smaller excavations and also recorded the excavations of others. In *Adnotationes varie* Kaljanac and Križanović find evidence for excavations of ancient remains, originating either from intellectual interest or the search for treasure.

An important role was also played by Ivan Franjo Jukić (1818–1857), who tried to persuade local people not to sell antiquities to foreigners but to establish the 'Bosnian Museum' for their curation.[407] His motives for collecting the antiquities were also political – to promote the Bosnian Slavs' identity (Škegro 1997,141).[408] From the period before the arrival of the Austrians it is also worth noting Petar Bakula (1816–1873), who, when he worked as a professor in Lucca, Italy, published a short historical overview of the history of the ecclesiastic Province of Bosnia (Bakula 1846).[409] After returning to Bosnia and Herzegovina, he served in several parishes to become the Vicar General in Mostar. In 1867, in Split, he published a topographical and historical

404 In his memoirs, Ćiro Truhelka (1942, 51), the first curator of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, states that upon his arrival in the town in 1886 he noticed the Franciscans were wearing a *fes* (typical Turkish headgear) instead of a hood,and having boots instead of sandals.

405 Fra Jako Baltić, *Godišnjak od Dogadjajah cérkvenih, svètskih i promine vrimenah u Bosni* (The Yearbook of the Events of the Church, Holy and Prominent Times in Bosnia; prepared for publishing by Andrija Zirdum 1991.

406 *Adnotationes variae R.P. Gregorii Lozić, a Kupres 1864.*

407 With respect to 'exporting' archaeological and other valuable goods, one should also not forget the shipping of great quantities of such objects in the first years of the Austrian occupation (Truhelka 1942, 59).

408 In his seminal text, Jukić also published a plea to the Sultan (1851, 157–159) for full citizen rights for Christians in Bosnia and Herzegovina and signed it as Slavoljub Bošnjak (*Slavophile Bosniak*).

409 Petar Bakula, *Cenno storico sulla Provincia di Bosnia*. Lucca 1846.

overview of Herzegovina (Bakula 1867 (1970)).[410] This book also contains a short chapter on pagan tombstones (i.e. stećaks) and barrows, for which he noted that in no other place are these found in such a great number (Bakula 1970, 22).

We conclude this short overview of the 19th century Franciscan archaeological activities with Anđeo (Angjeo) Nuić (1850–1916). This scholar is credited for establishing the first local archaeological museum in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the monastery at Humac near Ljubuški (1884), four years before the Austrians established the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo. In 1884, Nuić also published regulations on collecting and keeping collections of antiquities (*Pravilnik o načinu prikupljanja i vođenja zbirke*, cf. Škegro 1997, 143).

Overall, the Franciscans' archaeological activities were quite intensive with regard to the circumstances and situation at the time. Their archaeological practice should also be observed in a broader historical perspective of the status and activities of the Franciscan order in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For centuries they represented a key cultural and intellectual core, primarily as regards the Catholic population, and their cultural (and political) influence grew over time. In the last decades of the 19th century, they became the most influential group among the Christian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They were able to organise a comparably well-developed network of monasteries, parishes, schools, libraries, archives and other institutions. Moreover, they exercised a certain influence in the politics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, even before the arrival of the Austrians. Concerning their early archaeological activities, the Franciscans in Bosnia and Herzegovina continued the traditions of researchers of older history from the broader area of Dalmatia,[411] which they successfully applied in Bosnia and Herzegovina, combining them with ideas of the general cultural consciousness, not only that of the Catholic population. In this sense, 'Franciscan' archaeology should not be regarded as a local specificity in Ottoman Bosnia. Still, it undoubtedly played a significant role in disseminating archaeological practices within the prevailing Ottoman culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the 19th century.[412]

It is evident that local archaeological activities, thanks to the Franciscans, predate the official initiatives coming from 'above', the Imperial Government at Istanbul. The emergence of the first museums in the Ottoman Empire was clearly in line with the general efforts of *Tanzimat*, the modernisation of Ottoman society and state, and the implementation of specific Western models and concepts in this process. This was certainly the case with the idea of the study of antiquities. After the Crimean War, when the Ottoman Empire became more open for foreign expeditions, the influence of 'Western' archaeological traditions increased. In Istanbul, the first and relatively simple museum of antiquities was founded in 1846 or 1847 in the church of Hagia Irene. In 1869, the Imperial Museum was established following the concept of the Louvre, and became fully functional in 1872. Since the collections in this museum increased, thanks to the inflow of items from the entire Ottoman Empire, Kaljanac and Križanović (2012, 247) assume that some objects could have been from Bosnia and Herzegovina. They could have arrived in Istanbul as gifts of the local nobles, high civil officials, army officers, merchants, etc. [413] In 1874, the Ottoman

410 Petar Bakula, *Schematismus topographico-historicus Custodiae provincialis et Vicariatus apostolici in Hercegovina.* Split 1867. See Croatian translation in Bakula (1970).

411 It is worth noting that many Bosnian Franciscans studied in Italy and other countries.

412 The Franciscans still continue their archaeological tradition. Today, there are more than 20 Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Almost all have art galleries, libraries with old prints, and collections of various objects (textiles, vessels, liturgical objects), and archaeological collections. The largest collections are in monasteries at Kreševo, Humac near Livno, Tomislavgrad and Gorica near Grude.

413 In 1869 and 1870, Sefvet-pasha, the Minister of Education, issued an order to all governors of provinces to collect antiquities and send them to Istanbul to furnish the collection of the Imperial Museum (Kaljanac and Križanović 2012, 247).

authorities adopted the first legal acts on the protection of antiquities, according to which all archaeological activities in the country were placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. The intention was to gain control over foreign research teams and prohibit the free export of antiques from the country.

In this context, it is important to note that the Bosnian provincial government adopted its own legislation on the protection of antiquities – the *Collection, Research and Preservation of Antiquities Act* – as early as 1869, five years before the adoption of the state-level regulation (Kaljanac and Križanović 2012, 249). This reveals the already present awareness of the scientific, cultural and educational importance of antiquities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the need to formulate legislation in this area. The early enactment of this law by the provincial government implies that the existing archaeological and antiquarian activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina needed to be institutionalised, which, in turn, also shows the existence of various forms of these activities – from the search for 'treasure' and purchasing of antiques from the local population, to a more official form of antiquarian practice such as the organisation of local collections and systematic documentation of findings, inscriptions and archaeological sites. However, except for the Franciscan 'institutions' (e.g. collections, museums), no other 'archaeological' institution working in the domain of archaeology or heritage was founded in the Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina before the Austrians' arrival.

Introduction of archaeology as an Austrian colonial project

Immediately after the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, a process of radical modernisation ('Europeanisation' or 'Westernisation') was launched. This meant intensive investments in industrialisation, electrification, urbanisation, construction of roads and railways,[414] and in the 'Westernisation' of culture. The main ideologist was Benjamin Kallay (1839–1903), an Austrian finance minister and a governor in Bosnia (1882–1903). He had excellent knowledge of the Balkans, and also authored a study on the history of the Serbs (Kallay 1878). The main ideological thread of Kallay's policy was the dominant Austrian civilisational role in the former Ottoman countries in the Balkans (Kraljačić 1987, 61). For Kallay, this meant creating a new 'Bosnian' (three-confessional) country and subjects loyal to the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Kraljačić 1987, 186). By employing a policy that attempted to unite the populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina on new ideological grounds, and thereby weakening the national centrifugal movements of the Serbs and Croats, the Austro-Hungarian Empire also tried to prevent the formation of a strong state of the South Slavs in the eastern Balkans, where, at that time, Serbia had the potential to initiate such an undertaking.

In the process of modernisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, culture was given a significant role in promoting Western norms and values. Special attention was drawn to the study of pre-Ottoman cultural traditions that could serve as a common denominator in the narrative of Bosnia and Herzegovina's shared past (Kraljačić 1987, 195–201). To achieve this, Austria started to establish new cultural and scientific institutions and invest considerable resources to transmit and popularise the messages coming from the 'new' European (i.e. Austrian) civilisation. This was precisely the case with archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina; it was introduced from above, with new rulers and very few or no references to previous local traditions, that is – the initiatives dating from the Ottoman period.

In 1888, the Austrian authorities officially established the principal cultural and scientific institution – the Provincial Museum of Bosnia

414 As a curiosity, Sarajevo got the first horse-driven tram in 1885, before Vienna or Budapest, electrified in 1895 (Čihák 2013).

and Herzegovina in Sarajevo – to implement substantial reforms in the scientific, cultural and educational spheres. Benjamin Kallay personally issued the instructions to the new government and monitored the museum's establishment (Kraljačić 1987, 266). The Museum Society in Sarajevo had been established three years earlier (Škegro 1997, 143). However, the initiatives for both the museum and society were already there at the local level, thanks to the Franciscans' influence (e.g. Jukić's initiative for the Slavic-Bosniak museum in 1851). The Austrian government strongly supported them but in a form adequate for their ideological purposes. In 1889, the Provincial Museum issued the first edition of its journal *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* in the Serbo-Croatian language, in both Latin and Cyrillic alphabets. In the editorial of the first issue of *Glasnik* (1889, 8), we can read:

Our museum's task is not only to work in the field of science; its task is also cultural and educational. To act as a stirrer among the sons of our country, especially among youth. To make them think of their duties to study and learn about their homeland comprehensively, and in doing this, learn how to love and appreciate it. (Translated by P.N).

Of course, the country to be loved and appreciated can be read twofold, as Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The local people living for more than 400 years within the Ottoman culture had much to learn before 'loving' the country with which they were for centuries at almost constant war with. On the other hand, the Austrians needed to get acquainted with Bosnia and Herzegovina to rule it effectively. How important the Austrians considered the new museum can best be illustrated by the fact that the new building, when finished in 1913, was the most expensive public building erected in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the four decades of Austro-Hungarian rule. During two decades of Kallay's governorship in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1882–1903), he closely monitored the developments in the museum, decided who to hire, how to shape the publications, at which international conferences the museum's staff would be sent, and what exhibitions and events would be organised (Majnarić-Pandžić 2013, 294).

The museum was envisaged as a multi-disciplinary scientific institution, with an emphasis on: 1. *Old and New Geography, 2. History, 3. Archaeology (prehistoric, Illyrian, Roman, Bosnian (Bogumil) and Ottoman periods., 4. Monuments of Art, 5. Heraldic (coats of arms, sigils, diplomas, and coins from all times, 6. Weaponry, 7. Monuments of folk and literary languages, 8. Ethnography, 9. Natural relations: geology, zoology, botany, mineralogy, and meteorology, 10. History of national literature, 11. Bibliography on books and articles about Bosnia and Herzegovina, 12. Statistics.* (*Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine* I, 1889, 8). There are a few other things worth noting in the editorial, particularly the announcement of the annual selection of papers which will then be reprinted in the German language (*'to give a chance to the educated public in the world to use authentic information from original sources'*) in the specially created journal *Mitteilungen des Landesmuseum für Bosnia and Herzegovina.* Kallay had also some say in what would be published here. Another important announcement in the editorial was the invitation to collaboration (*'conscious priests, big and small landowners, teachers, merchants and craftsmen, all progressive and intelligent sons of the nation...'),* and a note on the alphabets used. Due to the lack of resources for printing two separate versions, Latin and Cyrillic, *Glasnik* was printed as individual papers in the same issue in Latin and Cyrillic, alternately and balanced. It was not by chance that the first paper published in *Glasnik* was about the Illyrian (meaning pre-Ottoman and pre-Slavic) origin of the name Bosnia, by Ljudevit (Lajos) Thallóczy (born Ludwig Strommer), a Hungarian historian and protégé of Benjamin Kallay.[415]

415 Thallóczy did not accept the widely accepted hypothesis that Bosnia's name derives from the Roman *Basante, Ad Basante,* names used for the river Bosna. Instead, he explained the name 'Bosna' as 'a land of salt' after the northern Albanian (i.e. descendent of the Illyrian) word for salt.

Archaeology was indeed given an important role from the very start. In many texts, Moritz Hoernes is labelled as the 'mentor' credited for the museum's rapid development, especially for archaeology. Moritz Hoernes (1852–1917), a curator of the Natural History Museum in Vienna, conservator of the Central Commission for the Protection of Historical Monuments, and professor of prehistory at the University of Vienna, was appointed as a counsellor for science and supervisor of the museum by Kallay. Still, his role is frequently over-emphasised, giving a somewhat simplified image of Vienna's 'big teacher' having his local disciples. During the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878), Hoernes served as a voluntary army officer and became aware of the country's great archaeological potential. At the Anthropological Society of Vienna's request he arranged research visits to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1879 and 1880, intending to record archaeological and historical monuments.[416] Later on, he became personally very interested in the spectacular discoveries in Glasinac and Butmir, which he saw as an excellent opportunity for his future career.[417] In fact, Hoernes did not visit Sarajevo and inspect the museum as frequently as one would expect from a supervisor. In his reports to Kallay, he frequently complained about the museum staff, that museum was not being kept in good shape and that some of the curators were not performing their duties well. He mostly complained about Ćiro Truhelka, who, despite his young age (born in 1861), was already a well-known scholar in the 1890s and a strong rival to Hoernes in the archaeology of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Majnarić-Pandžić (2013) sees most of Hoernes' complaints about Kallay as attempts to takeover Truhelka's major field projects (e.g. Glasinac) and promote himself as the principal researcher. It is also a fact that Hoernes was frequently listed as co-author of several publications on the archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina (e.g. on Butmir) without actually having made any substantial contribution to the work (Majnarić 2013, 297).

The Austrian Provincial government and Kallay made crucial infrastructural provisions for the museum's development and its promotion in the broader academic environment. But the merits for its outstanding scientific success must be credited to the museum staff and scholars who came to Sarajevo (e.g. Ćiro Truhelka, Karl Patsch, Vaclav Radimsky, Filip Baliff, Konstantin Hörmann, Franjo (František) Fiala, Otmar Reiser, Vejsil Čurčić, and Viktor Apfelbeck) and the widespread network of the museum's external collaborators from all over the country. Actually, the only direct appointment to the museum was that of Ćiro Truhelka, and the others worked as medical doctors, mining and factory engineers, high civil service clerks, chemists, and high-school professors. The only one born in Bosnia and Herzegovina was V. Čurčić. In contrast, others came from Austria, Bohemia and Croatia, and except for the Croats did not speak the local language upon their transfer to Sarajevo. Before their arrival in Bosnia and Herzegovina the tradition of scientific research was almost completely absent. It was thus up to this first group of scholars to establish the foundations for scientific work (in its 'Western' sense) in the country.

The archaeological activities were, by no means, the most intensive and ambitious of such undertakings, and the museum started with just one archaeologist (Ćiro Truhelka). In 1891 Vejsil Čurčić joined him, and in 1894 also came Carl Patch, a historian of the ancient world. Three archaeologists in one museum was quite a large figure compared to the museums in neighbouring countries, but still not enough for the museum's ambitious plans; it was thus necessary to engage other researchers who were available, mostly naturalists (e.g. Fiala and Radimsky), to manage the large amount of work.

416 Moritz Hoernes, *Dinarische Wanderungen*, Wien 1888.

417 Before the establishment of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, many finds were sent to the Natural History in Vienna. This was also the case with the famous Iron Age Glasinac wagon, discovered in 1880 during road construction.

The museum had two outstanding archaeologists, Ćiro Truhelka and Carl Patsch, each of whom contributed significantly to this institution's international reputation. Ćiro Truhelka (1861–1942) graduated in archaeology at the University of Zagreb and got his PhD in art history from the University of Vienna. Before being appointed as a curator at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo in 1886, Truhelka worked one year at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb. His appointment is highly illustrative with regard to Austrian planning and implementation of the Westernisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the beginning of 1886 (at the age of 24), Truhelka suddenly received an invitation from Benjamin Kallay to come to Vienna. There, Kallay informed him that, following the recommendations by Isidor Kršnjavi, Truhelka's professor at the University of Zagreb, and the positive evaluation of Truhelka's 'personality', he was appointing him to the post of curator of the museum which was about to be established in Sarajevo (Truhelka 1942, 27). Truhelka almost immediately departed for Sarajevo to establish archaeology in a country and cultural milieu where he had no prior experience. Truhelka worked in the museum for 35 years, until 1921. Between 1905 and 1920 he was also Director of the Museum. He was a highly energetic and productive scholar in several fields. During this work in Sarajevo, he published more than 80 papers in Serbian/Croatian and German on the archaeology, ancient and medieval history, epigraphy, numismatics, and ethnography of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[418] He also directed dozens of excavations and field surveys. The most known are the excavations of barrows at Glasinac and the Bronze and Iron Age settlements at Donja Dolina. He also organised various exhibitions presenting the Provincial Museum in various European countries (e.g. Budapest, Brussels, Paris) and participated at several international conferences (e.g. Sarajevo, Vienna, Kyiv). During his directorship, in 1913, the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo moved to a new, highly prestigious building modelled after the Natural History Museum in Vienna.

Truhelka, due to his academic achievements, was one of the most influential scholars in the Balkans, and his successful lobbying for a new museum building was the apex of his directorship. In the academic domain, however, he faced significant challenges, nothing less than to establish the science of archaeology in a country that, save for the Franciscans' activities, had almost no tradition of classical or prehistoric archaeology. To Austrian rulers and scientists, Bosnia and Herzegovina was a 'virgin land' ready to be moulded according to their ideas, concepts and practices.

In its broader sense, the tradition of historical research was different in Ottoman culture. While classical culture (i.e. history, languages, art history, literature) in Christian Europe was well established and a long-standing part of education in middle and higher schools, and a cultural norm of the 'European' middle and upper classes, this was not the case in the Ottoman countries. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, three of the most populous nations distinguished themselves in the first place in terms of their religion (Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic), and it is within these three confessional contexts where different historical traditions developed.[419] Each of the three confessional/national groups saw Bosnia and Herzegovina, and its past, differently,

418 His bibliography is much larger. After 1921 and his transfer to the Faculty of Philosophy at Skopje and subsequent retirement in 1931, he additionally published some 20 texts on Bosnia and Herzegovina. For his bibliography until 1920, see Truhelka (1922).

419 One should also not ignore the Jewish population, who were quite influential in the domain of culture. Sephardic Jews, descendants of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, settled in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the second half of the 16th century. In the 17th and 18th centuries, and during the Austrian period, came Ashkenazi Jews from the Austrian and Hungarian lands. During the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Sarajevo hosted the largest Jewish population in the whole country (more than 10,000), with some 14,000 in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the Holocaust, more than 70% of all Jews in and the land were killed.

including the ancient past (Barić 2016, 73). Definitely not an easy job for Truhelka. One could hardly imagine the conditions in which he had started to work and compare them with the situation in 1914 when the Provincial Museum was at its peak.[420] His achievements are even more remarkable when considering that he also contributed to other disciplines, e.g. medieval history and epigraphy, and ethnography, spoke Turkish and Albanian and was one of the principal authorities for historical sources written in the late medieval *bosančica* (Bosnian Cyrillic alphabet). His academic work can be seen in the fact that there are more than thirty papers dedicated to Truhelka and his work. In 1922, after he retired from the museum, he taught archaeology at the Faculty of Arts, Skopje, N. Macedonia, a branch of the University of Belgrade.

Not much different were the conditions when Carl Patsch (1865–1945), the Bohemian-Austrian historian and geographer, graduated in ancient history at the German University at Prague, an assistant at the Archaeological-Epigraphic Seminar at the University of Vienna, and came to Sarajevo in 1891 to the fill post of the high school teacher. After several years working as an external collaborator, Patch, in 1896, gained full employment in the Provincial Museum and soon became a curator of classical antiquities. If prehistoric archaeology had already made some significant steps (e.g. discoveries at Butmir and Glasinac, the promotional effects of the 1894 International Conference), ancient archaeology was far behind. In the following years, he worked hard to change this. His bibliography in the museum's journal *Glasnik* takes up some 90 papers (published between 1885 and 1919) on ancient history, epigraphy, numismatics, and the Roman settlement of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with which he laid firm foundations for ancient archaeology.[421]

Though he dealt with many different aspects of ancient archaeology, his primary focus was on Roman epigraphy and ancient history of the Roman Province of Dalmatia. The list of his principal research works includes a series of pioneering studies in Bosnian-Herzegovinian archaeology: a study on the ancient people of Japodes (Patsch 1898), discoveries of the temple of Mithra in Konjic (Patsch 1897), the Roman forum of Delminium, and the large sepulchral area in Skelani. His major excavations were at Mogorjelo near Čapljina in Herzegovina (1899–1903), where he discovered a very large Roman villa, later, in the 4th century, turned into a fortress. From Patsch's abundant bibliography, we would also like to point to a series of research papers collected under the title 'Archaeological-epigraphic Research of History of the Roman Province of Dalmatia' and published in German or Serbo-Croatian between 1896 and 1912 (Patsch 1896; 1899; 1899a; 1904; 1906; 1907; 1909, 1912). This compilation of some 500 pages with numerous drawings represents the real foundation of modern Roman archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Patsch proved not only to be highly productive but also a very ambitious scholar, who attempted to overcome the shortcomings of working in a provincial museum. In 1904 he established the Institute for Balkan Studies (*Bosnisch-Herzegowinische Institut für Balkanforschung*), intending to create another important research institution in the country.[422] 'Balkanology' gained in populari-

420 His memories of his arrival to Sarajevo are highly illustrative of the atmosphere in the town: "*Besides the palace of government, Hotel Europa and two or three other buildings, in Sarajevo there were no other houses made of proper bricks, everything was made of dried clay and wood...After long wandering [for an apartment to hire] I have found a room "with furniture" in Čemaluša, at the corner of the Kulovića street, in the house of Huršid-efendi, born Pole, thrown to Turkey by the revolution where he was Turkicised and became tulumdzhibasha, i.e. commander of the firefighting squad. His wife was a local Catholic woman. (Truhelka 1942, 35).*

421 For Patsch's bibliography in *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu,* see Matolić at Academia.edu.

422 The institute existed in Sarajevo (at the Provincial Museum) until 1918, when Patsch was transferred to Vienna. The 'Balkan' institutes were later established also in Munich (1930), Belgrade (1935), Bucharest (1937), Thessaloniki (1954), Sofia (1964), and, again, in

ty at the end of the 19th century, especially in Austria, where it has been conceived as an interdisciplinary set of sciences (linguistics, ethnography, geography, history, archaeology) focused on the Balkans area. The first 'Balkanological' institution was *Kommission für historisch-archäologische und phillologisch-ethnographische Durchforschung der Balkanhalbinsel* of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, established in 1897. The establishment of this commission, and, subsequently, the institute in Sarajevo, has to be seen in the light of the Austrian imperial politics towards southeastern Europe and Turkey. Austria was attempting to strengthen its role (vis-a-vis other European powers of the time) as the principal civilisational force in the area, by boosting scientific research into the history and culture of the Balkan nations. It seems that Patsch wanted to go further on his own, beyond the limits of the museum, and this probably caused conflict with Truhelka, the museum Director. It also seems that Patch initially acted without substantial support from the provincial or state governments, because it took several years before his institute became funded by the state (Barić 2012). On the other hand, Patsch thought that strong museum and an institute would make Sarajevo the undisputed centre of Balkanology ('*…Das will zunächst sagen, dass wir unser Landesmuseum – welches heute das bedeutendste Museum der Balkanhalbinsel ist – auch weiter auf seiner führenden Rolle erhalten nun dass wir das an das Museum angegliederte Institut für Balkanforschung derart ausgestalten, dass Sarajevo für alle Welt zum unbestrittenen Zentrum der ganzen Balkanforschung wird*', as stated by the Provincial Governor in 1913; see Barić 2012, footnote 41; cf. Kapidžić 1973).

During his twenty-five years in Sarajevo, Patch became one of the most respected scholars in the ancient history of the Balkans, and he became a professor at the University in Vienna after he retired from Sarajevo in 1919. In 1922, he was approached by the Albanian government for counselling on the project of the Albanian National Museum in Tirana.[423]

The third archaeologist in the Provincial Museum was Vejsil Čurčić (1868–1959), a native of Sarajevo who graduated in archaeology and art history from the University of Vienna. He also started his career in the Provincial Museum at a very young age (1891). Though his research profile could not match that of Truhelka or Patsch, he was a scholar of wide horizons. His research also included history, ethnography and applied art and decoration.[424] In the archaeological domain, he was mostly known for his excavations of the Iron Age cemetery at Ripač near Bihać in 1898 (with Radimsky) and the Bronze Age hillfort of Varvara near Prozor (1899-1900, 1912), and for archaeological surveys in western Bosnia. In addition, he participated in all major archaeological field projects of the museum (e.g. Glasinac, Butmir, Donja Dolina) and assisted on many other excavations of his colleagues. He was also a pioneer in the conservation of historic towns and architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Other scholars who also worked in archaeology were historians, geologists, and botanists. The most renowned was Vaclav (Wenzel) Radimsky (1832–1895), a Czech mining engineer who graduated from the Polytechnic School in Prague and worked as Head of the Mining Directorate in Sarajevo. His first job in the Provincial Museum was the establishment of the mineralogical collection. Radimsky excavated at Butmir (with Fiala) and Ripač (with Čurčić). Looking at the bibliography alone, Radimsky published

Sarajevo (1954) (Sundhausen and Clewig 2016, 121), where it exists today as a Centre for Balcanological Studies at the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

423 Patsch was actually offered the position of Director, which he declined. In 1923 he visited Tirana twice and presented a proposal for the organisation of a museum modelled after the provincial Museum in Sarajevo (Clayer 2012).

424 In the period between 1943 and 1945, he also served as a Director of the museum under the quisling government of the Independent State of Croatia. The new Communist regime suspended him for two years. He finished his professional career in the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Sarajevo (1947–1951).

much more in archaeology than in his original discipline. During his relatively short career in Sarajevo (ten years), he published some 60 titles, mostly short papers on epigraphy, prehistoric archaeology, Roman archaeology, numismatics, demonstrating his considerable intellectual potential and education. Already before he departed for Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1885, Radimsky was intensively engaged in archaeological research projects at Wies in Austrian Styria, where he worked as Director of the coal-mining society (Radimsky 1883; 1885; 1888, Radimsky and Szombathy 1883), and collaborated with Josef Szombathy, Head of the Natural History Museum in Vienna. It was hardly a surprise that Radimsky, with such a scientific profile, knowledge, and experiences, became, upon his move to Sarajevo, almost immediately the Provincial Museum's external collaborator.[425] Having experience in geology and mining, Radimsky was the perfect choice for directing extensive excavations, such as at Butmir, which he published in a monograph in 1895 (Radimsky and Hoernes 1895).

Another young scholar, Franz (František) Fiala (1861–1898), also deserves to be mentioned here. Fiala, a native of Brno, Moravia, graduated in natural sciences from the Technical School in Brno. He came to Sarajevo in 1886 to work as a chemist in a tobacco factory. In 1892 he moved to the Provincial Museum to the curator's post for archaeology and botany, where he stayed until his death. Fiala was another scholar who came to Sarajevo at a very young age and proved highly productive in archaeology. In just ten years, between 1889 and 1898, he succeeded in publishing more than 40 archaeological papers in *Glasnik*, excavated more than 900 (sic) barrows at Glasinac (Fiala 1892; 1893; 1894; 1895; 1896a; 1897), then also the Bronze and Iron Age settlement of Debelo Brdo near Sarajevo (Fiala 1896b), and Iron Age cemeteries at Ripač near Bihać and Sanski most (Fiala 1896c). He also co-directed extensive excavations at Butmir (Fiala and Hoernes 1898) and undertook many surveys and smaller excavations across the country. Though Fiala was mostly a prehistorian, his archaeological bibliography includes also works on Roman archaeology and epigraphy.

The productivity of these five archaeologists (Truhelka, Patsch, Čurčić, Radimsky and Fiala) can be seen in the fact that they contributed some 55% of ca. 520 archaeological papers published in *Glasnik* between 1889 and 1919. These figures are also highly illustrative for the giant leaps made by the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo – before 1889, the archaeological bibliography included some 20 short papers or notices. Archaeology thus definitely justified the high status given to it in the Austrian plans, and its worth can also be illustrated with another two examples, the project of topography and mapping of stećaks, and the organisation of the International Congress of Archaeologists in Sarajevo in 1894.

Stećaks were perceived as a paramount historical and cultural peculiarity of the newly occupied province, and the provincial government organised massive inventory campaigns in 1891 and 1897. Almost all civil servants in Bosnia and Herzegovina (teachers, police officers, foresters, road workers, local officials, priests, etc.) were ordered to collect information on tombstones and other archaeological sites (e.g. barrows, hillforts, old roads, mosques, churches, monasteries, bridges) and hand them over to the Provincial Museum, with special guidelines being issued.[426] These campaigns resulted in 59,500 stećaks being listed and presented at the 11th Archaeological Congress in Kyiv in 1899 (Bešlagić 1980) by Konstantin Hörmann and Ćiro Truhelka. On this occasion, Truhelka also presented a paper entitled *Documents prehistoriques de Bosnie et Hercegovine* (Bešlagić 1980, 641). Given that Bosnia and Herzegovina was, in many ways, *terra incognita* for European archaeology and history, the

425 Radimsky remained whole his career in Sarajevo a mining inspector and an associate to the museum.

426 *Pitanja za sabiranje historičko-topografskog gradiva.* (Bešlagić 1980).

results of these provincial actions were extraordinary. By the year 1900, after some fifteen years of archaeological activities, it is safe to say that Bosnia and Herzegovina had the best gazetteer of archaeological sites in southeastern Europe. Radimsky wanted to publish the gazetteer, but did not succeed before he died.

The international archaeological and anthropological conference held in Sarajevo in 1894 was a pure act of promotion of the Austrian 'civilising' agenda in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The conference was fully funded by the Provincial Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and closely monitored by Benjamin Kallay, the uncrowned ruler of the Province.[427] Rudolph Virchow was asked to chair the conference attended by the '*creme de la crème*' of the European prehistorians: Johannes Ranke and Albert Voss (Germany), Eugen Bormann, Otto Bendorf, Moritz Hoernes and Lajos Thallóczy (Austria), *József Hampel* (Hungary), Robert Munroe (UK), Gabriel de Mortillet, Salomon Reinach and René Verneau (France), Luigi Pigorini (Italy), Jakob Heierly and Edmund Count de Fellenberg (Switzerland), and Oscar Montelius (Sweden) (Herman 1894). During the conference, two excursions were organised to Butmir and Glasinac, where the guests could see and actively engage in archaeological excavations. The conference was a genuine success in terms of the promotion of the Austrian government's achievements. Foreign scholars, full of positive impressions, almost immediately reacted and published reports on the conference in several journals. The overall impression can be easily grasped from the examples reported below.

Robert Munroe, member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, published in *The Times* (8th of October, 1894*)*: "*The present administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina is conducted on principles selected from the best elements of modern civilisation, its great object being to develop the natural resources of the country. Already this policy has produced a marked and beneficial effect on the social life of the community by cementing together a singularly mixed population into a happy, prosperous, and almost homogeneous nationality. But, over and beyond these practical results, which are patent to everyone who visits the country, there lurks in the far-reaching policy of Herr von Kallay, a still grander project-viz., to bring these provinces once more into the current of European culture and learning. To dispel the prejudices and misrepresentations which have so long kept these charming lands, so redolent of scenic beauties and striking natural phenomena, a terra incognita, and to foster scientific research which is destined to elucidate the prehistoric civilizations of Europe, would be laurels worthy of the ambition of any statesman. Yet all these are now on the verge of becoming accomplished facts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Let me add, in conclusion, that it was the opinion of all who took part in this congress that during the few years since the Government had devoted its resources to archaeological research (the museum having been founded only six years ago), there has been accumulated throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina a mass of scientific materials unsurpassed, in a corresponding period of time, by any other country in Europe…*"

Gabriel de Mortillet, professor at the School of Anthropology in Paris, published two reports. In *Revue mensuelle de l'école d'anthropologie de Paris* he wrote:

"*Du 15 au 21 août un brillant Congrés anthropologique a eu lie à Sarajevo, capitale de la Bosnie et Hercégovine. Le gouvernement de ces deux anciennes provinces turques, mises en julliet 1878 sous le protectorat de l'Autriche-Hongrie, avait addresse 26 invitations à des sauvantes de diverses parties de l'Europe. 16 ont répondu à l'appel… Les visites aux collections, les fouilles et les discussions ont été encadrées entre un diner officiel par le gouverneur général et une fête turque avec diner, chez le burgmestre, M. Mehmed Beg Kapetanović. ...Quel*

427 In the late 1880s, Kallay attended meetings of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory, and also the meetings of the Anthropological Society in Vienna, to promote the archaeological discoveries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and connect scholars from 'his' province with scholarly societies from Vienna, Berlin, Petersburg, Budapest, e.g. Rudolph Virchow, Josef Szombathy, Johannes Ranke and others (Truhelka 1992, 66).

admirable pays que la Bosnie- Hercégovine! C'est un region montagneuse extrêmement pitoresque, ayant tout à fait l'aspect du jura français et suisse…Une pareille région avec des gorges étroites, des croupes abruptes, des vallées entourées de montagnes, a servi de refuge à de nombreuses populations; aussi est-elle des plus intéressantes au pint de vue de 'anthropologie at de l'archéologie. … A Sarajevo… quatre cultes vivent en paix et caractérisent quatre races différentes. Ce sont les musulmans, appelés Turcs; les orthodoxes, Slaves appartetenant au culte chrétien grec; les Juifs, désignés dans le pays sous le nom d'Espagnols, parce qu'en grande majorité ils font partie d'une colonie juive émigrée d'Espagne il y un siècle ou deux. Ils parlent ancore la langue espagnole. Enfin les catholiques, qui étaient en grande minorité, mais qui s'accroissent rapidement par l'arrivée de plus en plus nombreuse de ce qu'on appele del Européens…Sous le protectorat éclairé de l'Autriche-Hongrie le pays s'ouvre et marche, àpas de géants, vers une florissante civilisation… A côte du développement militaire, administratif, commercial et industriel, le Gouvernement éclairé rechertche aussi le développement scientifique. Il a crée à Sarajevo un centre intellectuel de premier ordre… M. Hörmann a su s'entourer d'une pléiade de jeunes naturalistes, de jeunes archéologues plains d'ardeur, qui étudiant avec le plus grand succés les richesses naturelles, historiques et préheistoriques du pays. Leur débuts sont des plus brillants. (Herman 1894, 527–528).

De Mortillet published another, similar report in which he briefly presented the Provincial Museum in the journal *L'Intermediaire* (Herman 1894, 529–530).

Salomon Reinach (1894) published a 16-page report, presenting a complete programme of the meeting, a short description of the sites of Butmir and Glasinac, and the opinions and theories of some of his colleagues on the origin of these two sites, the circumstances of Austrian military occupation in 1878, a short description of road and train network in Bosnia and Herzegovina, major towns, etc. In Reinach's report, there are some important observations on the nature of the congress and selection of the participants:

Congrès ou conférence? L'une ou l'autre désignation peut être admise, mais ce qui est certain, c'est que la réunion de Sarajevo a présenté un caractère tout particulier. Au lie d'un de ses picnics scientifiques, accessibles à tous qui veulent payer une cotisation, nous avons eu là une consultation d'archéologues, préalablement désignes par le gouvernement local, investis d'un mandat par leurs gouvernements respectif... D'autre part, il n'est pas douteux que l'exemple donné par le gouvernement bosniaque ne soit difficile à suivre: non seulement, en effet, l'hospitalité ainsi pratiquée au profit d'invités assez nombreux entraîne des dépenses trés considerable, mais la choix même des invités est choix bien délicate, pouvant donner lie à des froissements at à des réclamations. J'ai essayé de connaitre les princips don't s'étaient inspirés, à cet égard, les organisateurs de la réunion de Sarajevo, et voici ce que j'appris. La question du choix des invités a été longuement étudié à Vienne, au Musée des sciences naturelles, en presence d'une bibliothèque parfaitmenet tenue à jour. On a volu d'abord, autant que possible, que les différentes pays fussent représentés; puis, le choix s'est porté sur les personnes qui, par la nuture de leurs travaux, paraissaient povouir intervenir le plus utilement dans la discussion des question posées." (Reinach 1894, 554-555)

Reinach also did not forgot to praise the achievements of the Austrian government in Bosnia and Herzegovina: "*Florisasantes sous l'empire romain, retombées depuis dans une barbarie dix fois séculaire, les provinces don't Autriche-Hongrie a pris tutelle renaissent à la civilisation avec une rapidité qui tient du prodige, admirable téemoignage de ce que peuvent la suite dans les idées et l'initiative d'un homme de talent auquel le gouvernement don't il relève ne crée pas d'obstacles…"* (Reinach 1984, 570).

The congress was such a great success that the next year, between the 2nd and 11th of September 1895, the Anthropological Society from Vienna organised an excursion to Bosnia and

Herzegovina.[428] The museum was also promoted at several international conferences (e.g. International Congress of Archaeologists and Anthropologists in Vienna 1899; Congress of Russian Archaeologists, Kyiv 1899) and expositions (e.g. Vienna 1889, 1891, 1898; Zagreb 1891; Timişoara 1891; Brussels 1897, Millennium Exposition at Budapest 1896). No other archaeological institution from the Balkan countries could match such promotion. In doing this they demonstrated not only the archaeological richness of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also high competency of their researchers, by showing the spectacular sites of hundreds if not thousands of Bronze and Iron Age barrows at Glasinac (more than 1,200 excavated); Butmir, one of the largest and best investigated Neolithic sites at the time in Europe, with outstanding anthropomorphic art objects made of clay and with richly decorated ceramic vessels; nearly 5,000 m^2 of Iron Age pile dwellings at Donja Dolina, with almost perfectly preserved wooden structures and settlement layout; and tens of thousands of medieval stećaks. In less than three decades since its establishment, the museum's archaeologists carried out excavations of more than 30 prehistoric, Roman and medieval sites. Even a glance at some of the sites reveals highly impressive figures: 1,220 barrow tumuli excavated at Glasinac, more than 1,000 explored graves from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages at other sites; three large prehistoric pile dwellings excavated; dozens of newly discovered Roman inscriptions, a multitude of Roman shrines and basilicas; as well as hundreds of medieval inscriptions, studies of medieval monasteries and churches, and countless necropolises with stećaks. If Bosnia and Herzegovina had indeed been an archaeological *terra incognita* before the 1880s, it soon became one of the most systematically studied countries in the Balkans, and the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo the major centre of excellence in the archaeology of Southeastern Europe prior to the First World War.

A particular object of pride was the new building of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo. Its construction began in 1909 and it was officially opened on October 4th 1913. The museum had a central park around which seven buildings were erected, among them four major two-floor exhibition pavilions for prehistory, ancient archaeology, ethnography and natural history. The museum complex's total area was around 24,000 m^2 (4,819 m^2 of buildings, 3,821 m^2 of terraces, 5,033 m^2 of the botanical park, and 10,397 m^2 of the outer park). Archaeology was given 1,860 m^2 of space, 900 m^2 for the prehistoric collection and 960 m^2 for the ancient collection. The style of facades and internal spaces was that of the 'Italian Renaissance', and the total cost was 1,574,915 Krones (Paržik 1914).[429]

To conclude, the archaeological 'colonial' intervention of Vienna was excellently executed, but, then again, when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed in 1918, giving way to a new country, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, many things changed, including the history of archaeology. Being so strongly supported by the provincial government, the Provincial Museum was destined to suffer a setback once it was left without this. The new country and its rulers had plans for Bosnia and Herzegovina, completely different from the Austrian ones. Archaeology, in a certain sense, fell victim to the great success of the Provincial Museum. While this museum flourished, no other museum or public institution working in archaeology, history or the natural sciences was established in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austrian period. Such disparity in terms of institutional development would continue for many decades. Only after the Second World War did new archaeological institutions gradually emerge at both regional and local levels.

428 In some texts, this excursion is labelled as the Second Congress of the Archaeologists and Anthropologists in Sarajevo (e.g. Truhelka 1940). A similar excursion with 56 participants was also organised in 1904 following the Congress of German and Viennese Anthropological Societies in Salzburg (Truhelka 1905).

429 Approximately 320,000 US dollars in 1913.

Stagnation in the Yugoslav Monarchy (1918–1941)

After the First World War came a period of considerable decline in the Provincial Museum's archaeological activities, and hence in the whole country. There are several reasons for this, the first being the new administrative division introduced with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in which Bosnia and Herzegovina ceased to exist as an integrated province. The new constitution of the Kingdom of SHS enforced a very centralised organisation of the state divided into 33 smaller provinces (*oblasts*) which did not correspond to any previous historical or ethnic territorial entities. Bosnia and Herzegovina's territory was divided into six provinces, named after the district capitols: Tuzla, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Travnik, Bihać and Mostar.[430] This division substantially weakened the political and economic powers of the former larger provinces. Institutions that previously had close ties with provincial governments (e.g. the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo) and were dependent on their funds found themselves in a very challenging situation. No significant improvements were made with the administrative-territorial reform in 1929, which introduced larger territorial units – banates (*banovine*). The traditional territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided among four banates: Vrbas (capital Banja Luka), Drina (capital Sarajevo), Zeta (capital Cetinje) and Littoral (capital Split). Except for the Vrbas Banate, which was entirely in Bosnia and Herzegovina's territory, the other three banates also included a large portion of Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia, making the Muslim population a minority in all four of them.

Another considerable change that came with the new Yugoslav state was in the national politics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The end of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire also ended the policy of the 'three-confessional' nation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with which the Austrians attempted to make it a more robust political entity. In the new state, both Serbian and Croatian national politics saw Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of their historical territories and the Muslim population as 'Islamised' Serbs or Croats.[431] Although the Muslim religion was the third-largest in the country, it became considered a minority confession.

All these changes, combined with Yugoslavia's general political and economic weakness in the period between the two world wars, created conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina in which many aspects of social life declined compared to the Austrian period, culture and science included. In the case of archaeology, the break-up of the relations with Austrian institutions additionally contributed to the decline in the quality and intensity of archaeological research.[432] The conditions for the continuation of the scientific research also worsened due to the departure of numerous experts who worked in the Provincial Museum and other institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina before the First World War. They either returned to Austria, retired or were transferred to new duties in other parts of Yugoslavia. Of the pre-war archaeological staff in the Provincial Museum, only Ćiro Truhelka and Vejsil Čurčić remained, but they did not stay long, with Truhelka retiring in 1921 and Čurčić in 1924. In general, the staff in the 1920s and 1930s was too small and simply did not have enough resources to match scientific achievements from the Austrian period (Dautbegović J. 1988, 19).

However, despite a rather unfavourable economic situation and loss of numerous scholars due to the cancellation of posts or their departure from Bosnia and Herzegovina, a certain level of continuity of research work in the museum was preserved. Of the new scholars who came to the

430 Some marginal territories in western Bosnia also belonged to the districts of Užice and Cetinje.

431 In this respect, it is important to note that until 1964 Muslims were not officially treated as an ethnic group, only as a confessional.

432 With the abolition of the former province of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Provincial Museum became subordinated to the Ministry of Education in Belgrade, which considerably reduced funding and the number of the museum staff to nine people (Periša 2007, 253).

museum after 1918, the key person for archaeology was Mihovil Mandić (1871–1948), a native of the Travnik area, geographer and archaeologist, who had graduated from the University of Vienna. Mandić worked in Sarajevo as a history and geography professor at the Great Gymnasium since 1903 before moving to the museum in 1918 to the post of curator for prehistory, where he stayed until 1939. In the period between 1937 and 1941, he also served as a Director of the Provincial Museum. For many years he was actually the only professional archaeologist at the museum. As such, he had to cover a vast field of archaeological tasks, from excavating prehistoric and Roman sites and undertaking archaeological surveys to publishing scientific and popular articles on archaeology and ancient history. Mandić must undoubtedly be credited for preserving a relatively advanced level of work in the period between the two world wars.[433] During his career, he directed some ten archaeological excavations, such as on the barrows near Travnik (1924), the Neolithic settlement Kučište near Donja Mahala by Orašje (1926), prehistoric settlements in Jajce, Donja Dolina (1928) and Sanski Most (1929), and the Hrustovača cave near Sanski Most (1939). However, these excavations were much smaller compared to those in the Austrian period. His archaeological bibliography between 1919 and 1942 consists of 14 papers and some ten minor works.[434] Among Mandić's publications, his guide to the Provincial Museum's prehistoric collection (Mandić 1930) is one of the most prominent and was rated highly by Paul Reinecke, one of the most distinguished prehistorians in Central Europe (cf. Periša 2007).

Another scholar who contributed significantly to the continuity of archaeology and ancient history in the museum was Dimitrije Sergejevski (1886–1965), a Russian from St. Petersburg. He came to Bosnia and Herzegovina after 1918 and, in the mid-1920s, worked as a gymnasium professor in Sarajevo. Even before 1930 and he attained a position at the Provincial Museum, Sergejevski was its external associate. His primary expertise was in ancient history, art history and epigraphy. However, he was not as involved in field research as Mandić. His most important prewar publications present the studies of Roman inscriptions and monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sergejevski 1938; 1940). He continued his career in the Provincial Museum until 1961. He also contributed to the archaeology of early Christianity in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

For a short period of time, three other archaeologists worked in the museum. Jozo Petrović (1892–1967) graduated in archaeology and anthropology from the University in Vienna, and worked in the Provincial Museum between 1921 and 1926, when he then moved to the National Museum in Belgrade. In 1941, he returned to Sarajevo and worked as Director of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo until 1942 (later, between 1954 and 1964, he continued his career in the museum as numismatician). Another scholar, who will make a considerable career after the war in Slovenia, was Josip Korošec, who worked in the Provincial Museum between 1939 and 1945. He graduated in archaeology from the University of Belgrade (1936) and obtained his PhD from the Charles University of Prague (1939). His wife, Paola Korošec (1913–2006), was also employed in the museum and stayed there until she and her husband moved to Slovenia in 1945. She graduated in art history from the University of Belgrade (1938) with a PhD from the University of Ljubljana (1968).[435] However, Josip and Paola Korošec stayed at the museum for a too short a

433 It is only recently that the work of Mihovil Mandić and his contribution to archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been critically assessed and recognised. After the Second World War, he was discredited as a Croatian nationalist and German collaborator. For these reasons, he was often ignored or omitted in articles presenting activities and history of the Provincial Museum and archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Darko Periša (2007) was the first who reassessed Mandić's work and presented the circumstances in which he conducted research, offering a more accurate image of this scholar.

434 For the detailed research bibliography of M. Mandić, see Periša (2007).

435 In 1940, Paola Korošec was the first women archaeologist employed as a museum curator in the whole of the former Yugoslavia.

time to make any substantial contribution. Their research capacities were undoubtedly very high, and later they both made excellent careers in Slovenia, but in Sarajevo they could not do very much during the war.

It is evident that in the 22 years between the two world wars, archaeological work in the Provincial Museum declined considerably. The same can be said for archaeology in all banates in the traditional territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There were no spectacular discoveries as there had been in the Austrian period, and no international projects. Likewise, no new regional or local institutions were created that would encompass archaeological research and personnel. Except for the Franciscan collections in their monasteries, the only museum established in this period was the Museum of the Vrbas Banate in Banja Luka in 1930 (today the Museum of the Republic of Srpska). However, this museum was mostly focused on ethnography in its early years, with archaeology introduced only after the Second World War. Until 1945, the Provincial Museum remained *de facto* the only public institution that carried out archaeological investigations systematically.

The Provincial Museum succeeded in securing the continuity of its major publication *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, but the general decline of the institution is visible in the number of published volumes. Between 1889 and 1918, 30 annual issues of *Glasnik* were published in 208 volumes, while between 1920 and 1940, there were only 21 annual issues in 41 volumes. This fall illustrates the general decline of archaeological activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

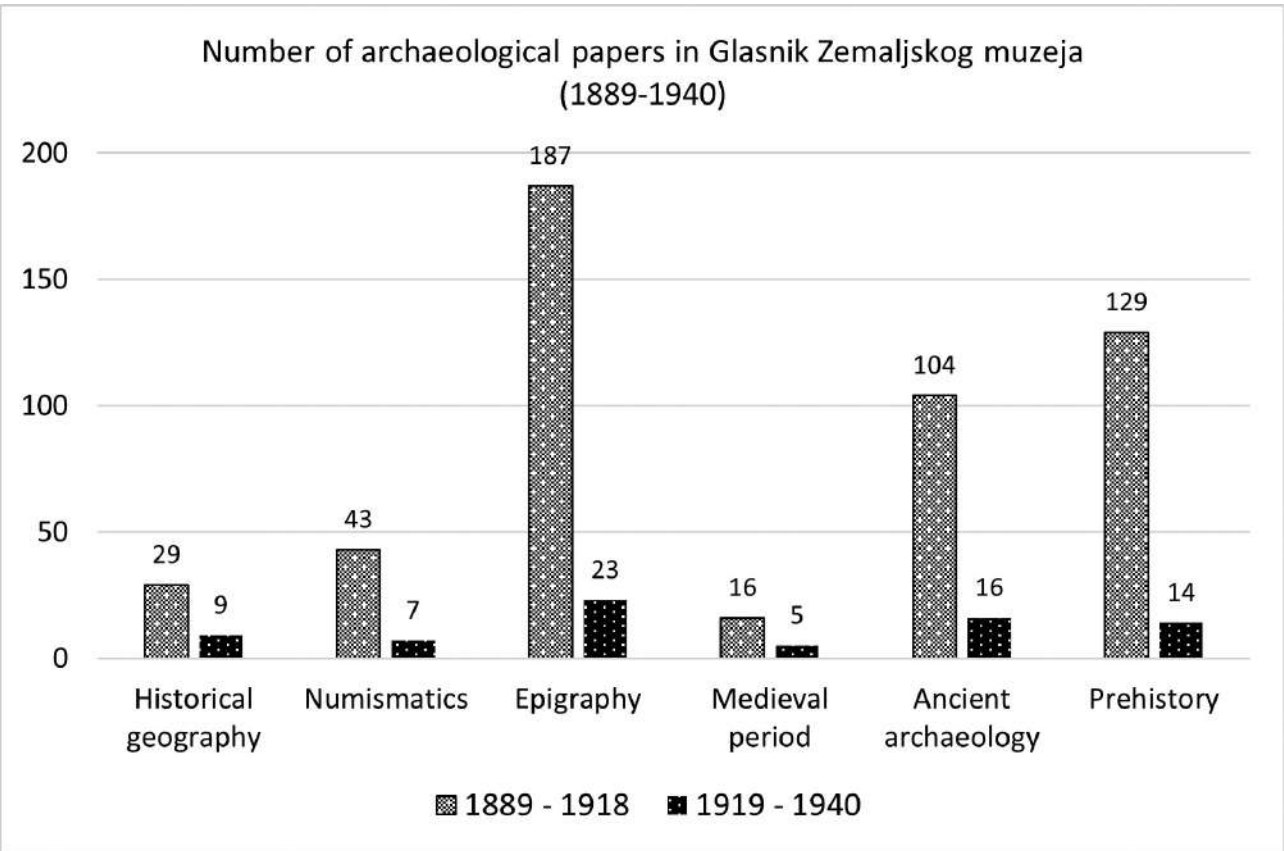


Fig. 112 Number of archaeological papers in Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja between 1889 and 1940.

However, despite the unfavourable conditions within the Yugoslav Kingdom, the Provincial Museum retained its reputation as an important scientific centre in archaeology and created possibilities for further progress, which again became evident after 1945. The key factors here were the long-held tradition and exceptional museum venues, which together prevented some potentially disastrous events, such as the new government changing the function of the museum architectural complex, or its parts, for other purposes.

The revival of archaeology and return to fame (1945–1991)

During the Second World War, Bosnia and Herzegovina was included in the quisling Independent State of Croatia, which did not allow any autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina and denied the national identity of the Muslims, who continued to be considered as 'Muslimised' Croats. On the other hand, in Bosnia and Herzegovina the fiercest battles were fought between the National Liberation Movement led by the Communist leader Josip Broz – Tito, and the Germans, Italians and their local Croatian, Muslim and Serbian allies. At the Second Meeting of the Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (November 29th 1943 in Jajce), the foundations of the new federal organisation of post-war Yugoslavia were laid down. Four days earlier, the Provincial Antifascist Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina held its meeting in Mrkonjić grad (some 50 km northwest from Jajce), where it was decided that Bosnia and Herzegovina would be reintegrated within its 'Austrian' borders in the post-war Yugoslavia. These two meetings confirmed Bosnia and Herzegovina's reunification in the territory, which corresponded to the Austrian Province of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first post-war Yugoslav constitution (1946) proclaimed Bosnia and Herzegovina as one of Yugoslavia's six constituent republics. However, the Muslims had to wait until late 1960 to be officially recognised as a nation *sui generis*.

The ruling Communist regime was well aware of the fragile inter-ethnic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Being integrated anew, Bosnia and Herzegovina soon started to develop its republican infrastructure and institutions, with a strong emphasis on its multi-ethnic composition and balance. The status of a republic facilitated the intensive process of transforming Bosnia and Herzegovina into a more robust political and socio-economic entity. The introduction of the Communist ideology and its transformative effects were also considerable. They were radically implemented in all domains of public, political and economic life. However, since the effects were quite similar in all republics, we will discuss these separately in the chapter on Yugoslav archaeology.

The new Yugoslav Communist regime saw the country's industrialisation as one of its primary tasks. Bosnia and Herzegovina, being rich in mining resources, was planned to be one of the major sites for developing heavy industry.[436] Being a predominantly agricultural country with very modest industrial and urban centres, it then started to experience rapid progress. It was estimated that between 1945 and 1991 the average annual economic growth rate was about 5% (Mujkić 2009, 35). The proportion of the non-agrarian population also rose sharply in the period from 1953 to 1981 – from 37.8% to 82.7% – along with a general growth of the population in the same period by about 1,276,000 (an increase of approximately 45% compared to 1953) (Bošnjović 2007, 48, 54, 56). The other trends over this period included the increased creation of numerous jobs

436 In fact, the reasons for this also have to be looked for in the defensive strategy of Yugoslavia in the period immediately after the Second World War. Bosnia and Herzegovina was the innermost republic that bordered only on other Yugoslav republics. Being the most distant from all neighbouring countries, which belonged either to the Western or Eastern blocs, with which Yugoslavia had very tense relationships until the 1960s, Bosnia with its buffered position and rugged terrain protecting it from land invasions, seemed the most secure territory for building major industrial infrastructure.

in the secondary and tertiary sectors. The public sector (education, science, health, etc.) also experienced significant growth. In total, the very dynamic and positive growth trend of numerous indicators shows that, despite the occasional political and economic crises, there was a significant increase in the urban population (by about 2.5 times) and greater general economic well-being of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another detail serves well to illustrate this socio-economic development, which is clearly of relevance for the development of science in general – from 1953 to 1981, the percentage of the population that obtained high or higher education increased by more than 14 times, from 0.3 to 4.3% (Bošnjović 2007, 57).

Sarajevo became the strongest political, economic and educational centre in the country, in many aspects fully comparable to other traditionally strong centres in Yugoslavia, such as Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Such progress was also reflected in archaeology's advancement, and the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo started to regain its former importance and role. Within less than two decades, the number of archaeologists in the Provincial Museum increased significantly, despite some of the pre-war scholars' departure.[437] In the period between 1956 and 1960, nine new archaeologists were employed.[438]

Also essential was the process of establishing museums at both regional and local levels. For more than 60 years, until the late 1940s, the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo was the only public archaeological institution in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the regional and local levels, the archaeological practice and institutions had to be re-established from scratch. The first wave of new museums was in the period between 1949 and 1956: Tuzla (1949), Municipal Museum in Sarajevo (1949) Mostar (1950), Travnik (1950), Trebinje (1952) Bihać (1953), Visoko (1953), Prijedor (1954), Doboj (1956) and Foča (1956). Initially not all of them had archaeologists, but very soon most of them developed archaeological departments or collections. By the 1970s, there were fourteen museums altogether in the country directly or indirectly dealing with archaeology. In addition to those mentioned above, and the two museums from before 1941, the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo and the Museum of Bosanska Krajina in Banja Luka (the former Museum of Vrbas Banate, now the Museum of the Republic of Srpska), new museums were established in Zenica (1966), Bijeljina (1970) and Gradiška (formerly Bosanska Gradiška; 1970). In 1985, a new museum was opened in Novi Grad (formerly Bosanski Novi). Smaller institutions were called 'collections', usually part of public libraries or local cultural centres (e.g. in Srebrenica, Zvornik, and Gračanica in 1976). In addition to this, several museums or collections specialised in ethnography and national liberation history were also formed.

According to Yugoslav legislation, Bosnia and Herzegovina established its own Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in 1949 in Sarajevo (Bauer 1974). In 1953, this institute launched the journal *Godišnjak Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture Bosne i Hercegovine*. Until the mid-1970s, the institute, with its branch in Mostar, covered the whole country. In 1976 a Regional Institute was established in Banja Luka, and approximately at the same time the Mostar branch changed its status into a regional institute. The city of Sarajevo formed its Municipal Institute for the Protection of Cultural-historical Heritage in 1965. In 1983 Regional Institute for the Protection and Exploitation of Cultural-Historical and Natural Heritage (*Zavod za zaštitu i korišćenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog nasljeđa*) was also established in Tuzla.

437 For example, J. and P. Korošec moved to Slovenia in 1945, while M. Mandić was suspended and died soon after; the only archaeologist who remained in the museum was D. Sergejevski.

438 Irma Čremošnik (1946), Alojz Benac (1947), Nada Miletić (1950), Ružica Drechsler Bižić (1950–1952), Borivoj Čović (1953), Veljko Paškvalin (1954), Pavao Anđelić 1956), Zdravko Marić (1957) and Djuro Basler (1960). In medieval archaeology, the historian Marko Vego (1950) was also active, while Jozo Petrović, the former Director of the museum during the war, also returned to the post of a curator for numismatics (1954).

The institutional infrastructure of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina was completed in the 1960s with the establishment of new academic institutions. Until that time, the Provincial Museum also acted as the national academic (research) archaeological centre. The first national scholarly society after the Second World War – the Scientific Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina – was founded in 1951 (*Spomenica* 2011) and acted as a basis for the future national academy. D. Sergejevski was among its first fifteen members. At the time, the Scientific Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina could not gain the status of an academy such as existed in the other republics due to some specific legislative issues. In 1954, the Scientific Society founded the Balkan Institute. The mission was to carry out "research on the early Balkan ethnic and language groups, and their mutual relations and influences" (*Spomenica* 2011, 17). The Balkan Institute then launched its journal *Godišnjak*. However, after a few years, the institute was disbanded because of the lack of staff (*Spomenica* 2011, 19), and was replaced in 1963 by the Centre for Balkanological Research.

Later on, in 1966, this centre was integrated into the newly established Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ANU BIH). The key person in the foundation of this centre was Alojz Benac, who also became its Director (1966–1984), and proved to be the crucial figure in the post-war development of archaeology not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina but the entire Yugoslavia. His scholarly and managerial endeavours made Sarajevo again one of the major archaeological centres in the whole of Yugoslavia. Benac, with his associates, also devised the interdisciplinary programme of the Centre for Balkanological Research (Forić 2013, 9) – archaeology, ethnology, history, linguistics – and intended to attract top researchers from all over Yugoslavia, as well as to undertake major research projects at the national level. Even though the centre's scientific programme was very broad, archaeology was among the main research fields. Following some traditional concepts in balkanology, Benac proposed an archaeological programme that focused primarily on the 'Palaeobalkan' peoples (i.e. prehistoric archaeology), with Roman and medieval archaeology being secondary. The centre also took over the publication of the journal *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*. Its first issue appeared as early as 1954 as a publication of the Balkan Institute. This journal, and the periodical of the Provincial Museum, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, which already had a long tradition, represented two prominent archaeological periodicals from Bosnia and Herzegovina and scientific points of reference which were recognised internationally. Initially, the centre did not employ new associates, but its members worked in various institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other Yugoslav republics.[439]

According to Benac, the main research goal was "to identify all historical factors that affected the development of the early Balkan peoples and their integration into the later ethnic and national frames in this part of the Balkans" (Forić 2013, 9). The first projects of the centre were highly ambitious, such as the creation of a comprehensive collection of ancient sources on the Illyrians and their contemporaries; a complete collection of epigraphic monuments relevant for expanding the knowledge on the early Balkan peoples; an exhaustive bibliography of scientific works presenting studies of the early Balkan peoples; a systematic collection of archaeological materials necessary for determining boundaries between the territories occupied by these peoples; a systematic collection of later historical sources on these issues; and the formation of a thematic library (Forić 2013, 9).

The centre was not conceived as an exclusively Bosnian-Herzegovinian institution. Experts from Croatia (Duje Rendić-Miočević, Mate Suić, Radoslav Katičić), Serbia (Milutin Garašanin, Franjo Barišić), and Slovenia (Stane Gabrovec) took part in its establishment and they, along with their

439 The first full-time archaeological position in the Centre was opened in 1973, when Blagoje Govedarica was employed.

colleagues from Sarajevo (Borivoje Čović, Dimitrije Sergejevski, Esad Pašalić) became its first members. Thanks to the very intensive publishing and several important scientific symposia, in a relatively short time the centre became one of the most recognised Yugoslav archaeological institutions in Europe, whilst Sarajevo grew into one of the leaders of research in the prehistory of southeastern Europe.[440] The culmination of the centre's success and Alojz Benac' endeavours was the publication of *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja* (PJZ, *Prehistory of Yugoslav Countries*), which was released in five massive volumes between 1979 and 1987.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the first university was established in Sarajevo in 1949 by joining several already existing faculties – the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry (1940), Faculty of Medicine (1944), Faculty of Law, High School for Teachers, Institute of Biology (all established in 1946), and the Technical Faculty (1949).[441] The Faculty of Philosophy was established in 1950, and the history curriculum was launched in the same year. The Chair in Archaeology was created in 1957 through the appointment of Alojz Benac as the professor.[442] The Chair was primarily intended as a supplement to history studies and not for graduating in archaeology. A look at the archaeology syllabus reveals that ancient history prevailed, that is, historical-synthetic overviews of the development of cultures and peoples in later prehistory. There was no teaching of archaeological analytical methods, fieldwork methods and the like, or earlier prehistory. Since the University of Sarajevo did not educate graduates in archaeology, all professional archaeologists who worked in Bosnia and Herzegovina must have graduated from universities in the neighbouring republics (mostly in Belgrade and Zagreb, less frequently in Zadar or Ljubljana).

One should also not ignore the role of the Provincial Museum in the academic domain. If Benac's Centre for Balkanological Research took over the leading position in prehistoric archaeology, the museum's experts contributed necessary research about all archaeological periods. The peak of its activity was towards the end of the 1980s when it had some 15 archaeologists amongst the staff – the number corresponding to the total number of archaeologists employed in all of the other regional and local museums and regional offices of the heritage protection service.[443]

In the years before the break-up of Yugoslavia, the Provincial Museum, after more than three decades of work, completed a large project entitled the 'Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina' (*Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine*),[444] whose editor was B. Čović. The lexicon was composed of seven volumes and contained data on more than 7,000 archaeological sites and brief syntheses of specific archaeological periods. The preparation of the lexicon was extremely complex and demanded input from a large number of archaeologists across the entire country. At the time of its publication, the only similar gazetteer had been published in Slovenia, with some 3,000 sites (*Arheološka najdišča Slovenije*, 1975).[445]

To complete the chapter on Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 'second Yugoslav period' (1945–1991), it is also necessary to present some significant

440 By 1992 the Centre had published 50 publications (27 issues of *Godišnjak*, 7 monographs, 14 proceedings from scientific meetings and one compilation of bibliography on the Illyrians (see Bibliography in the *Pedeset godina CBI ANU BIH* 2013).

441 Prior to that period, during Austrian rule, only three higher educational institutions were established, the Catholic Theology School (1890), Orthodox Theology School (1892) and Shariat Law School (1887).

442 Besides A. Benac, teaching positions at the Department of Archaeology were also held by B. Čović (from 1973) and Enver Imamović (from 1976).

443 When all of the archaeological institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1980s are considered, two-thirds of all archaeologists in the country were employed in Sarajevo.

444 *Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine*, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo 1988.

445 In Serbia, there were two earlier publications (M. Grašanin, D. Garašanin 1951; 1953) but much less exhaustive and informative than the Slovene and Bosnian-Herzegovinian gazetteers.

scholars. Without doubt, it is the figure of Alojz Benac (1914–1992) who stands out the most. His professional biography (1946–1992) not only corresponds perfectly to this period but can also be considered as a 'condensed' recent history of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in a certain sense, also Yugoslavia. In fact, he made a great deal of this history. He was born in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the area of Derventa. In the early 1930s, he studied at the Franciscan Gymnasium in Visoko. One of his professors was Krunoslav Misilo, a Franciscan priest from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who graduated in archaeology in the 1930s from the University of Belgrade (Periša 2017, 237). Very probably, Benac, following the advice of Misilo, decided to study archaeology in Belgrade with M. Vasić, who at that time conducted extensive excavations at Vinča (Periša 2017, 248-249).[446] During his studies in Belgrade Benac had a small grant from the Franciscan Mission in the city, which he repaid with occasional help in Misilo's parish in Kraljevo, central Serbia. Benac graduated in 1937. His first jobs were in the Gymnasium in Vranje, southern Serbia (1939–1940), and then in the Gymnasium in Mostar (1940–1943). During the war, he was first mobilised into the Independent State of Croatia's army, but in 1943 joined the National Liberation Movement with whom he had secretly collaborated since 1941. In 1947 he became a curator for prehistory in the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, where he remained until 1967 when he moved to the University of Sarajevo and Academy (Centre for Balkanological Research). Benac received his PhD at the University of Ljubljana in 1951. He was a guest professor at the University of Zadar, Croatia (1962–1965) and the University of Münster, Germany.

Since the beginning of his professional career, two topics prevailed in his work – the Balkan Neolithic and Illyrians. Already in the 1950s, he started with some important works – the publication of his PhD dissertation (Benac 1952) based on his excavation at the sites of Mujevina and Nebo (1947–1949) and two catalogues of Glasinac finds co-authored with B. Čović (Benac and Čović 1956; 1957). In the following years, he launched several excavation campaigns, including the excavations of almost all major Neolithic and Eneolithic sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Obre I, Obre II, Kakanj, Lisičići, Arnautovići, Zecovi near Prijedor, Zelena pećina, Hrustovača cave, Pivnice near Odžak, and others) and Montenegro (Crvena Stijena).[447] In a decade or so, he achieved the status of one of the most influential prehistorians in the former Yugoslavia and became a principal driver of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Benac was able to set very high standards of research, which only increased after his transfer to the University of Sarajevo and Bosnian-Herzegovinian Academy of Arts and Sciences, where he took the directorship of the Centre for Balkanological Research. His vast bibliography (Škegro 1991) includes more than 190 works (22 monographs, 81 articles and 32 published papers from different symposia in Yugoslavia and abroad). Almost surprisingly, no excavations he directed were left unpublished. His career in Bosnia and Herzegovina is intertwined with his work on the development of archaeology on an all-Yugoslav level where, together with J. Korošec, M. Garašananin, M. Suić, D. Rendić-Miočević, he became one of the most influential archaeologists from the 1950s onwards.[448] He was engaged in all

446 Misilo graduated in archaeology in 1934 from the University of Belgrade. Another archaeologist who studied in high school with Misilo was Pavao Anđelić, who later worked in the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo (Periša 2017, 247).

447 For a complete bibliography of A. Benac for the period 1948 to 1975, see Škegro (1991).

448 Gabrovec (1992, 205–206), in his obituary to A. Benac, considered him "*undisputedly the leading figure in the Yugoslav archaeology*" and described him "*the only one who knew how to gather collaborators from culturally different backgrounds, from different scholarly traditions, schools, with different interests, desires and methods, to enthusiastically work for common plans. If, after the collapse of Yugoslavia, we will speak about archaeology in this area in the positive sense, then this is the merit of Benac." [Benac] entered in [Yugoslav archaeology] already at the first conference of the Yugoslav Archaeologists in Niška Banja in 1950. Who from the few still living participants of this meeting would not remember his sovereign appearance, which has immediately secured him the presidency of the society.*" (translation P. N.).

major projects coordinated at the federal level, such as the organisation of the VIII[th] UISPP Congress in Belgrade in 1971, inter-academia projects of site gazetteers, and the presentation of Yugoslav archaeology in foreign countries.

However, Benac's real *tour de force* was to come after his move to the Centre of Balkanological Research, where he conceived his major long-term project, 'illyriology' (Illyrian studies). Following the general concept of Balkanology – he considered Illyrian studies inevitable part of this – he developed the concept of an interdisciplinary approach combining archaeology, ancient history, ethnography, anthropology, philology and historical geography. The principal aim was to study the Illyrians' ethnogenesis and their culture in the broadest possible sense, not without references to the modern populations living in the Balkans. Benac considered the Illyrians the most critical 'palaeobalkan' people and their research the pivotal topic of the newly established Centre for Balkanological Research. For the promotion of his illyriology project, the most significant role played the three 'Illyrian' symposia, which he organised in 1964, 1966 and 1968.

The first one was the symposium on Illyrians' territorial and chronological delimitation in the prehistoric period (*Simpozijum* 1964). His ambition to engage the principal scholars from Yugoslavia in a broader European debate on Illyrians is also visible in the fact that proceedings were published bilingually, in Serbo-Croatian, and translated into German and French. The papers were not many, only six, but they were extensive key-note lectures given by all leading authorities in the Bronze and Iron Ages in Yugoslavia,[449] aimed at spurring the final discussion, which was also published (32 pages), a novelty in the archaeological publications in Yugoslavia.[450] In this symposium, Benac presented his programmatic paper on the archaeological study of Illyrians' ethnogenesis titled *Pre-Illyrians, Proto-Illyrians and Pre-Illyrians* (Benac 1964), which despite some criticism and differing opinions, soon gained the status of a 'steering' paper of illyriology. The symposium was by all measures a great success, especially in putting the Illyrians on top of the agenda of Yugoslav archaeology.

Two years later followed the second symposium in Sarajevo. This time it was dedicated to the Illyrians in the ancient period (*Simpozijum* 1967). It was organised similarly to the previous one, with nine keynote papers and discussion panels at the end of each day.[451] Again, all the papers were translated into foreign languages. Both discussion panels were also very lively, and were a continuation of the discussion from 1964 and its unresolved problems. Illyrians were simply much more than just an archaeological or academic question.[452] Discussions from both symposia are highly valuable evidence of Yugoslav archaeology's 'state of the art' at this time. Despite the discussants' contradictory views, no one questioned the relevance and priority of ethnogenetic studies in the research agenda. However, this being said, the participants also agreed

449 M. Garašanin from Belgrade, S. Gabrovec from Ljubljana, B. Čović, A. Benac and Z. Marić from Sarajevo, and R. Katičić, an expert in old Balkan languages from Zagreb, between 1977 and 1988 professor at the University of Vienna.

450 In the discussion participated the archaeologists and ancient historians Duje Rendić-Miočević, Mate Suić, Nikola Tasić, Draga Garašanin, Vojislav Trbuhović, Esad Pašalić, France Stare, but also the linguists and specialist for classical and early Indo-European languages, Idris Ajeti, albanologist from the University of Prishtina, Ivan Pudić, (University of Sarajevo), Milan Budimir (University of Belgrade), and Mihajlo Petruševski (University of Skopje).

451 The keynote speakers were Fanula Papazoglu, ancient history from the University of Belgrade, M. Suić, Ivica Degmedžić (Archaeological Museum Zagreb), E. Pašalić, D. Rendić-Miočević, and two foreign scholars, Giacomo Devoto, Italian philologist from Florence, and András Mócsy, an expert in ancient history from Budapest.

452 More will be said on the political aspects of Illyrians in the chapter on 'Yugoslav' archaeology. For more detailed analyses of both symposia and Benac's ideas on the Illyrian's ethnogenesis and the concept of Illyrian studies, see in Kaljanac 2014, 125–177).

that they disagreed about some key problems with conceptual apparatus and categories in ethnogenetic studies, and what constituted the Illyrians in the first place.

The first round of the 'Illyrian' symposia was concluded in 1968 with the symposium in Mostar dedicated to the pre-Slavic ethnic elements in the Balkans and South Slavs' ethnogenesis (*Simpozijum* 1969). The symposium's very title explicitly reveals the importance of the Illyrians and the debate about their continuity in historical periods. Indeed, continuity was the critical issue around which contrasting opinions were raised in the discussion, especially concerning modern Albanians' ethnogenesis. In Albania, the Illyrians were officially canonised as more or less direct ancestors of Albanians.[453] Although Benac did not give a paper this time, he contributed concluding remarks and participated in the discussion, stating that all three symposia had to be seen as one major discussion on the Illyrians, a topic central to Yugoslav archaeology.

Gabrovec (1992, 205) praised Benac for his 'organisational genius'. He considered the Illyrian symposia's most significant achievement was that the Yugoslav scholars took the leading role in researching the Illyrians, a research domain previously led by foreign researchers. The symposia, especially the first two, had quite a considerable echo within (central) European archaeology and catalysed numerous studies on the Illyrians in Yugoslav archaeology.

Benac organised another two Illyrian symposia in the 1970s, in 1974 in Mostar on fortified Illyrian settlements (Benac 1985), and a symposium on Illyrians' spiritual culture in 1982 in Herceg Novi, Montenegro (*Simpozijum* 1984). In this period, he continued publishing influential texts on Illyrians' ethnogenesis (e.g. Benac 1973b; 1977), which made him the top 'illyriologist' who dictated the direction of the field in the wider Balkan region.[454] Concerning his influence, one could hardly escape the feeling that Benac's Illyrian symposia and his extensive publishing on Illyrians also influenced the First Colloquium on Illyrian Studies in Tirana, Albania, in 1972. Judging from the proceedings (*Illiria* 1976), this meeting was quite international with participants from Italy, France, the UK, (West) Germany, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavs – A. Benac (Bosnia and Herzegovina), M. Garašanin, D, Garašanin (Serbia), M. Suić, D. Rendi-Miočević (Croatia), Ali Hadri, Zef Mirdita (Kosovo) – were not by chance the second largest group, after the Albanians. In a sense, there was too much at stake to leave Illyriology to the 'troublesome neighbours.'

Benac continued the 'illyriology' project in the 1980s, but another great project started to occupy him from the mid-1970s onwards – the synthesis of Yugoslavia's prehistory. The idea for such a synthesis was born following the successful presentation of Yugoslav archaeology at the 8th Congress of the UISPP in Belgrade in 1971. Benac was not just its most eager advocate, being an undisputed academic authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina and a high-ranked member of the Communist Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina he was also able to secure the necessary funds and logistics for a project of such magnitude. The synthesis was published in five volumes between 1979 and 1987. It contains more than 3500 pages of texts, along with some 450 tables of finds and maps. According to many archaeologists'

453 In Yugoslavia, the debate on the Illyrian ancestry of Albanians was closely connected with Kosovo, with its large Albanian population. This debate was not confined to the archaeological circles, but was also present in a much wider audience. It was the related political and ideological questions and agendas which dictated the pace and content of this debate. The principal archaeologists dealing with the Illyrians attempted, in general, to keep the debate within the frame of scientific discussion.

454 Benac was also well respected in Albania, where, due to very tense political relationships with Yugoslavia archaeologists from the latter were rarely published. Benac in 1972 published three papers (1972a; 1972b; 1972c) on the ethnogenesis of Illyrians. He also maintained good contacts with Muzafer Korkuti, the leading Albanian prehistorian, who followed Benac's ethnogenetic ideas about Illyrians.

opinions in Yugoslavia, Benac was the only person capable of putting forward such an enterprise – an "*excellent architect of fruitful community in its differences*", as Gabrovec (1992, 206) put it.[455]

It is also worth noting the contribution of some other scholars in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the first place, there was Borivoj Čović (1927–1995), an archaeologist of a similar profile to Benac, with whom he closely collaborated. He graduated in archaeology from Belgrade University in 1954 and received his PhD from the same university in 1965. In 1957 he became a prehistory curator at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, where he remained until his retirement in 1992. From 1973 onwards, he was also a professor at the University of Sarajevo. He succeeded Benac in the position of Director of the Centre for Balkanological Research in 1989.

Čović was, primarily, an expert on the Bronze and Iron Ages, and in the course of his career he published key studies on these two periods in the western Balkans (e.g. Čović 1964; 1976; 1983a, 1983b; 1986; 1987a, 1987b). Another highlight of his career was the publication of seven volumes of the '*Archaeological Lexicon* of Bosnia and Herzegovina' (*Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine*) in 1988. As the Director of the Provincial Museum, he coordinated the preparation of this work. Čović's great scientific achievements gained him membership of multiple domestic and international scientific organisations, such as the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and German Archaeological Society. Together, Čović and Benac shaped the form and content of prehistoric archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One could say they were complementary to each other. Benac, in his earlier career, took over the Neolithic period while Čović the Bronze and Iron Ages. Čović's major excavations included mostly hillfort sites (e.g. Velika Gradina near Varvara, Pod near Bugojno, Trostruka Gradina) and barrows in Glasinac. Together with Benac, he developed a chronology of the Glasinac cemeteries (Benac and Čović 1957; 1959), and, being a member of the Centre for Balkanological Research, he was also very much engaged in Illyrian studies (e.g. Čović 1976).

Benac and Čović were, by far, the most renowned and internationally recognised Bosnian-Herzegovinian scholars, but the credit for the outstanding development of post-war archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina should also go to some other scholars of the first post-war generation, such as Zdravko Marić, Đuro Basler, D. Sergejevski and Ivo Bojanovski, Veljko Paškvalin, Nada Miletić, Irma Čremošnik, and Pavao Anđelić, whose achievements may not have resonated so much on the international scene, but proved essential for the long-term development of archaeology and the capacities of archaeological institutions.

An important contribution to the 'Illyrian' school from Sarajevo was also made by Zdravko Marić (1930–2006). He was a Croat who graduated in archaeology from the University of Ljubljana in 1957, and obtained a PhD from the same in 1965. He worked in the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo between 1957 and 1981 when he became the Director of the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, Croatia. In 1959 he made his specialisation at the University of Vienna, mentored by Richard Pittioni. His primary research projects included the sites at Donja Dolina and Vis near Modran. He also directed two American-Yugoslav preventive archaeological projects in 1967–1968 during the artificial lake construction near Trebinje. His numerous campaigns at Ošanići between 1963 and 1981 brought important information on this

455 For his scientific achievements, A. Benac was awarded membership of several national and international scholarly societies, e.g. the Permanent Committee of the UISPP, member of all national academies in Yugoslavia, member of the German Archaeological Institute, and the Italian Society for Pre- and Protohistory, to list a few. In Yugoslavia, he was decorated with some of the highest orders and awards, such as the AVNOJ Award (1976) and Order for Merits for Nation with Golden Star (1970), and in Italy the *Al merito della Repubblica Italiana* (1979). He was also a member of the Assembly (Parliament) of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

'capital' of (Illyrian) Daorsi princedom in the Late Iron Age.[456] Concerning the 'Illyrian' debate, Marić contributed some interesting alternatives to Benac's leading theory (Marić 1964).

Ivo Bojanovski (1915–1993) stands out in the domain of Roman archaeology. He graduated from classical philology, archaeology and ancient history at the University of Zagreb, where he also received his PhD in 1971. He moved to Sarajevo in 1954 to accept the post of professor at the Gymnasium. In 1960 he moved to the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he stayed until his retirement in 1980. The nature of his professional work required research and restoration works of numerous sites rather than academic research. However, his principal legacy is represented by two extremely influential monographs, on the Roman roads in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bojanovski 1974) and a synthesis of the Roman period of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bojanovski 1988). Both monographs revealed Bojanovski as one of the leading authorities on Roman topography, history and administrative organisation of the Roman provinces, and the western Balkans' epigraphy.

Đuro Basler (1917–1990) also deserves a few words for some of his pioneering works. He graduated from archaeology at the University of Zagreb in 1956, and received his PhD in 1981 at the Faculty of Philosophy, Zadar. Between 1950 and 1960, Basler worked at the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo. In 1960, he moved to the Provincial Museum, where he stayed until his retirement in 1983. His most important and pioneering contribution to archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina was in the field of Palaeolithic studies, which he commenced after moving to the museum. Before his topographic campaigns and test excavations in the late 1950s and 1960s in northern Bosnia, there were no known Palaeolithic sites in this country. In 1963 Basler published the first overview of the Palaeolithic period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which included data from 14 Mousterian and Aurignacian sites. In 1979, within the frame of the *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*, he contributed his next synthesis on the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Basler 1979). Basler's next field of interest was late Roman/Early Cristian and medieval archaeology. He also left highly respected works on architecture (e.g. Basler 1972; *Arhitektura kasnoantičkog doba u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1972).

The high reputation of archaeological research and practice, and the sites of international significance in Bosnia and Herzegovina, of which many had been known from the time of Austrian rule, were also progressively recognised by the international archaeological community that, from the mid-1960s, increased its presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The country's archaeological potential was particularly attractive to American institutions. In the period 1967–1969, joint investigations of the Neolithic sites in Obre were conducted with the archaeological team from the UCLA, California, led by Maria Gimbutas. A project in preventive archaeology was carried out together with the Smithsonian Institution and Stanford University in 1967–1968.[457] Between 1986 and 1988, the University of Michigan and the Provincial Museum had a joint project at the Palaeolithic site of Badanj. French

456 Less known is the fact that Marić also directed interdisciplinary research (1964–1965) on the mass execution fields of Jasenovac, the largest Second World War concentration camp in Yugoslavia (Dautović and Lalević 2008).

457 The American team leader was Wayne S. Vucinich (1913–2005), born in the USA in an immigrant family from Bosnia and Herzegovina. He graduated and did his PhD at the University of California, Berkley, in 1941. During his career at the University of Stanford, where he worked until 1981, Vucinich gained a reputation as a father of Eastern European Studies in the USA. Vucinich was quite familiar with the region of Bileća, where archaeologists faced the 'Asuan problem' during the construction of the artificial lake. At a very young age, after his parents' death, his uncle took him and his siblings to the village near Bileća, where he lived in a very traditional peasant family. At the age of 15, he went back to the USA. (Trei, 2005).

archaeological schools also showed interest in Palaeolithic studies, so a joint project was realised in the early 1990s on Palaeolithic art with the Musee d'Homme in Paris and the Institute for Quaternary Archaeology in Bordeaux. There were also numerous individual visits of foreign scholars, especially since the late 1960s when Yugoslavia introduced a very liberal travelling regime for foreigners.

With regard to its conceptual development, archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina was well integrated with other national archaeological schools in former Yugoslavia. The fundamental approach in the second half of the 20th century was cultural history. Within this framework, prehistoric archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina became focused on the study of the Illyrians and their ethnogenesis. Already at the first post-war archaeological meeting in Niška Banja in 1950 (Korošec 1950), this topic was placed at the top of the Yugoslav archaeological agenda. The 'Illyrian question' has a very long history in Yugoslavia's archaeology, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where it is still important today. This is reflected in the long existence of the term illyrology, which was also the title of master's studies at the University of Sarajevo. As we have shown, Benac formulated its main conceptual framework and, to no small degree, put illyriology into practice in research.[458]

In other domains, archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina followed the general trends that developed in continental Europe. The study of the Neolithic period was considered part of the regional research on the Neolithic in southeastern Europe and, for interpretation, it relied on a standard set of tools (i.e. theories of migration for explaining Neolithisation; forms of pottery and ornaments for distinguishing regional groups (i.e. cultures); detailed chronological analysis; 'historical' interpretation of social processes; intercultural comparisons, etc.). The archaeology of the Roman provinces also had a long tradition of using the research results of epigraphy, numismatics, architectural analysis, and historical sources, which facilitated understanding of the main processes and structures of the Roman period. All these lines of evidence were also crucial for studying the critical issues of the ethnic structure of Bosnia, and the western Balkans in general, in Roman times. Slavic archaeology, which developed gradually after the Second World War, pursued the general Yugoslav trends of development in this field, similar to in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia.

However, in the medieval studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina, archaeology of the Ottoman period was very much absent as a special subject, although it could have been one of the strengths of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina compared to other areas of research. Strangely enough, in the academic domain in general, studies of the history, languages and culture of the Ottoman period were common. Still, in archaeology work on the Ottomans was largely limited to preventive archaeology and conservation of the Ottoman heritage, e.g. religious and profane architecture, small objects, and art. Why was this so? There are probably many reasons. Some may have had an ideological background, others not. As we have seen, medieval archaeology was already relatively well developed in the Austrian period, but focused more on the pre-Ottoman era (e.g. stećaks, medieval churches and monasteries, palaces and castles of the medieval Bosnian kings and princes). Such a focus of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina largely continued after 1918, with history and art history remaining the traditional disciplines for researching the Ottoman culture. Archaeology was left somewhat marginalised in this field and never developed its own 'Ottoman' specialisation. However, this situation was not only found in archaeology in Bosnia

458 A detailed presentation and discussion of A. Benac's Illyrian project are beyond this work's scope and are, therefore, not included here. Instead, the PhD thesis of Adnan Kaljanc (2012) is suggested as a reference, more specifically chapter 1.2, in which he comments on ethnogenetic studies in Yugoslavian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian archaeology.

and Herzegovina, but also be seen in North Macedonia and Serbia.

This also contributed to the traditional understanding of the chronological delineation between archaeology and history. The period of the final stabilisation of Slavic settlement was considered the final period studied by archaeology. Later periods were mostly considered historical or mixed historical-archaeological research problems, where archaeology was frequently treated as an 'auxiliary' discipline. It is only over the last two decades that the High Middle Ages' archaeology has advanced rapidly. This, undoubtedly, had some bearing on Ottoman archaeology's delayed appearance as a specialised field of archaeology, which even until today has not put down roots in all the countries of the Balkans. At this point, a discussion about the possible political aspects of this issue could also be opened. The Muslim nation (as the chief heir of the Ottoman culture in the region) was recognised as a constituent Yugoslav nation in the late 1960s, when it also intensified developing their own (Muslim/Bosniak) cultural institutions.

Archaeology in the conditions of post-war renewal (2000–)

Of all the states directly and indirectly involved in the wars during the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina suffered the most significant damage in all respects. Concerning cultural heritage alone, thousands of cultural and historical monuments (mainly of religious nature) were deliberately destroyed. Some of the institutions pivotal for the development of science and culture were significantly damaged, such as the National and University Library in the Sarajevo City Hall, which lost more than two million books and archive records! For archaeology, the most significant damage was the collapse of the discipline's whole infrastructure and public service. Many organisations were left without personnel, financial support, legally regulated status, and other essential resources. Since I do not intend to discuss the broader political consequences, implications and views with regard to today's state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, my attention is directed towards the aspects that had, or still have, significant influence on archaeology and its practice. Without going into detailed explanations, one general observation is evident, that in the period from 1991 to 2005 the archaeological discipline, its practice and profession experienced an almost catastrophic plummet in virtually all fields of activity. In recent years, some progress has been made thanks to which the situation has improved somewhat. The damage inflicted upon the cultural heritage was described in several other places to which we refer the readers.[459] During the war, most archaeological institutions stopped functioning or reduced their work to a few elementary activities. Many experts left their positions because their institutions stopped working, or they themselves quit. No one expected that scientific or cultural activities could be organised during the war (1992–1996), but this 'hiatus', in the case of archaeology, continued for a decade or so in the post-war period.

The war formally ended when the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed in November 1995, which largely decentralised the country and almost completely removed any central government structure in Bosnia and Herzegovina, except for the institutions responsible for foreign affairs, defence, military and general financial affairs. Culture, education, science and

459 *Ratno razaranje kulturnog nasljeđa u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini* presented by the Committee for Culture and Education. *Informativni izvještaj*, report by Mr Jacques Baumel, France, RPR, Doc 6756, 2 February 1993; *Izvještaj o stanju arhitektonskog i arheološkog nasljeđa. Radni dokument.* Regionalni program kulturnog i prirodnog nasljeđa za Jugoistočnu Evropu. Plan projekta integrisane rehabilitacije/Procjena arhitektonskog i arheološkog nasljeđa (IRPP/SAAH) (web page of the Commission of BaH for the Protection of the National Monuments: http://kons.gov.ba/main.php?mod=vijesti&extra=aktuelnost&action=view&id_vijesti=667&lang=1).

similar domains were moved under the jurisdiction of ethnically based entities (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska), or even cantonal administrations. This kind of division and fragmentation (see the historical overview at the beginning of this chapter) had direct consequences for most public services in culture, science and education, including professional archaeology. The previously strong centres, such as the Provincial Museum, research centres at the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, had to limit their 'jurisdiction' to administrative units around Sarajevo and were reduced to entity-level institutions. In some cases, their status (and thus the source of funding) has not yet been determined. This remains the subject of sharp political debates in Bosnia and Herzegovina (e.g. with regard to the Provincial Museum).

Another circumstance which was detrimental for archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina relates to the archaeologists themselves. The generation of pioneers and leading experts that worked in the period between 1945 and 1990, such as A. Benac, B. Čović, Z. Marić, D. Basler, V. Paškvalin, and N. Miletić, died or retired in the early 1990s. Further, some key scholars from the Centre for Balkanological Research, Provincial Museum and Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage continued their careers in other countries (e.g. Blagoje Govedarica, Brunislav Marijanović, Boško Marijan, Zdenko Žeravica). In regional and local institutions (for example, in Bihać and Tuzla), the older generation also departed or retired. Concerning active archaeological scholars, the situation between 1996 and 2006 was quite lamentable; archaeology in all of its domains of practice was reduced to maybe a dozen active professionals and an enfeebled service to protect cultural heritage (in both entities). Besides the thousands of cultural heritage objects that were destroyed during the civil war, another catastrophic situation still hinders a great deal of archaeological fieldwork – over one million land mines that were placed all over Bosnia and Herzegovina.[460]

The archaeological profession's reconstruction is still constrained by the limited funds and administrative fragmentation of the country. It is evident that it will take some time before archaeological practice reaches the level at which it was in the 1980s in terms of the number of professional personnel, funds and quality of professional work. However, one thing is almost certain – even after its full recovery, archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina will not be the same as archaeology before the 1990s. The state's structure has changed radically, and this inevitably affects how archaeology is organised and institutionalised; it influences its research agendas and its status in public. It is fair to say that, as in many cultural and social domains in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we are also witnessing the disintegrating trends and formation of two 'national' archaeologies, or national disciplinary frameworks which correspond to the two principal entities in the country.

With the creation of national entities (the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska), Sarajevo *de facto* stopped being the country's common political, economic, cultural and scientific centre. The Republic of Srpska introduced a highly centralised type of governing whereas in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina ten relatively autonomous regional units (cantons) were established. The cantonal authorities were given relatively wide-ranging powers in culture, education, urban planning, etc. In the Federation, such administrative division and organisation have been extremely unfavourable for many public establishments and services. It

460 By 2005, the Mine Action Centre in Bosnia and Herzegovina had recorded 18,000 minefields; it is estimated that there are 1.2 million landmines and unexploded pieces of ammunition in the country (Fitzgerald 2007). The *Landmine Impact Survey* conducted by Handicap International France reported in 2005 that more than 45% of local communities in the country had, to varying degrees, a problem with land mines (http://www.sac-na.org/pdf_text/bosnia/BiH_FinalReport.pdf).

was undoubtedly disadvantageous for archaeology because it places significant barriers to the formation of larger centres due to fewer financial resources, mostly limited to regional funding,[461] and requires complicated inter-cantonal and inter-entity cooperation. There is also a problem of 'jurisdiction' – it rarely happens that an institution from one entity could work in another. At present, the fragmentation of the archaeological institutional landscape in Bosnia and Herzegovina is such that some large projects (e.g. the '*Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina*', or extensive excavations such as the one at Glasinac) are simply unrealisable. Transformation of the former hierarchical structure with the Provincial Museum and Centre for Balkanological Research and central Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, institutions which in the past developed strategic plans, into the present fragmented situation has resulted in the disappearance of pivotal institutions that could have restored the system upon the basis on which it rested before the war. To a minor extent, this may be possible in the Republic of Srpska in Banja Luka, but due to the lack of resources and archaeologists, the level of work done in this regard is still modest.

There is, however, one significant exception – the Bosnia and Herzegovina Commission to Preserve National Monuments. This commission is an entirely new institution established on the basis of the Dayton Peace Agreement and officially founded through the Decision of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 21 December 2001.[462] The reasons for establishing such a commission were obvious: the damage inflicted to the cultural monuments and the need for their adequate legal and administrative protection in the conditions of the new state. Unlike other public bodies and institutions, the Commission for the Preservation of National Monuments is responsible for the entire territory of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Commission's main body consists of five members: three domestic (two from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one from the Republic of Srpska) and two foreign commissioners. The Commission decides which monuments will be listed on the national list and will be protected accordingly. For this purpose, the Commission is assisted by a team of associates and external experts, whose task is to prepare expert background and proposals that the Commission decides upon by vote. To date, there have not been any archaeologists among the Commission members (but there have been some among the expert team members that assist the Commission).

Nevertheless, due attention has been paid to archaeology and archaeological sites. Around 100 of the most important sites have been placed on the list of national monuments. Almost half of these are medieval cemeteries, predominantly those with stećaks. Although the Commission's primary responsibility is the administrative aspect of heritage protection, its influence is also visible in the practical protection and preventive measures in the field. This is not so much evident in the fieldwork itself, but in developing quality standards and good practices in the protection of cultural heritage. It should be kept in mind that virtually all regional and local heritage protection services were significantly weakened, and their role in spatial planning was minimal. Given the large-scale construction projects as part of the country's rebuilding, this situation has led to the massive destruction of archaeological sites and inadequate conditions for protective research. Naturally, in conditions of minimal financial support, very few experts, and insufficient material infrastructure, the results of preventive archaeology are still modest when assessed according to international standards. However, one must not ignore the conditions in which the Commission started its work and its results over the last

461 For example, the universities in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina are cantonal institutions. Their legal founders are cantons and not entities or state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which are all financially very weak.

462 Predsjedništvo Bosne i Hercegovine; Odluka o komisiji za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika (http://kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=2&lang=1).

decade. International scholarly organisations also noticed the significant achievements of the Commission. Thus, in 2010, the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage, organised by Europa Nostra, was presented to the Commission for its outstanding commitment.[463]

The institutions in Banja Luka took up the central role in the Republic of Srpska; former regional institutions were transformed into institutions with the entitic/national status. This applies primarily to the former Museum of Bosanska Krajina that became the Museum of the Republika Srpska, the major archaeological centre in this entity. At present, the museum employs some four or five archaeologists.

A similar 'promotion' can be seen in the case of the former Municipal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in Banja Luka (founded in 1976), which, in 1995, became the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage. Its central office is in Banja Luka, and there are two regional branches, in Pale, near Sarajevo and Trebinje in southeastern Herzegovina. However, the staff is minimal at this institute, with three or four archaeologists for the whole entity, which encompasses nearly half of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Local museums are thus often asked to assist to mitigate the lack of experts in protecting archaeological heritage.

In principle, the old network of local museums in the Republic of Srpska is still there. The museums exist in Prijedor, Gradiška (former Bosanska Gradiška), Bijeljina, Doboj, Trebinje and Novi Grad (former Bosanski Novi), but their archaeological capacities are very modest. They usually employ one archaeologist only, who has to take care of the archaeological collection and occasionally conduct some small-scale research in the field.

The Republic of Srpska's academic archaeology is still at a much lower level than in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is limited to a few staff members of the Museum of the Republic of Srpska and some more ambitious archaeologists from the local museums. It is only recently that more elaborate research programmes and projects were launched, along with the arrival of foreign research teams. At the newly established Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Banja Luka (1994), there are only a few introductory courses in archaeology in the history curriculum, and it is not possible to graduate in archaeology. Moreover, much of the teaching of the 'archaeological' subjects is done by guest professors from Serbia. However, recently archaeology was given some more space at the University of East Sarajevo, where the new combined BA curriculum in history and archaeology was introduced in 2019. Experts from Serbia assist the local teaching staff.

The situation in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is much more complicated. There, at the federal entity level, there is only one entity institution, the Institute for the Protection of Monuments, as a part of the Ministry of Culture and Sports. All other archaeological institutions are officially established by the individual cantons or municipalities, universities included. Paradoxically, former national institutions (e.g. Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, National Gallery, Museum of Modern History) were excluded from this system and still exist in a legal vacuum; they were left without their official founders, and their legal status is still not resolved. The problem is, in the first place, political.

Until 1991, the Provincial Museum had the status of the national (republican) museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Museé de la Republique socialiste de Bosnie-Herzegovine a Sarajevo*).[464] In 1992 its

463 The Commission was also nominated for the 2010 European Heritage Prize, offered by the EAA – European Association of Archaeologists (see the nomination in Novaković 2010). However, according to the EAA statutory compliance, the award cannot be presented to state bodies; hence, the prize could not be awarded to the Commission despite the unanimous decision of EAA members.

464 In my first text in English (Novaković 2011), I used the term 'National Museum' following the English title on

title in French changed to *Musée national de Bosnie-Herzegovine a Sarajevo*). It should be pointed out that the museum is not officially the national museum of the actual state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The founder of national institutions would typically be the state government. However, according to the state's Dayton-based division into two entities, culture, science, and education became the entitic prerogatives. In this sense, the former Museum of Bosanska Krajina in Banja Luka became a Museum of the Republic of Srpska, hence the national museum in this entity. On the other hand, this did not happen with the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo. The Republic of Srpska opposes this museum's recognition as an 'all-state' (i.e. national) museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not want to accept it as an entity museum only. The museum still exists without its official founder and has no systematic funding from the public budgets, and this unresolved status and lack of funding caused the museum to be closed between 2012 and 2015. This issue is still unresolved, and the museum is funded mainly from donations and *ad hoc* grants.

In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the cantonal level, museums operate in seven cantons out of ten (the Municipal Museum of Sarajevo, Museum of the Una–Sana Canton in Bihać, Museum of Herzegovina in Mostar, Museum of East Bosnia in Tuzla, Municipal Museum in Zenica, and Museum in Goražde, which was established in 2016), whilst there are still no public museums in Canton 10,[465] the West Herzegovina Canton and the Posavina Canton. At the local levels, new museums were established in Tešanj (2009) and Kakanj (2015). New archaeological collections as parts of local cultural centres were founded in Novi Travnik (2004) and Gradačac (2017). Today, in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are eleven museums and two collections. If we add some twenty archaeological collections kept at the Franciscan monasteries, the situation seems improved, and although not all institutions have professional archaeologists yet, the potential is there. In the Republic of Srpska, the situation with museums is quite similar, with 11 museums and one archaeological collection in total. After 1996 only one new museum was established – the Archaeological Museum Skelani-Srebrenica in 2010. Most recently, in 2017, a museum was also established in the District of Brčko.[466]

The situation with the public service for heritage protection was the least improved in the whole country. Once a stable system with the national or central Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and his regional branches was transformed into two different autonomous entitic systems, each acting according to the entitic legislation. There is no formal connection between these two entitic systems of protecting cultural heritage, nor with the coordinating body at an all-state level. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the central institution is the Federal Institute within the entitic Ministry of Culture; cantonal institutes exist in Sarajevo, Tuzla and Mostar cantons from before 1991, but, except in Mostar, there are no archaeologists there. It is worth noting that the institutes at Sarajevo, Tuzla and Mostar are not branches of the Federal Institute or in any way directly subordinated to it. They are part of the cantonal governments. So, technically speaking, there are only two or three archaeologists from the Federal Institute in

the museum's official web page and English translation of the museum's journal. However, in Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian language(s) the museum kept its traditional name, '*Zemaljski muzej*" (meaning Provincial Museum). It never used the attribute 'National' in any of the languages spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina. To avoid confusion with different names for the same institution, I have since decided to keep its traditional name in foreign languages as well.

465 The name of this canton is also disputed. The cantonal government uses the name Herzeg-Bosnian Canton (*Hercegbosanska Županija*). In contrast, this name has not been accepted at the state level due to its negative connotations during the 1992–1995 war. Instead, a neutral name of Canton 10 is used. In this canton, a museum belongs to the Franciscan monastery, and for this reason I did not count it as public.

466 Concerning the present state of the art of museums and galleries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see Leka (2017).

charge of protection and research of endangered archaeological sites in the whole entity (half of the country), which is at least 60–70% fewer staff compared to the pre-war period.

Not much better is the situation in the Republic of Srpska, where the central institution is the entitic Institute for the Protection of Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage at Banja Luka (with branches in Pale and Trebinje). With regard to the number of archaeologists working for the institute, the situation is similar to in the Federation, maybe three or four archaeologists in total. Due to this entity's very peculiar geographic shape, one would expect at least one or two additional branches, for example, in Doboj and Bijeljina. In fact, the only way to provide more effective protection of archaeological sites is to engage local museums. The District of Brčko does not have its own institute for the protection of cultural heritage, and so the Federal Institute from Sarajevo performs these tasks.

The present state of preventive archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina is still far from satisfactory, starting with outdated and varied legislation in entities and cantons and not much political will to improve it.[467] All the listed heritage protection institutions face similar problems: considerable difficulties with financing their obligatory programmes, lack of archaeological positions, poor material infrastructure, and, what also needs to be stressed, frequent disregard by the authorities on all levels. Needless to say that this has resulted in minimising the powers of the heritage protection service and archaeology in general.[468]

Significant changes in archaeology in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina have also taken place in the academic sector. The two traditionally strongest academic institutions in the country, the Centre for Balkanological Research and Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, faced tough times in the last two decades and almost wholly abandoned academic research. Due to the shortage of funds and changes in staffing, the Centre for Balkanological Research, previously one of the most respected and internationally renowned institutions, has come very close to cancelling its archaeological work altogether. With Alojz Benac's death in 1992 and the departure of Blagoje Govedarica to Germany in the mid-1990s, the centre was left without archaeologists until 2005. Eventually, a young associate was hired for the position of a research assistant. The centre's presence in archaeology effectively shrunk to the publication of its annals (*Godišnjak*), edited by B. Govedarica. The journal was not published between 1992 and 1997, and only after 2005 was the centre able to secure its regular annual issues. Concerning publications, even greater problems occured at the Provincial Museum with its journal *Glasnik*. In the period between 1992 and 2019, only nine issues were published.

Changes that are much more positive took place in the area of university studies in archaeology. It was already mentioned that none of the universities in Bosnia and Herzegovina offered a degree in archaeology until the late 2000s. The students who would attend archaeology lectures at the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo could follow some introductory courses in archaeology and ancient history and graduate with a history degree. All the professional archaeologists in Bosnia and Herzegovina thus graduated mostly in Zagreb or Belgrade. After the most recent war, the renewal of archaeology was not possible and sustainable without educating archaeologists

467 Among the most absurd things in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina's legislation is financial sanctioning in Yugoslav Dinars (Hadžihasanović and Kaljanac 2016, 296), a currency which has no existed since 1992.

468 For more information on the general state of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see the report by Andrew Lawler, an associate member of the project *Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe*. He produced a more detailed overview of institutions and archaeological workplaces in this country in the period from 2008 to 2014 (Lawler 2010; 2014a; 2014b). For more on the state of preventive archaeology, see in Hadžihasanović and Kaljanac (2016).

within the country. Some initiatives for establishing an archaeological curriculum at the University of Sarajevo had appeared already in the 1970s and 1980s, and why these were not successful is still to be researched, since the academic authority and political influence of Alojz Benac were strong enough to establish a proper archaeological curriculum. Still, we do not want to speculate further as to why this did not happen. Ultimately, the first curricula in archaeology were established in the late 2000s at the University of Mostar (2006) and the University of Sarajevo (2009).[469] The establishment of these two curricula so close together in time was not synchronised and coordinated, but more an outcome of the competing Bosniak and Croatian politics within the same entity.

In 2006, the combined BA studies of archaeology and history of art were inaugurated at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Mostar. A few years later, the first programme was replaced by the single BA and MA curricula in archaeology. All the archaeological curricula in Mostar were designed following a model based on the archaeology curriculum at the University of Zadar, Croatia, and almost entirely taught by the University of Zadar staff. There were simply no local professors available, and only very recently have some five or six junior local archaeologists been hired as teaching assistants.[470] The archaeology studies in Mostar have been beset by severe problems, mostly because of the lack of adequate student library facilities and domestic experts. However, in the last five years it seems that they have made considerable improvements, although the long-term sustainability of the archaeological curricula and their prospects are still not fully secured.

A comprehensive teaching programme in archaeology was, for the first time, initiated at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Sarajevo in 2009/2010. There, a Chair in archaeology had existed since 1954, when Benac was appointed as the first professor. But this was only one of the chairs at the Department of History, and all graduates were historians. The proper archaeological programme, introduced in 2009, was conceived as a single-subject group with studies organised in two stages (three-year BA and two-year MA curricula). Compared to Mostar, Sarajevo had much better infrastructural potential but was also lacking competent scholars. Important support was provided by two large 'archaeology libraries' housed by the Provincial Museum and the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which could meet the studies' needs. One of the most important scholars for establishing archaeology studies at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo is Enver Imamović, a professor of ancient history who has worked at the Faculty of Philosophy since 1977. He also performed other important public services, of which the position of the Director of the Provincial Museum during the war should be emphasised. The beginnings of archaeological studies in Sarajevo were modest. At the onset, the teaching programme was only possible with visiting professors from universities in Slovenia and Croatia (Koper, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Osijek). The situation, however, started to improve thanks to the arrival of new, younger, domestic assistant docents.

A significant incentive to develop such studies came from the international project BIHERIT (2012-2014), aimed at assisting the curricular reforms in heritage sciences at the universities

469 I have already mentioned that in the Republic of Srpska the first combined curriculum in history and archaeology was established in 2019 at the University of East Sarajevo, at Pale.

470 In 2005, the Faculty of Education of the University of Mostar was transformed into the Faculty of Philosophy. A similar change happened at universities in Tuzla, Banja Luka and Bihać. The new faculties of philosophy had great difficulties securing a sufficient number of qualified teaching staff, so they often employed visiting professors from Croatia, Serbia and other countries from the region. Moreover, Croatia supplied considerable financial and material help to the Croatian community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and secured significant funds for teaching at the University of Mostar, where professors from Zagreb, Zadar, Split, and so on acted as guest teachers in many subjects.

in Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Tuzla. Within its scope, particular attention was paid to the modernisation of the MA curriculum in archaeology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo. Another essential aim of the project was to create a basis for new personnel and facilities for permanent and sustainable teaching of archaeology, including new staff's education, acquisition of equipment and study literature, printing textbooks, etc.[471] The two archaeological curricula (in Mostar and Sarajevo) have already produced the first generation of domestic graduates, and some of them have already been appointed to archaeological positions in local museums and other institutions. This, undoubtedly, represents a considerable step forward and a solid basis for the future development of the archaeological discipline and its services in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

One of the BIHERIT project's key outcomes was the establishment of the research-oriented Institute of Archaeology at the University of Sarajevo in 2013. Since then, the institute has proved essential in undertaking large preventive projects across the country and developing modern archaeological research standards. The prospects for the Department of Archaeology's long-term sustainability seem to be very promising.[472] A very positive trend can be seen in students from the Republic of Srpska and Croatian cantons who enrol in BA and MA studies in archaeology at the University of Sarajevo.

Generally speaking, the post-war renewal of archaeology is still underway in the entire Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has not yet been completed, and it is still not at the level of the 1980s. There is still developmental lag, especially concerning the institutional infrastructure and number of professionals. The renewal process is rendered even more difficult because, as in the rest of the world, both archaeology and its social role have changed in many respects over this period. According to the most recent research on the state of archaeological practice in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Lawler 2014), the number of personnel and institutions operating in the field of archaeology has almost reached the pre-war level. However, the main difference is in the quality and financial possibilities of professional archaeology. One can hardly expect the projects of similar scope and expertise as was the Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The main reason is not that some domestic experts would not be capable of conducting such projects, but there is no national or local funding for enterprises that would require the efforts of many institutions.

471 The BIHERIT project (*Curricular Reform of Heritage Sciences in Bosnia and Herzegovina*) was part of the European Union's TEMPUS programme. The partners in this programme were three domestic universities (Sarajevo, Tuzla, Banja Luka), five foreign universities (Ljubljana, the University of Primorska from Koper, Vienna, Berlin and Cambridge) and two local museums, the Regional Museum of Travnik and Museum of Kozara in Prijedor.

472 The Chair in Archaeology is currently in the process of transformation into the Department of Archaeology.

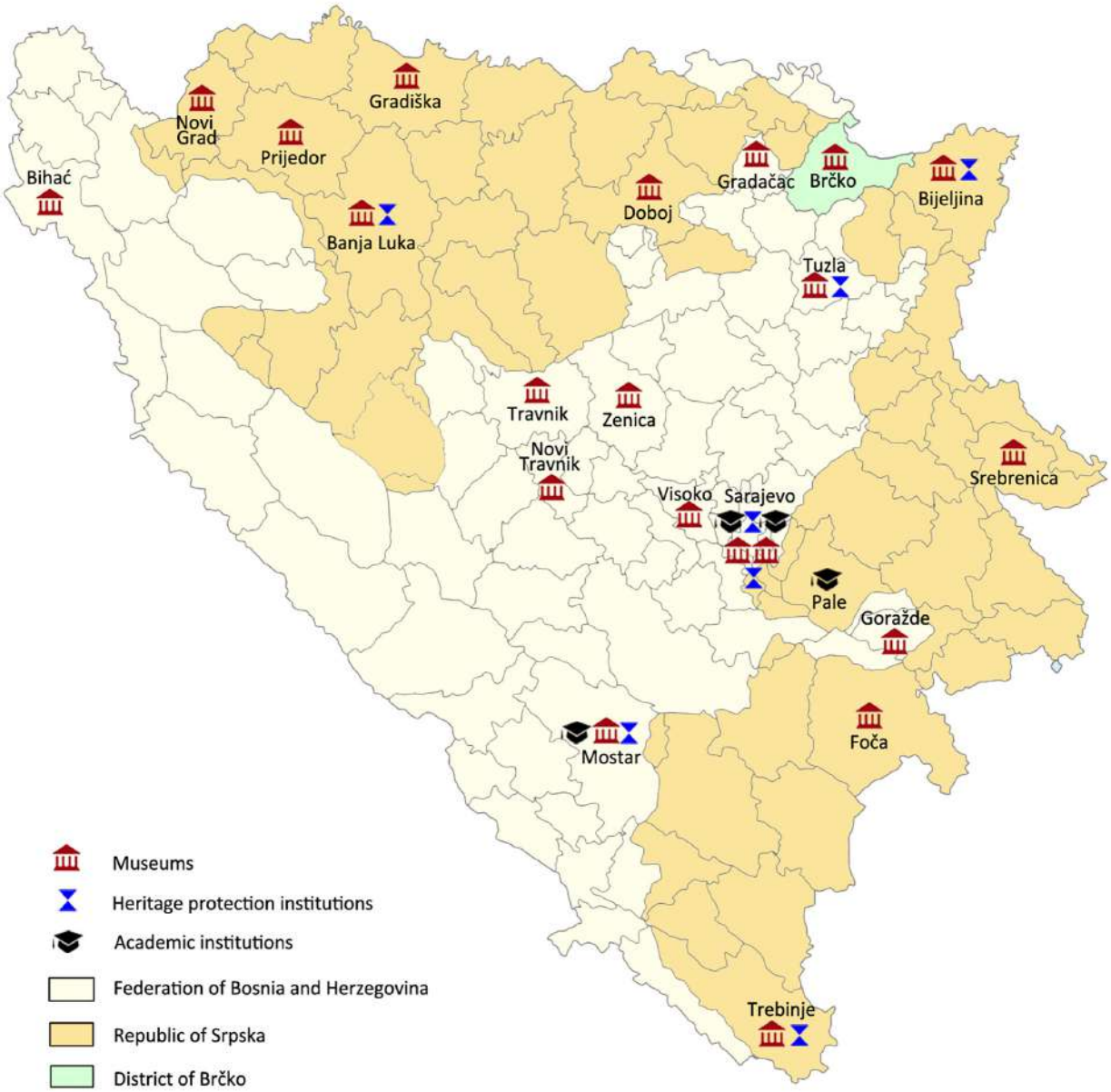


Fig. 113 Archaeological institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At present, we consider the most critical domain of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina preventive archaeology. Although there is no precise data on funding of preventive archaeology in Slovenia and Croatia, which today constitutes by far the largest portion of archaeological research (more than 95% of all such research), we have estimated that these funds in the two countries today amount to a sum that is at least fifty times higher than the funds available for preventive archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is precisely here, in the upgrading of preventive archaeology, that the most significant strategic and developmental potential lies, and the responsibility of the new generation of archaeologists in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this respect, the recent case of collaboration with the Slovene institutions and enterprises in a large scale project of

assessing the wider Butmir area's archaeological potential (Kaljanac et al. 2016) could provide an efficient model for the transfer of good practices in preventive archaeology.

Concluding remarks on archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina

If anywhere in Europe archaeology so closely shared its country's destiny, then this is the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Indeed, this discipline's cultural history reveals all the major events and transformations this country and its peoples went through over the last two centuries. Since 1878, at almost regular intervals of 30 to 40 years, the country went through radical political and social changes closely mirrored by changes in science and culture. What makes Bosnia and Herzegovina different from many European countries is its strong Ottoman and Muslim tradition and the relative majority of the Muslim or Bosniak population in its demography. The introduction of archaeology was an Austrian colonial project used for the imperial attempts at conquering, including culturally, the territories of the retreating Turkey. This 'archaeological' colonisation was a very successful project that survived the 'colonisers'. Despite the considerable stagnation between 1918 and 1945, during the 'First Yugoslavia', the Austrian tradition and infrastructure proved instrumental in the renewal of archaeology after the Second World War in a new social and political context. Moreover, in the period between 1945 and 1991, archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina reached a second great peak and great international recognition, even more so than during the Austrian era.

The developmental trajectories in archaeology between 1918 and 1991 show clear periods of growth and decline, where growth corresponded to the periods when Bosnia and Herzegovina was an integrated territorial and administrative entity (i.e. province or republic), and decline to the country's disintegration into smaller autonomous units. However, while fragmentation of the country greatly affected the major pre-war institutions, new local centres started to slowly gain ground. This was a logical consequence of dividing the country into entities and cantons that required their own institutions, but also the result of the genuine endeavours of some younger scholars who wanted to overcome the conditions that have hindered the development of the archaeological discipline and practice in recent decades.

Images

Fig. 114 Ami Boué (1794–1881), French naturalists, conducted several journeys to Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1830s during which he recorded historical monuments. (Archives de Société Géologique de France).

Fig. 115 Alexandr Fedorovich Hilferding (1831–1872), Russian linguist and ethnographer. In 1857 he visited Bosnia and Herzegovina and compiled a list of archaeological sites.

Fig. 116 Lovro Karaula (1800–1875), Franciscan priest, teacher of archaeology in Franciscan schools.

Fig. 117 Anđeo Nuić (1850–1916), Franciscan priest, founder of the museum in Humac near Ljubuški.

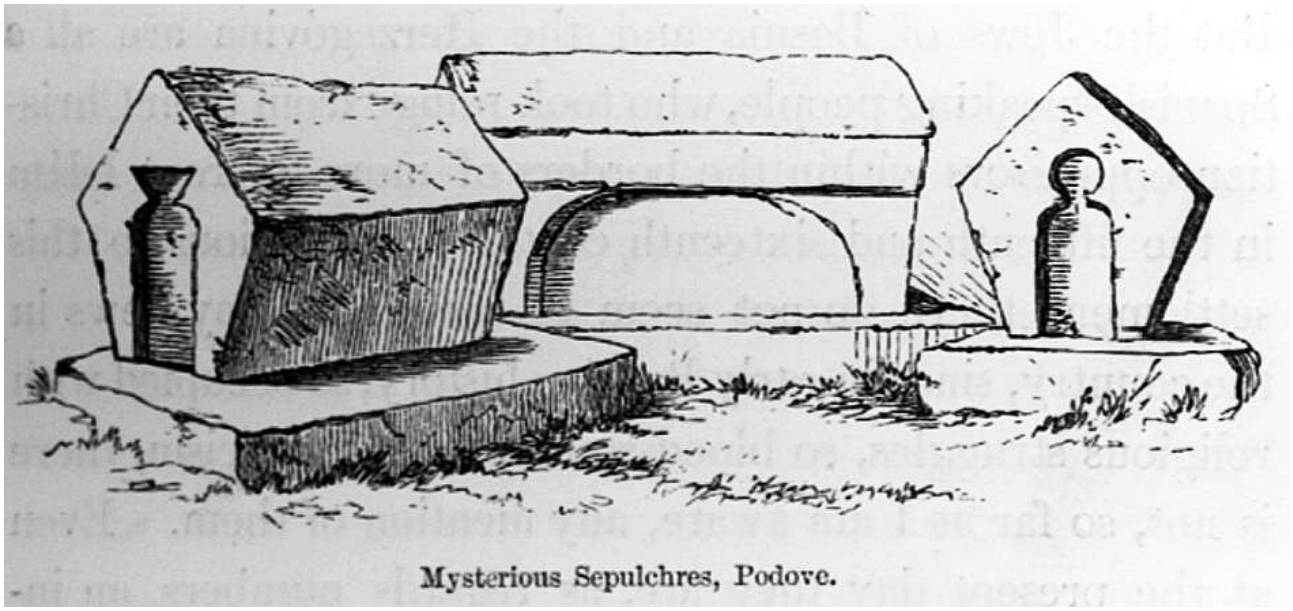


Fig. 118 Drawing of a Bosnian-Herzegovian traditional medieval tombstone (stećak) by Arthur Evans (Evans 1876, 171).

Fig. 119 Provincial Museum in Sarajevo. New building inaugurated in 1914.

Fig. 120 Excavations at Butmir in 1893. Courtesy of the Centre for Balkanological Research, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Fig. 121 Ćiro Truhelka (1865–1942), archaeologist and historian, the first curator of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo.

Fig. 122 Truhelka's excavations of log boat at Donja Dolina in 1904.

Fig. 123 Franjo (František) Fiala (1861–1898), chemist and archaeologist, curator at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo.

Fig. 124 Karl Patsch (1865–1945), curator of the Roman antiquites deprtment at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, after 1920 professor at the University of Vienna.

Fig. 125 Vejsil Ćurčić (1868–1959), naturalist, archaeologist and ethnographer, curator at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo.

Fig. 126 Václav Radimský (1832–1895), geologist and mining engineer, curator of the mineralogical collection at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, excavator of several archaeological sites.

Fig. 127 Participants at the Congress of Archaeologists and Anthropologists in Sarajevo in 1894: 1. Rudolf Virchow (Berlin); 2. Gabriel de Mortillet (Paris); 3. Oscar Montelius (Stockholm); 4. Johannes Ranke (Munich); 5. Waclav Radimsky; 6. Constantin Hörmann; 7. Otto Benndorf (Vienna); 8.Ćiro Truhelka; 9. Carl Patsch; 10. Franz Fiala; 11. Victor Apfelbeck, 12 Anton Weissbach (military doctor); 13. Salomon Reinach (Paris); 14. Jozsef Hampel (Budapest); 15. Luigi Pigorini (Rome); 16. Josef Szombathy (Vienna); 17. Lajos von Thalloczy (Budapest); 18. Edmund von Fellenberg (Bern); 19. Albert Voss (Berlin); 20. Robert Munro (Edinburgh); 21. René Verneau (Paris); 22. Moritz Hoernes (Vienna); 23. Eugen Bormann (Vienna), Jakob Heierli (Zurich); Julius E. Pisko (Austrian Vice-Consul in Janina).

Fig. 128 Congress' participants visiting the site of Glasinac (1894).

Fig. 129 Mihovil Mandić (1871–1948), archaeologist, curator (1918–1937) and Director (1937–1941) of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo. Courtesy of Darko Periša (Periša 2007, 252).

Fig. 130 Jozo Petrović (1892–1967) (standing on the left), curator and Director of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo. Kneeing on the left: Josip and Paola Korošec (Novaković, Lovenjak and Budja 2003, 51). Field inspection in Kupres area in 1942.

Fig. 131 Museum in Banja Luka (1930s). Courtey of the Archive of the Museum of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka.

Fig. 132 Museum in Trebinje (est. 1952).

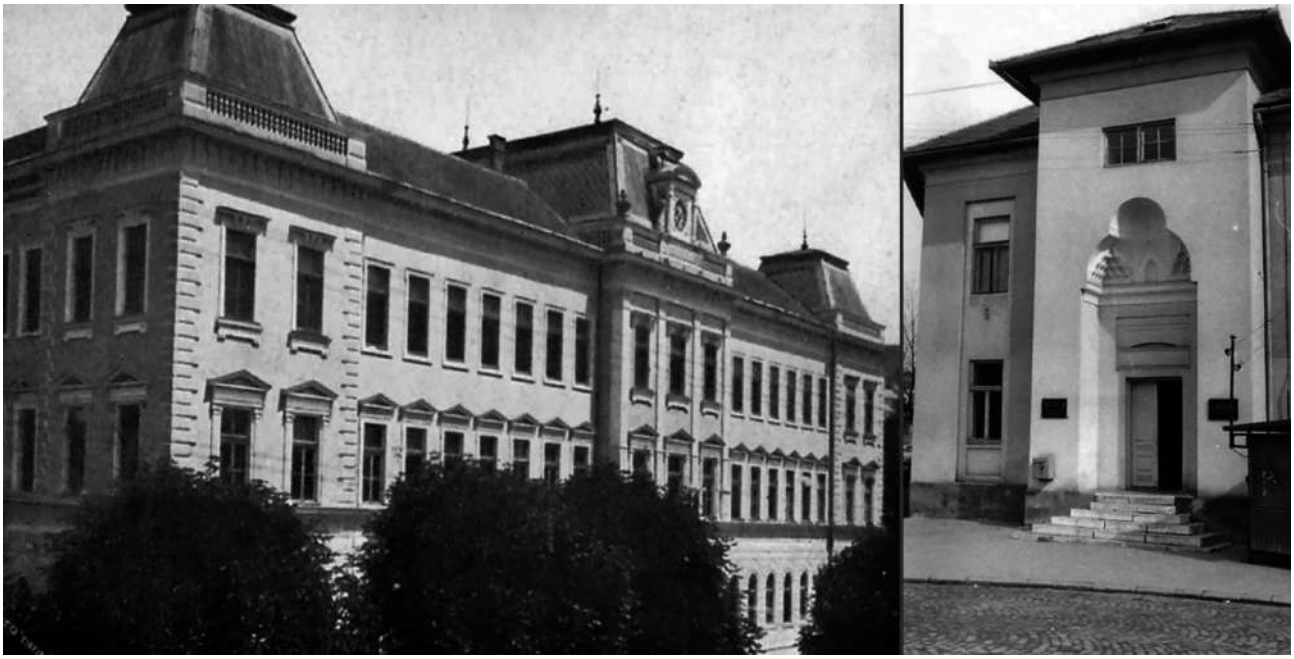


Fig. 133 Museum in Tuzla in Tuzla Gymnasium (1962–1966) (left) and Tuzla Madrasah (1966–1973) (right). Courtesy of the Museum of East Bosnia.

Fig. 134 Milica Kosorić (right) (1928–1994), archaeologist, curator and Director of the Museum of East Bosnia in Tuzla (1962–1978). Photo from 1967. Courtesy of the Museum of East Bosnia.

Fig. 135 Alojz Benac (1914–1992), archaeologist, curator for prehistoric archaeology and Director of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, professor of archaeology at the University of Sarajevo, founder of the Centre for Balkan Studies.

Fig. 136 Alojz Benac at Bosnia, Duvanjsko field (1970s). Courtesy of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Fig. 137 Irma Čremošnik (1916–1990) (third from the right). archaeologist, curator for Roman and medieval archaeology at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo (1947–1976). Photo taken in 1957 at the Rei cretariae Romanae fautores Congress in Baden – Brugg (CH). Photo by Hedwig Kenner (https://www.fautores.org/pages/historia-fautorum.htm.

Fig. 138 Borivoj Čović (1927–1995), curator and Director of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo (1953–1989).

Fig. 139 Đuro Basler (1917–1990), Conservator of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, curator at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, pioneer of the palaeolithic archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovia. Photo taken at Badanj during his excavations in the late 1970s.

Fig. 140 Excursion of archaeologists to Ošanići during the conference on fortified Illyrian settlements (Mostar 1974). Courtesy of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Fig. 141 Branka Raunig (1935–2008), curator and Director of Musem in Bihać. Photo from Šačić Beća (2019 , 287).

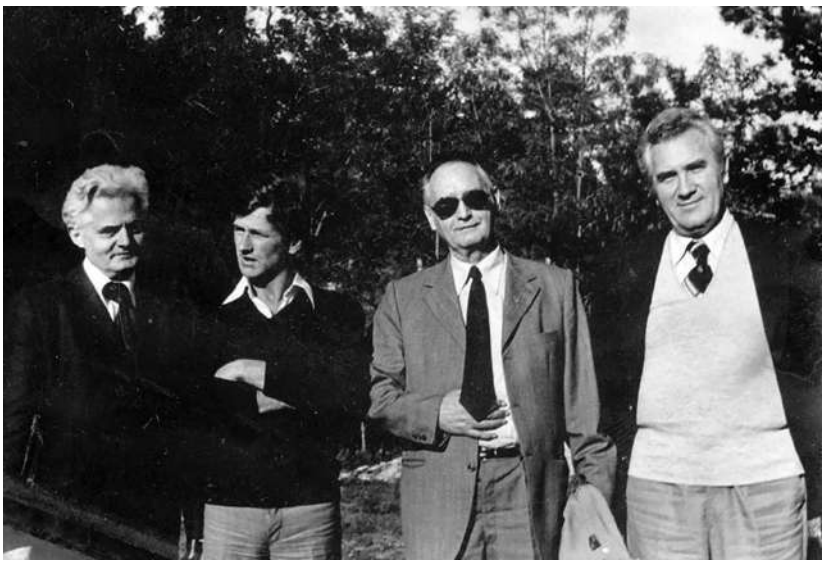


Fig. 142 Ivo Bojanovski (1915–1993) (with glasses), conservator at the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, specialist in Roman archaeology, acompanied by Gojko Kraljević. Enver Imamovič and Veljko Paškvalin; Trebinje (late 1980s). Photo: https://bathinvs.com/zanimljivosti/.

Fig. 143 From left: Blagoje Govedarica(1949), Edina Alirejsović (1942–2013) and Živko Mikić (1946–2016) at the conference on fortified Illyrian settlements in Mostar (1974). Courtesy of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

VI. NORTH MACEDONIA

North Macedonia[473] was the southernmost republic of the former Yugoslavia, and it gained independence in September 1991, three months after Slovenia and Croatia. The country occupies a territory of 25,713 km^2. It has a little over 2.1 million inhabitants, of which about 65% are Macedonians, 25% Albanians, 3.9% Turks, 2.7% Roma, and 1.8% Serbs, while 2.2% of the population are citizens of other national and ethnic groups.

The Republic of North Macedonia[474] is a landlocked country located in the central Balkans region. It is separated from its neighbours by large mountain chains. The northern border with Kosovo and Serbia runs across the mountains of Šara, Skopska Crna Gora, and Kozjak; the Dinaric Mountains in the west mark the border with Albania, while the Nidže Mountains in the south designate the border with Greece. On the east, the border with Bulgaria runs across the slopes of the mountain massifs of Osogovo, Maleševo and Belasica.

North Macedonia's relief represents a combination of hilly and mountainous terrains (some 80% of the territory) intersected with larger and medium-size river valleys. The country is composed of three major geomorphological units: a) the Dinaric mountain region in the west, b) the Rhodope mountain region in the east (Osogovo-Maleševo-Belasica), and c) the valley of the Vardar river between the eastern and western two zones. Each of these three units consists of several smaller, more homogeneous regions that are more suitable for habitation, such as Ohrid and Prespa Lakes in the southwest, the Black Drin (*Crni Drim*) valley in the west, the Bregalnica valley between the Osogovo and Maleševo mountains in the northeast, the area of Pelagonia in the south, the Strumica valley in the southeast, and Ovče Pole in the central part. The Vardar River Valley represents not only the principal north-south communication axis in N. Macedonia but for the central Balkans region as well. Together with the valley of Great (Velika) Morava, this route connects the Danube with the Aegean Sea. Another communication route crucial in N. Macedonia's history runs along the southern state border and connects the Adriatic with the Aegean – the famous Roman Via Egnatia route. Secondary communications connect the main Macedonian settlement areas with the neighbouring regions. The connections between Pelagonia and northern Greece should also be accentuated. To the east, the Bregalnica and Strumica rivers' valleys represented communication routes towards Bulgaria.

473 Between 1992 and 2019, in international organisations (e.g. UN, EU etc.) the country was officially named as *the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia* (FYROM), while some countries have recognised its constitutional name instead – the Republic of Macedonia. A dispute with Greece regarding the name of the country was resolved in 2019 when the country officially changed its name to the Republic of North Macedonia. According to the recent agreement with Greece, the adjective 'Macedonian' can be used for labelling the most numerous ethnic population in the country and its language.

474 The historical region of Macedonia occupies a much larger area; it extends southward into northern Greece to the Aegean Sea (Aegean Macedonia), and includes parts of today's western Bulgaria (the so-called Pirin Macedonia). The traditional centre of the historical region of Macedonia was Thessaloniki. In the 19th century, this was one of the ethnically most heterogeneous regions in the Balkans.

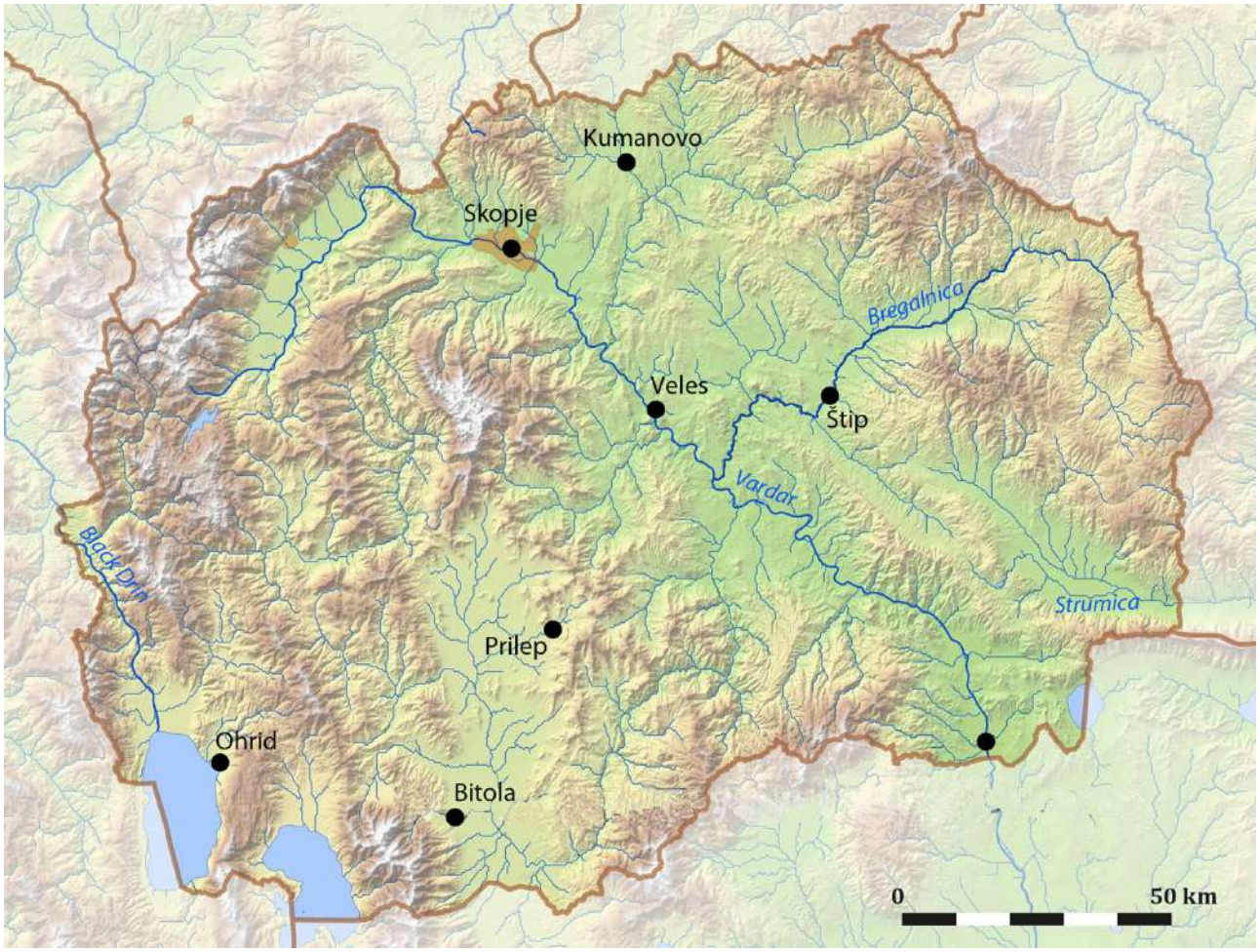


Fig. 144 Relief map of North Macedonia.

Carbonate karstic lithology and karstic areas are typical for western parts of the country. On the other side, east of the Vardar river, the Rodopi mountains are generally lower and more undulating, mainly composed of magmatic and metamorphic lithology. The lowest part of the country represents the Vardar river valley extending from the northern border with Serbia to Greece's border in the south. Here prevail tertiary and alluvial sediments, sandstones, clays and sands. Due to the flatter terrain, this area represents the primary settlement and agricultural area of the country. The climate of N. Macedonia at lower elevations is predominantly of mild continental type with humid and cold winters and hot and dry summers. High mountains block the climatic influence of the neighbouring Adriatic and Ionian Seas, and the Mediterranean climate reaches only some areas in the middle and southern Vardar valley. At higher elevations, the climate is of a mountainous type with long, cold winters and an abundance of snow.

North Macedonia got its name after an ancient region of Macedonia formed in the 1st millennium BC. During its peak, ancient Macedonia stretched from north-central Greece across present-day N. Macedonia to Thrace in western Bulgaria (altogether some 67,000 km^2). The ancient Macedonian Kingdom was conquered by the Romans in 168 BC, who established the province of Macedonia in 146 BC. In the late Roman period, the province became divided into several smaller

provinces, two of them in the core area of today N. Macedonia (*Macedonia Prima* and *Macedonia Salutaris*), while the northern parts belonged to the province of Dardania. This administrative division ultimately disintegrated the traditional territory of historical Macedonia. Since then, up to modern times, Macedonia remained divided or was a part of larger territorial units (e.g. in the Ottoman period).

Archaeological and historical background of North Macedonia

The systematic growth of archaeology in North Macedonia is of a comparatively later date, after the Second World War. This relatively late development is one of the primary reasons why some archaeological epochs and regions are still not researched well and are, consequently, less known. *Arheološka karta na Republika Makedonija* (1994), the major gazetteer of sites in this country, lists some 4,000 locations containing archaeological sites, which is quite a respectable figure.[475] But, only a very small proportion of sites have been researched in more detail.

By far the least known periods are the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic. Except for a few sporadic finds, nothing else was known about these two periods before the 1950s.[476] The first Palaeolithic site was discovered in 1956 in the Makarovec cave near Veles, and by the late 1970s there were still only four Palaeolithic sites recorded in the country (Malez 1979, 415-417). More systematic research was initiated in the late 1990s, mostly by surveying caves (Salamanov-Korobar 2006). The first systematic excavations took place only two decades ago (1999, 2003 and 2004 in the Golema Pesht site, some 60 km southwest of Skopje), revealing late Middle and Upper Palaeolithic finds (L. Salamanov-Korobar, 2008, 86).

On the other hand, the situation with the Neolithic period is quite the opposite. This period, together with the Iron Age, are the best researched prehistoric periods. The geographical position of N. Macedonia, at the intersection of two main routes, the north-south route connecting the Danube with the Aegean, and the east-west route intersecting the Balkans and connecting the Adriatic and Ionian Seas with the eastern Aegean regions, makes N. Macedonia one of the crucial regions for studying the processes of Neolithisation. At present, there are some 180 to 200 known Neolithic sites in the country (Mitrevski 2013, 87; Sanev 1994, 27), of which only a few dozens have been researched in more detail, mostly before 2000.

The earliest Neolithic sites emerged in the last centuries of the 7th millennium BC. According to the C-14 dates, the first Neolithic sites appeared along the River Vardar and its eastern tributaries (i.e. Bregalnica), in the Ovče polje region, and the Skopje and Polog valleys in the Upper Vardar. Another important region for Neolithic settlement was Pelagonia, a broad valley in southwestern N. Macedonia, lying between the Ohrid and Prespa lakes and the Vardar River and encircled by high mountains. According to C-14 dates, Pelagonia seems to have been settled by a Neolithic population a few centuries later than the Vardar valley, at the transition of the 7th to 6th millennia BC (Naumov 2019, 40). In the literature published before 2000, the earliest Neolithic settlement was described as exhibiting evidence of relatively well developed

475 Here I do not equate locations with sites. Since several locations contain different discrete temporal and spatial archaeological wholes (i.e. sites), the total number of individual sites in N. Macedonia was much greater. However, to understand the importance of this publication more accurately, it should be considered that, though the gazetteer was published in the mid-1990s, it took several years to process the collected data. For this reason, the archaeological situation in the gazetteer reflects state of the art since the mid-1980s.

476 The first information on Palaeolithic finds came from Ettienne Patte (1918) who published a short article on a pointed stone hand axe found near Kristiforovo and three scrapers near Bukovo (Bitola region). There are no information how Patte came across these finds. However, since he was in the French troops during the First World War stationed in the Balkans, he had some chances to do occasionally some research (Cordier 1998).

cultural manifestations of the so-called Balkan-Anatolian Early Neolithic complex (i.e. fine monochrome pottery, pottery with white painted decoration), suggesting the arrival of the already formed Neolithic culture from southern and southeastern Balkans (e.g. from Karanovo I and Protoseskl0 cultures). However, more recent discoveries revealed evidence of an earlier phase of Neolithisation in the Upper Vardar valley (Polog), and in Pelagonia, where the sites of Pešterica–Prilep, Zlastrana–Sredoreče, Grnčarica–Krupište contained pottery marked by a reduced number of simple forms and lack of white painting. All these new sites were short-lived settlements constructed on elevated positions (Mitrevski 2013, 98). Unfortunately, at the moment, there are no C-14 dates from these sites to confirm this initial phase.

The earliest (according to the C-14 dates) and one of the most intensively researched Neolithic settlement is that of Anzabegovo, which has been for a long time the pivotal site for understanding the process of Neolithisation and the overall cultural development of the Early and Middle Neolithic in the Vardar valley. In its earliest phase (end of the 7th millennium BC), it revealed already well-formed Neolithic features

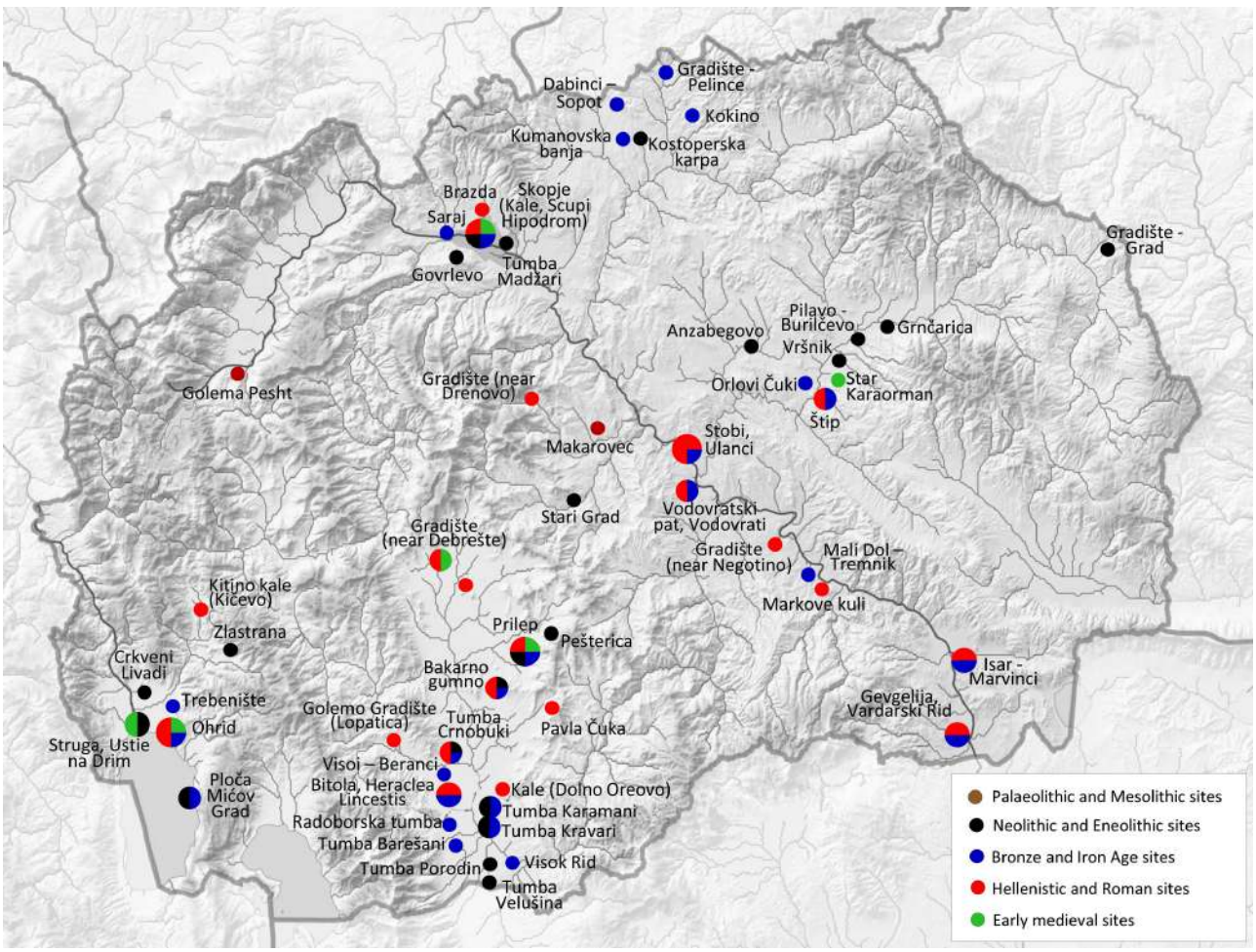


Fig. 145 Archaeological sites in N. Macedonia mentioned in this chapter.

(elaborated pottery forms, white painted pottery, complex construction of houses with stone bases and wattle and daub façades, and also some objects of cult and 'artistic' representations), all pointing to earlier Anatolian and Thessalian cultural traditions (Naumov 2015, 339). Another well-researched site is Tumba Madžari near Skopje in the Upper Vardar Valley. It emerged in the later phases of the early Neolithic, at a similar time as Anzabegovo (Zdravkovski 2013, 269). The site revealed more than 2 m thick archaeological layers, which is quite a typical feature of any Neolithic sites that emerged towards the Early Neolithic. It lies on a "tumba", a natural or man-made small, elevated plateau. Tumbas turned out to be the most frequent positions of sites in N. Macedonia from the Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age. Such tumbas were located generally on the plains' edges and were typically settled for much more extended periods than other types of sites. In fact, tumbas can be considered as a local variety of tells. As in Anzabegovo, and also at Tumba Madžari, the settlement's core was an 'empty' central 'square' enclosed with individual houses constructed with wooden skeletons filled with wattle and daub. Houses were 50 to 70 m^2 in size with two to three rooms. Many of them contained hearths or smaller furnaces and numerous remains of smaller objects.[477]

Another region rich in Neolithic sites is Pelagonia, an enclosed valley of some 900 km^2. It has a mild continental climate and represented the most suitable region for intensive farming for many centuries. In the earlier Holocene there were vast marshland areas in Pelagonia. From the Neolithic period onwards, the tumbas were erected (or selected) at the best-suited positions for settling the lowlands. There are more than 70 such sites in the Neolithic alone, densely distributed across the valley of Pelagonia (2–3 km apart; Mitrevski 2013, 93), most of them being occupied for several centuries. Much rarer are settlements on river terraces, which are common in eastern N. Macedonia. The best researched are Tumba Porodin and Tumba Velušina, which gave name to the regional Early and Middle Neolithic group (Culture of Veluška–Porodin).

In general, denser settlement of N. Macedonia started in the later phases of the Early Neolithic (at the turn of the 7th to 6th millennia BC). It reached its peak in the Middle Neolithic during the 5th millennium BC. On the most long-lived sites, the Middle Neolithic layers are the most frequent and thickest. In cultural terms, the Middle Neolithic represents the continuation and further growth (in economy, demography, crafts) from the local Early Neolithic traditions. In this period, two major regional groups were defined: the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group in central and eastern N. Macedonia, and the Veluška–Porodin group in Pelagonia in the southwest, both exhibiting intensive contacts with neighbouring groups in southern Serbia, western Bulgaria and northern Greece. The Middle Neolithic is the period where the local Neolithic cultures reached their developmental and cultural summit, which is best seen in highly elaborated objects of crafts (e.g. luxury vessels, fine red pottery with dark brown painting) and especially in numerous objects of "art" and cult, such as clay and stone anthropomorphic and zoomorphic statues, small altars and models of houses (see for example the exhibition catalogue *Neolitskata umetnost na teritorijata na Republika Makedonija / Neolithic art in the Region of Republic of Macedonia* (2009)). The most outstanding piece with its remarkable realistic style is a clay male torso (known as Adam from Govrlevo), made around 5500 BC. Other fascinating objects are clay models of houses with upper parts of female statues (goddesses) attached to the roof ('chimneys').

The strong local Neolithic tradition went through considerable changes in the Late Neolithic. Major earlier sites exhibited declining

477 House I alone contained 48 complete vessels of different forms and rich decoration, and the terracotta statue of the "Great Mother" (Zdravkovski 2013, 282, 285).

trends, and a considerable number of them ceased to exist within the Late Neolithic. Some authors (e.g. Mitrevski 2013, 108-109) look for the reasons in changing climate, but above all in cultural changes brought about by the advancing culture of Vinča from the north, and in cultural influences from the Adriatic area in the western parts of the country. In the territory of the former Anzabegovo–Vršnik group, two new regional groups emerged: Zelenikovo in the Skopje valley and Angelci in the valley of Strumica river, both exhibiting the strong presence of elements of the Vinča culture. In the west, which was more pervaded with the Late Neolithic Adriatic elements, pile-dwelling sites an important novelty represented around the lake of Ohrid, Ustie na Drim and Crkveni Livadi (Kuzman 2013a).

The subsequent Eneolithic period, which initiated towards the end of the 5th millennium BC, represents a period of decline of earlier settlement systems and significant cultural changes, probably triggered by extensive migrations in the broader area of the Lower Danube and eastern Balkans. Compared to the Neolithic period, the number of sites in the 4th millennium BC significantly decreased, although they do not appear equally in all regions with the Neolithic settlement. Their density remained relatively high only in Pelagonia, where some 20 sites are known (Kolištrkoska Nasteva 1994, 43); almost all were discovered on tumbas already occupied in the Neolithic (Tumba Kravari, Bakarno Guvno, Tumba Crnobuki, Tumba Karamani). In the Vardar valley, the best research site is Skopsko Kale (Fortress of Skopje). The settlement is quite large, with tens of houses dug into the ground (not typical construction for the Neolithic period in this area), with three major Eneolithic settlement phases (Mitrevski 2013, 136). Recently, several new sites in eastern N. Macedonia were discovered, many of them on locations typical for hillforts (Gradište–Grad near Delčevo, Pilavo–Burilčevo near Kočani, Stari Grad near Veles, Kostoperska Karpa).[478] In Pelagonia, after a certain hiatus after the late Neolithic, a new Eneolithic group was formed during the 4th millennium BC, that of Šuplevac–Bakarno Gumno. Here, tumbas remained the primary settlement type. At Tumba Kravari the earliest evidence of copper metallurgy was found (copper axes and their casting moulds).

In general cultural terms, the Eneolithic in N. Macedonia is considered a regional manifestation of the large Lower Danubian-Balkan cultural complex of the Early and Middle Eneolithic, termed Bubanj–Sălcuța–Krivodol. Since the earliest phases of this complex were formed in the northern Balkans where it replaced the Vinča culture, it seems plausible that with the end of the Neolithic period this (Eneolithic) population migrated to the south, also reaching N. Macedonia (e.g. Ni. Tasić 1979, 111-113). There is no clear evidence for any substantial changes in the Middle Eneolithic in N. Macedonia. Significant changes started to emerge at around 3000 BC, influenced by the development of the Early Bronze Age cultures from the Greek mainland, eastern Balkans and eastern European steppe regions.

The Bronze Age in N. Macedonia is placed at around 2500 BC until the end of the 12th century BC. The Early and Middle Bronze Ages exhibit a decline in many aspects of cultural and economic life compared to the previous, Eneolithic period. The number of pottery types is much lower, vessels are made in relatively simple manner, and their decoration is much simpler. Moreover, most of the Eneolithic techniques of decoration disappeared. The decline is also evident in a much smaller number of anthropomorphic sculptures (Mitrevski 2013, 172). Altogether, based on the *Archeološka karta,* there are some 60 to 70 sites dated to the Bronze Age. Again, the central settlement region remained Pelagonia, the core area of the Early and Middle Bronze

478 Since none of them had ramparts, I am not using the term hillfort.

Age group of Armenochori (as defined in earlier literature, M. Garašanin (1983a)).[479] It is worth noting that in most cases (e.g. Bakarno gumno, Visok Rid, Tumba Karamani, Tumba Crnobuki, Tumba Kravari, Tumba Barešani), the Bronze Age layers (dated between 2000–1700 BC) were found on the previous Eneolithic sites (Kitanoski 1994, 51). Of particular importance is the cemetery at Varoš near Prilep, with stone cists containing skeletal burials. The earliest graves are dated to the Early Bronze Age (Kitanoski 1977), and at the site of Radoborska Tumba a large pottery workshop was discovered.

During the second half of the 3rd millennium BC, in the Upper Vardar region emerged another distinct group, called the Skopje – Kumanovo group (Mitrevski 2013, 177), with hillforts (e.g. Gradište–Pelince, Kokino, Skopsko Kale) as an almost exclusive type of settlements. With the Late Bronze Age (14th to 12th centuries BC), cultural changes were caused by the spread of the Mycenaean cultural and political influences from the south (Mitrevski 2007, 444). More intensive contacts with the Mycenaean world accelerated the development of N. Macedonian local groups (Ulanci group in the Vardar valley and Ohrid group in the southwest). The Late Bronze Age is also the first period in which large corporate cemeteries appear next to the major settlements. The cemeteries' primary distinguishing feature is graves with crouched skeletons in cists made of stone slabs (e.g. Dimov Grob–Ulanci, Vardarski Rid, Vodovratski pat, Prilep–Bolnica, Saraj; e.g. Garašanin, 1983b, 790-793, also Mitrevski 2013, 191). Graves at the Ulanci cemetery contained numerous local copies of Mycenaean pottery and bronze objects, knives, razors and miniature double axes (Mitrevski 2007, 445).

More recently, two very interesting sites were discovered, a sizeable pile-dwelling site at Ploča–Mićov Grad on the Ohrid lake, dated to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages (Kuzman 2008) and the 'archaeo-astronomical' site at Kokino, discovered in 2001 northeast from Kumanovo, close to the border with Serbia. The upper part of the Kokino site is interpreted as a 'megalithic observatory'. The pottery found on this site suggests its duration from the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC until the 7th century BC. The site's principal parts are two rocky platforms on its 1013 m high top, where carvings in stone were interpreted as markers for observing the sky. The pottery scatters speak for a large (c. 30 hectares) Bronze and Iron Ages site. Large quantities of pottery fragments were also deposited into the rock cracks in the northern platform (very probably as votive gifts), suggesting an important shrine at Kokino. However, the use of the platforms and markers for astronomical observations is still open to discussion and clarification.[480]

The transition to the Iron Age (12th/11th century BC) is again marked with radical changes. The local Bronze Age groups ceased to exist. The best evidence of cultural change is the new burial rite – cremation in urns (cemeteries at Skopje–Hipodrom, Stobi–Zapadna nekropola, Mali Dol–Tremnik). This custom was definitely brought from the north, from the Danubian Urnfield culture. Another distinctive element that came from the north is terracotta sculptures of the Danubian style (Mitrevski 2013, 194). In addition to this, on many Late Bronze Age sites, evidence of fire layers have been discovered, suggesting

479 In recent Macedonian literature, this group is also called Karamani (Kitanoski 1994, 51). Gori (2017, 274) expressed doubts about defining a distinguishable Armenochori group based mostly on the distribution of the 'Armenochori kantharoi', the leading type of vessels used by Garašananin for defining this group.

480 The N. Macedonian Cultural Heritage Protection Office in 2009 applied for enlisting the site on the UNESCO World Heritage tentative list (https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5413/) as an archaeo-astronomical site, quoting the NASA project 'Timeless Knowledge' from 2005, which recognised Kokino as an astronomic observatory. Several geodetic surveys suggested that the Sun and Moon movement were observed from this site. This interpretation's full confirmation is still pending (the site has already been on UNESCO's tentative list for ten years).

periods of unrest. These changes are especially evident along the Vardar valley, while the Pelagonian settlements seem to have retained some Late Bronze Age traditions for some time. In the literature, these rather abrupt changes at the end of the 12th and beginning of 11th centuries BC are interpreted as the effects of the migrations from the Balkans to Greece, which consequently caused the collapse of the Mycenaean culture in the Aegean.

After the 11th century BC onwards life started to stabilize, with many new cultural elements (coming from the Danubian and western Balkans areas) combined with the earlier local traditions, such as burials under barrows and burials in cists, types of jewellery which originated in the western Balkans and Adriatic, and the formation of large cemeteries. In cultural terms, N. Macedonia, in the period between 12th and 10th centuries BC, became a contact zone between two larger regional cultural complexes: the Urnfield culture, spreading southwards from the Danube along the Morava valley, and the North Aegean Iron Age cultures (Pešić 1994, 62). The Iron Age period (c. 1200–500 BC) is the best researched prehistoric period in N. Macedonia. It reveals the spread of settlement across the whole country, and only the most mountainous areas remained poorly settled. Roughly estimated, the number of sites, compared to the Bronze Age, at least tripled. What also makes a significant difference compared to the previous period is a large increase in the number of cemeteries and burial barrows. These sites account for more than 50% of all Iron Age sites, while their ratio was much lower in the Bronze Age.[481] The increase of sites is especially evident east of Vardar and along the western border with Kosovo and Albania, where the dominant type of settlement became hillforts. Intensified contacts with large and developed neighbouring cultural complexes triggered another critical process on the territory of N. Macedonia – the formation of larger polities. The best evidence for this process is large cemeteries with hundreds of graves (e.g. Isar–Marvinci, Orlovi Čuki, Dabinci–Sopot, Visoi–Beranci, Kumanovska Banja–Vojnik) and the establishment of large settlements as centres of enlarged communities. Many of these centres became towns in the following periods (e.g. Isar–Marvinci (*Idomene*), Gevgelija–Vardarski Rid (*Gortinia*), Ohrid (*Lychnidos*). The developed Iron Age is well visible in the area of Ohrid with extremely rich cemeteries at Trebenište and Ohrid. In Trebenište 54 graves were found in several campaigns, 13 of them labelled as "princely graves". They contained golden face masks, large Greek bronze vessels (craters and rhytons), glass and amber objects, golden pins and many other highly prestigious objects (Kuzman 2013b). The other highly developed region in the Iron Age was Gevgelija–Valandovo region in the south, having very close contacts with the Greek world.

For the periods from the 5th century BC onwards in N. Macedonia, local archaeologists use standard Greek periodisation with the division into the classical (5th and 4th centuries BC) and Hellenistic periods (3rd to 1st centuries BC). In these two periods, until the arrival of the Romans (168 BC), the development, in cultural, economic and political terms, is closely connected with the development of the two frequently conflicting kingdoms, that of the Macedonians to which parts of southern N. Macedonia belonged since the mid-5th century BC, and that of Paeonians which controlled most of the central and eastern N. Macedonia, both of which were heavily influenced by the classical Greek culture. In terms of the settlement, this continued from the Iron Age sites in most areas, and its highest concentrations were in the Vardar valley, Pelagonia and Ohrid region. The mountainous regions seem to be less settled than in the previous period, suggesting the population's concentration in central areas where larger settlements were created. Many of them in the classical and Hellenistic periods evolved into towns, which became one of the

481 Figures are based on maps published in the *Arheološka karta na Republika Makedonija*, Tom 1, 1994).

principal features of cultural and social development in N. Macedonia in the second half of the 1st millennium BC.

These towns were not of the type of classical Greek polis but developed out of the Iron Age centres of the aristocracy of local polities or were initially built as military forts and later evolved into towns. However, one cannot deny the influence of classical Greek culture. The Macedonian towns share more features with the Greek archaic 'towns' ruled by the local aristocracy. Such towns typically emerged in the Balkans at the Greek world's outer rim, mostly in Macedonia and Thrace, like a hybridisation of the Greek and local traditions. The towns may contain some elements of classical Greek towns (e.g. in architecture, building styles, some public objects) but, since they were not colonies built anew, they have also preserved many elements of the earlier prehistoric aristocracy. They have emerged in all major regions in N. Macedonia, where stronger polities were formed in the developed Iron Age.

The existence of the towns is primarily known from written sources (for a more detailed analysis of sources and positioning of towns see Papazoglu (1957), and some of them have also been archaeologically researched (e.g. Gevgelija–Vardarski Rid). Blaževska (2013, 643–644) lists the following towns or town-like settlements in N. Macedonia: *Idomene* (Isar–Marvinci), *Gort(d)inia* (Gevgelija–Vardarski Rid), *Heraclea Lyncestis* (Bitola), *Lychnidos* (Ohrid), *Astibo(s)* (Štip), *Dober* (Strumica region), *Argos* (Vodovrati), *Stobi*, *Stenae* (Markove Kuli near Demira Kapija), *Perseida* (Crnobuki), *Pelagonia*, *Brianion* (Gradište near Debrešte), *Stibera* (Čepigovo), *Eudarist* (Gradište near Drenovo). The exact location of some of them is still not fully confirmed. With the formation of towns were also associated other considerable social and cultural changes which can be observed archaeologically: the emergence of large cemeteries built next to such settlements, significant quantities of objects of the Greek style or origin (imports and local copies: red- and black-figure painted vases, bronze vessels, jewellery, etc.), the construction of monumental tombs of the aristocracy (e.g. Pavla Čuka, Brazda near Skopje), erection of the so-called 'cyclops walls' (i.e. settlement ramparts made of very large stone blocks), and last but not least, local minting – all demonstrating a very high level of social development in N. Macedonia due to close contacts with the Greek and broader Aegean civilisations.

The crucial evidence of such development of local communities was the minting of coinage. In its earliest form, it appeared at the turn of the 5th to 4th centuries BC, which makes ancient Macedonia one of the first European regions to introduce it. Pavlovska (2013, 732) associates the earliest minting in the Balkans with the Persian occupation of this region, when the subjected polities were forced to pay tribute to the Persians in the form of high-value coins. More diversified minting developed somewhat later, during the rise of the Macedonian Kingdom into a regional and global power in the period between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC. The Paeonians were also minting their coins in this period. In fact, some of their kings are known only from coins.

Before the arrival of the Romans, the territory of N. Macedonia was not politically united under one state nor ethnically homogenous. For several centuries it was divided between the Macedonian and Paeonian kingdoms. There also existed some smaller autonomous or semi-autonomous polities outside the core areas of the two kingdoms. The discussion on the origin of the Macedonians, Paeonians and other communities living in southwestern and southern Balkans in the second half of the 1st millennium BC is beyond this chapter's scope. Nevertheless, in broader cultural terms, when observed from the outside, the region, despite its local idiosyncrasies, seemed more united, acting as a sort of 'strong cultural periphery" of the classical ancient Greek civilisation.

Contrary to many other areas the Romans conquered and colonised in continental Europe, Macedonia (with Greece) was already an urbanised country with a developed infrastructure and economy. For this reason, the first proper Roman colonies started to appear a century later, in the context of Augustus's settlement of the veterans in wider Macedonia (Jovanova 2013, 795). In N. Macedonia, most of the previous towns continued to exist, mostly having a status of *civitates* – urban settlements but without the legal status of autonomous towns, which to a certain degree kept their internal organisation. The only early town raised to a level of a *municipium* was Stobi (*Municipium Stobensum*) by Emperor Vespasian. On the other hand, the only new colony with settled military veterans was Scupi (*Colonia Flavia Scupinorum*), near Skopje, but in Moesia. Other major urban centres were at Heraclea Lynkestis (Bitola), Lychnidos (Ohrid), Stibera (near Prilep), and Idomene (Isar–Marvinci), all being objects of relatively large excavations, which revealed several typical features, such as theatres, large public houses, numerous temples and richly decorated houses with mosaics. Crucial for the Roman administration and well-being of this region were three major roads: Via Axia (along the Vardar river), Via Egnatia (*Dyrrachion – Lycnidos – Heraclea Lyncestis – Salonica*) and the 'Diagonal Road' running from Heraclea Lyncestis to Astibo (Štip) and Serdica (Sofia, Bulgaria), all existing already from prehistoric times and renewed by the Romans.[482]

Centuries of favourable economic and social conditions under the Romans significantly accelerated the development of communities living in N. Macedonia. Out of some 4,000 locations of archaeological sites listed in the *Arheološka karta na Republika Makedonije* more than 50% belong to the period between the 1st century BC and 5th century AD. The highest concentration of sites is in the southern part of the country, in the area between Prilep, Veles and Gevgelija. Relatively high concentrations of Roman settlements also emerged in the areas which were previously much less settled (e.g. Kočani and Vinica areas between Osogovo and Plačkovica mountains, and the area east of mountain Gradištanska between Štip and Kumanovo, north in the eastern part of N. Macedonia). Other major settlement areas were those traditionally well developed in the Bronze and Iron Ages, the Skopje valley, Pelagonia and Ohrid regions. Compared to the earlier periods, the Roman epoch also stands up regarding the number of cemeteries, literally in the hundreds and dispersed across the country. Especially noteworthy are the cemeteries of urban centres, not least for numerous art pieces (monumental stone sculptures, small bronze sculptures, reliefs, etc.). Municipium Stobi was also minting coins between 73 and 217 AD (Josifovski 2013, 941).

Significant changes occurred in the second half of the 3rd century AD when the Empire went into a series of crises and areas south of Danube were frequently the target of the barbarian raids from the north (e.g. Sarmatians, Goths). To strengthen the Empire, Diocletian launched radical reforms, including the new administrative-territorial structure of provinces. The N. Macedonian territory thus became divided into five smaller provinces: Dardania in the north, Dacia Mediterranea in the east, southern parts belonged to Macedonia Prima, southeast to Epirus Novus, and central and western N. Macedonia to Macedonia Secunda (or Salutaris). Only the latter, with its capital in Stobi, was entirely in N. Macedonia. To protect the Balkan and Aegean areas from Barbarian raids, the Romans constructed numerous forts (*castella*) and fortified the towns. These activities reached their peak during the reign of Valentinian (364–375) and Valens (364–378), when the local populations also increasingly moved to fortified towns and *refugia* (settlements, frequently fortified, in more remote and well-protected places) (Lilčić 2013, 966). These trends continued into the 5th century, leading to a substantial decrease or destruction of the towns and urban life. In the 5th and 6th centuries,

482 On the Roman roads in N. Macedonia, see more in Lilčić (1994).

the fortified *refugia* became the most frequent type of settlement of the local population. Lilčič (2013, 1025), based on previous research and his own field evaluations, estimated that their number in the Late Roman period reached a figure of around 700, covering the area of the whole of N. Macedonia. However, not many of them have been researched in more detail, and they are mainly known from topographic surveys in which mostly walled structures were recorded. Some of the most representative sites of this type are Gradište near Negotino (probably the earlier ancient settlement of Antigonea), Kale near Dolno Oreovo (Bitola region), Golemo Gradište near Lopatica, and Kitino Kale near Kičevo.

Following the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the Macedonian provinces remained for some centuries under Byzantine rule. This greatly influenced the political, cultural and religious development in the coming periods. One of the major changes with long-term consequences was the Slavs and Bulgars' arrival in the late 6th century. Evidence of these migrations is still very scarce and they are mostly recorded in historical sources, with the archaeological evidence much less clear. Since the south-central Balkans area was under the Byzantium's strong political and cultural influence, it is difficult to detect short episodes of incursions and the newcomers' early settlement. It is only from the 9th century onwards when the Slavs' material culture can be more clearly distinguished (Panov 2013, 1142). Frequently, early Slavic sites are found on or in very close vicinity of the Late Roman towns, e.g. Gradište near Debrešte (Prilep area), Skupi–Ulica and Star Karaorman–Sv. Đorđi (Štip area) (Maneva 2013, 1266). These sites are modest in terms of built structures and portable finds.

Another distinct group of early medieval sites belongs to the so-called Komani-Kruja group, with its core area in northwestern Albania and southern Montenegro, generally attributed to the local late Roman population, which still lived there in the 7th and 8th centuries. In N. Macedonia, this group's major sites are two cemeteries in the Ohrid area (Sv. Erasmo and Struga–Ciganski grobišta). In both cases, a three-nave basilica was discovered (Maneva 2013, 1283–1284). With the Byzantine Empire's increased power, its cultural influence became strongly felt in archaeological remains, particularly in architecture, jewellery, and weaponry. Under the Byzantine influence, the massive Christianisation of Macedonia started in the second half of the 9th century through Byzantine missionaries (e.g. Constantine and Methodius and their disciples), who contributed to the creation of a distinctive Slavic linguistic and cultural identity. Strong regional centres of culture emerged, especially in Ohrid, e.g. a bishop's palace, the Church of St. Sophia (early 11th century) with frescoes, the church raised by St. Clement (disciple of Constantine and Methodius) from the late 9th century and the monastery of St. Naum (also Constantine and Methodius' disciple) from the late 9th century), to name just a few.

At the end of the 10th century, after the collapse of the Bulgarian empire, in the territory of N. Macedonia there emerged another polity ruled by the local Prince Samuil (969–1014), who in the following decades extended his rule over territory between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. Bulgarian and (North) Macedonian historiography largely disagree about Samuil's state. While the former saw it as a continuation of Bulgarian imperial rule, the latter advocated that Samuil was a local (North) Macedonian ruler and his state a 'Macedonian' one. Moreover, it is supposed that Samuil legitimated his conquests by claiming the appellation of the Bulgarian throne. However, it remains undisputed that Samuil emerged as one of the governors in Constantinople's service in (North) Macedonian territory. During his reign, he established a capital of his own and a patriarchate in the Ohrid area. Some authorities in Byzantine history, such as George Ostrogorsky (1993, 263), see Samuil's empire as essentially different from the former Bulgarian state.

However, Samuil's empire was short-lived. The Byzantines defeated him in 1014 and then held his territories for the next two centuries. Towards

the end of the 13th century, a new local power emerged which challenged Byzantine rule, the Serbian Kingdom. The Serbs continued their expansion to the south. In the 1330s, under King Dušan, they conquered the whole of (North) Macedonia, making Skopje the Serbian Kingdom's capital, the largest kingdom in the Balkans in the 14th century.[483] However, the Serbian 'empire' did not outlive its founder. On the one hand, after his death the local princes challenged Dušan's successor, and partitioned the state. While on the other hand the Ottomans were rapidly advancing from the south, and between 1371 and 1400 succeeded in seizing (North) Macedonia. The country would remain under their rule for the next five hundred years, until 1912.

Similar to in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the five centuries of Ottoman rule brought a new dominant political and cultural matrix, changed the administrative status of the country, introduced a different feudal system, catalysed massive migrations to and from the country, accelerated religious conversions and several other substantial social and cultural changes. However, there are some differences compared to Serbia or Bosnia and Herzegovina. The geographic (historic) Macedonia became part of a large province (*beylerbeyluk*) of Rumelia encompassing almost all the Ottoman territories in Europe. Its capital was first in Edirne, later in Sofia. The province was divided into several second-level units, *sanjaks*. The first Macedonian sanjaks were Kustendil, Ohrid, Thessaloniki, Skopje, Janina and Lerina. Though their borders were frequently changed, they remained the backbone of the Ottoman administrative division for almost the whole period of their rule (*Istorija na makedonskiot narod*, 2008, 134).

Compared to other countries under Ottoman rule, North Macedonia was probably the most intensively colonised by Islamic peoples coming mostly from Asia. This was especially the case in towns like Skopje and Bitola (former Monastiri), where there were large military garrisons, numerous administrators and craftsmen. The countryside remained much less settled by the arriving peoples. Amongst the new settlers, an interesting phenomenon is represented by the Yuruks (also Yöröks), a Turkish sub-ethnic group, nomads and herdsmen from the Anatolian mountains, which started to settle in Macedonia in the 15th century, mostly in hilly and mountainous regions. Besides living on animal husbandry, they were frequently servicing army garrisons. It is estimated that their number in the whole of geographic Macedonia was about 140,000 (*Istorija na makedonskiot narod* 2008, 140). Another quite strong ethnic group that settled in the Macedonian towns were Sephardic Jews, who came mostly from Spain and Portugal. In *Istorija na makedonskiot narod* (2008, 140) there is a figure given of some 3,000 Jewish households in 16th century Thessaloniki. The Jews had their communities in almost every town in Macedonia, and notably contributed to the development of trade and crafts.

On the other hand, there were also strong waves of migration from the country. The most intensive emigration of the local Slavic population was during and after the Austrian – Ottoman war (1683–1699), when most of the local Christian population, as in Serbia, sided with the Austrians whose army pushed the Ottomans from Hungary south to N. Macedonia. After the peace agreement in 1699, when Turkey's border was established at the Danube, a substantial population from (North) Macedonia retreated with the Austrians. One of the consequences of the restoration of the Ottoman rule at the beginning of the 18th century was the settlement of Muslim Albanians in the emptied areas (*Istorija na makedonskiot narod* 2008, 142). This process continued in the following centuries.

The process of Islamisation was two-fold in Macedonia, via colonisation of the Muslim population from Anatolia and religious conversion of the local people. Both processes were most

483 By 1355 he also conquered Albania and large parts of western and central Greece down to Coynthus. In 1345, King Dušan proclaimed himself the Tsar of the Serbs and Greeks.

intensive in towns. Conversion to the Muslim faith was an opportunity to gain full civil rights, e.g. serving in the army, public services and trade rights. The countryside remained, to a large extent, less affected by the conversion. In the 16th century the Muslims accounted for some 25–35% of the towns' population, while the countryside remained more than 90% Orthodox. However, later on, and especially with the Albanians' arrival, the percentage of Christians also declined in the countryside.

With the declining Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century, insurrections among the Balkan peoples (Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians, Montenegrins) broke out. Over several decades, most non-Turkish nations expanded their autonomy and gained independence at the Congress of Berlin in 1878.[484] However, the case of the Macedonians and North Macedonia was somewhat different.[485] In the 19th century, the names 'Macedonians' and 'Macedonia' for the first time appeared as a modern name used by the ethnic Slavic (Orthodox) majority that lived in the territory of historic Macedonia to designate its homeland and nation. Similarly to other Balkan peoples, the (Slavic) Macedonians started to form their national identity in the 19th century. But compared to the neighbouring non-Ottoman nations, the Macedonians had much more significant challenges to meet – they did not just have to fight for political and territorial independence from the Ottomans, but for their autonomous ecclesiastic institutions as well as their language. They also had to confront Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria, which had their own claims over Macedonian territory. In 1870, a series of local Macedonian resurrections (e.g. at Razlovo 1876 and Kresen 1878) demanded national independence from the Ottomans. However, at the Berlin Congress of 1878, neither of the then great forces nor the neighbouring countries (Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria) supported Macedonian independence, and left Ottoman sovereignty over the territory in place. In 1893, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation formed a national resistance movement with its headquarters in Thessaloniki. This organisation led the St. Elijah's Day (*Ilinden*) Uprising in 1903, which the Ottomans ruthlessly crushed. However, after this uprising the Ottoman Court, pressed by European powers, made some modest steps towards Macedonia's semi-autonomy and allowed the Europeans to exercise some control over this region. It is also worth noting that large parts of northern and western Macedonia were also claimed by the Albanians, who organised their own uprisings against the Ottoman rule.

The final blow to the idea of an independent and united Macedonia came with the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). The Ottomans ultimately lost most of their territory on European soil, including Macedonia. The Macedonian territory was partitioned between Greece, which took over Aegean Macedonia (51% of the whole region), Serbia got Vardar Macedonia (39%), while Bulgaria took over Pirin Macedonia (10%). In this

484 Greece (with a then much smaller territory) was the only country that gained independence half a century earlier, in 1821.

485 The so-called 'Macedonian question' is one of the most persistent open political issues in the Balkans. Much has been written about it, but a significant portion of historiographical works was highly politically motivated, in N. Macedonia itself as well as in the neighbouring countries. The 27-year dispute (1992–2019) between Greece and North Macedonia over the latter's official name and the reluctance of Bulgaria to recognise the Macedonians as a nation clearly illustrates the century-long outlook of these countries and their national ideologies. The obvious manipulation of the Macedonian government in the period 2008–2018 with the theory of the ancient origin of (present-day) Macedonians further complicated the prospect of coming up with a solution to this issue in the foreseeable future. It is not easy to find a reliable and impartial bibliography on N. Macedonia's history and the formation of the Macedonian nation, even if authored by non-Balkan authors, as these often sided with one of the parties involved in the dispute. The fact is, however, that the today's Republic of North Macedonia finds grounds for its historical legitimacy in the national movement from the end of the 19th century, in the decisions of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Macedonia (*ASNOM – Antifašističko sobranje narodnog oslobođenja Makedonije*, the anti-fascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia, August 2, 1944), the status of the republic in the SFR Yugoslavia (1945–1991) and the referendum of the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in 1991.

way, towards the end of the Ottoman rule the (Slavic) Macedonians succeeded in achieving a certain degree of autonomy in education and culture, became ultimately partitioned, and their nationality negated in all three countries. The next major change emerged during the Second World War in the Serbian part of Macedonia, then occupied by Bulgaria and Albania. There the Macedonian Liberation Movement (led by the Communist Party) proclaimed the People's Republic of Macedonia in 1944 in the territory within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's borders. In 1945, Macedonia became a constituent Yugoslav republic, while Macedonians obtained the status equal to other constituent peoples of Yugoslavia.

The period between 1945 and 1991 was characterised by significant and dynamic development (economic, industrial, urban and cultural). In this context, the modern Macedonian nation ultimately developed its identity in culture, religion, and language and autonomous governing institutions.[486] Given that the Macedonians had not been recognised as a nation before the creation of the SFR Yugoslavia, it was only from the end of the 1940s onwards that they could gradually establish their key national institutions: the National and University Library (1944), the National Museum[487] (1945), the Institute for National History (1948), the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje[488] (1946), and the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts (1967). The oldest archaeological institution was the National Museum, which took over the collections of the former Museum of South Serbia and began building new archaeological collections in 1947. However, the relations with Bulgaria and Greece remained somewhat strained, because neither of these countries recognised Macedonia's nationality and statehood within Yugoslavia.

During the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991, (North) Macedonia was the only republic that peacefully left the federation and, following a decision reached through a referendum, declared its independence in September 1991. However, without the backing from Yugoslavia, previously a strong regional power, the new state (and nation) was again challenged by all surrounding countries (Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and, to a lesser extent, Albania). Although it was never at war with the other Yugoslav republics the Republic of Macedonia was only admitted to the United Nations in 1993, much later than was the case with Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992). One of the reasons was the dispute, primarily with Greece, over the state's official name. For 27 years the Republic of Macedonia was officially listed in the UN under its temporary name – the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – until 2019, when it changed its name to the Republic of North Macedonia, which ended the dispute with Greece. Today, almost thirty years after declaring its independence, North Macedonia still strongly feels the consequences of the various crises and wars in its neighbourhood. It is still among the poorest European countries, with a GDP similar to Serbia or Bosnia and Herzegovina and slightly higher than Albania. There are also still ethnic tensions between the Macedonians and Albanians, which in 2001 almost escalated to full-scale war.[489]

486 This process was, to a significant extent, arranged by the Yugoslav Communist Party. After the break with Stalin and other communist parties in the region in 1948, the Party strongly supported Macedonian nation-building to establish a clear distinction between the Bulgarians and Macedonians, whose languages have many similarities. In promoting the Macedonian nation, the Communist Party also supported the foundation of the Autocephalous Macedonian Orthodox Church in 1959, which declared independence from the Serbian Orthodox Church.

487 The museum was actually established already in 1924, but in the context of Serbian cultural policy, as the Museum of South Serbia.

488 The Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was established as early as 1920 as a part of the University of Belgrade, which the Macedonians did not treat as their national institution. As such, they consider 1946 as the year of the foundation of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje.

489 In August 2001, after several months of armed conflicts between Albanians and Macedonian security forces, the Ohrid Framework Agreement was reached, which increased the rights of the Albanian population.

Archaeological investigations before the foundation of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (1800–1945)

The 'Ottoman' Macedonia was a very nationally or ethnically mixed region, with the major ethnic groups being Greeks, Bulgarians, Macedonians and Albanians. Each of these nations claimed Macedonia, in one or another form and size, for itself. Except for Albanians, all other nations saw their 'Macedonian' capital and cultural centre in Thessaloniki and also the place of their national revivals. It is for this reason very difficult to talk about early archaeological and antiquarian activities from a perspective limited to today's North Macedonia, which roughly correspond to three Ottoman vilayets: Kosovo, Monastiri (Bitola) and the northern part of the Thessaloniki vilayet. The development of these activities in the 19th century or earlier must be primarily understood in the context of 'Ottoman' Macedonia, but with three 'national', frequently contrasting, perspectives in mind. The earliest 'archaeological' activities in the historical region of Macedonia are of an earlier date compared to other Ottoman provinces in the Balkans. For the Ottoman geographers and historians and their western counterparts, Macedonia was part of the ancient Greek world, and, as such, it received more attention than other Balkan regions. However, having said this, to keep the structure coherent, we will have to limit ourselves to today's North Macedonia, but having in mind the broader Macedonian context for the period before the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) as well.

There is very little information on any local activities from the Ottoman period, which can be directly associated with archaeological and antiquarian practices. In general, the Ottoman and Islamic cultural contexts were not very favourable for their development until the 19th century, though, on the other hand, historical and geographical research was fairly developed. The earliest Ottoman accounts are probably those of the Evlya Çelebi, a famous 17th-century Ottoman traveller who also visited Macedonia (then part of Rumelia). In his *Travelogue* (*Seyahatname*) he described several towns, including Skopje, Kumanovo, Bitola, Resen, Štip, and Prilep. Though his notes are primarily about contemporary life, architecture, culture and society, he occasionally provided some historical information on the Ottoman government, old towers, ruins etc. It is quite probable that in his notes on the journey undertaken in 1670 to Albania, which Çelebi recorded in his 8th volume, some parts of Via Egnatia were described (Fasolo 2003, 40, footnote 109).

The Orthodox Slavs' most potent cultural force was the Church, with its centre in Constantinople and dioceses spread all over the 'Ottoman' Balkans. On the local level, it was mostly the monasteries, which were able to act as centres of education, culture and art. Some of them possessed rich libraries, archives and collections of historical and art objects, such as the Archebishopry in Ohrid, which had its 'museum'.[490] There must have been more collections kept at ecclesiastic (orthodox or Islamic) centres or courts or palaces of local elites and rulers. There is a brief mention of the collection of Haji Mahmud, a mufti (expert on religious matters) from Bitola from the beginning of the 17th century (Miljković 1982, 25).

The interest in antiquities increased with the arrival of more foreign travellers in the 19th century. The earliest systematic work that

490 From Ohrid comes one very interesting document – a seal of the *museum* of the Ohrid Archepiscopy dated to 1516. The text of the seal was in Greek, saying '*The seal of the common museum of the sacred Apostle throne of the Iustiniana Ahridon and whole Bulgaria*'. In the centre of the round seal is the year 1516 (Miljković 1982, 16). Of course, we cannot speak of a museum proper, but still, the Ohrid Archbishopric treasury and the seal were probably used to label the archbishopric's historical and art objects transferred to or housed in other ecclesiastic centres. Miljković (1989, 59–60) assumes that the word *museum* was intentionally used to a make difference with other collections and archives kept in the Ottoman institutions (e.g. *vakufs*, mosques, *tekiyas*) and was 'imported' from Russia or Italy.

included the N. Macedonian regions was *Theophilus Lucas Fridericus Tafel* from 1837 and 1841-1842 on *Via Egnatia*, an old prehistoric and ancient road connecting the Adriatic with the Aegean, passing across the southernmost parts of N. Macedonia. Among the Western authors who researched and described historic Macedonia and its antiquities were quite frequently consuls and other civil servants in foreign missions. François Charles Hugues Laurent Pouqueville, before becoming a French consul in Patras, extensively travelled across (still Ottoman) Greece and the Balkans. In 1805 he published *Voyage en Moreé at à Constantinople et en Albanie*, and in 1820 *Voyage dans la Grece*. In 1811 he also visited the area of Lake Ohrid and attributed the ancient town of Lychnidos to the monastery of St. Naum. He also recorded Via Egnatia's remains in the area of Struga (north of Lake Ohrid lake) (Fasolo 2003, 41, footnote 110). The French consul (in Thessaloniki) was Esprit Marie Cousinéry, who in 1831 in Paris, published *Voyage dans la Macédoine. Contenant des recherches sur l'histoire, la geographie et les antiquités de ce pays*, where he paid more attention to southern and central historic Macedonia and Thrace. An itinerary *Travels to Northern Greece* with numerous information on antiquities was also published in 1835 by William Martin Leake, Vice-President of the Royal Society of Literature and the Royal Geographical Society. Alfred Delacoulonche was one of the first scholars who did systematic topographic research which he published in *Mémoire sur le berceau de la puissance Macédonienne, des bords de l'Haliacmon à ceux de l'Axius Aus: Missions scientifiques et littéraires, Paris 1858,* where he also included some notes on Paonians, and areas around rivers of Strymon (Strumica) and Axios (Vardar) (e.g. 1858, 109). Interesting also is a historical-geographical dissertation of Théophile Desdevises-du-Désert from 1863 (*Géographie ancienne de la Macedoine, Paris 1863*).

However, the most systematic scientific account from that time was produced by L. Heuzey and H. Daumet (1876) in *Mission archéologique de Macédoine, par Léon Heuzey*. Heuzey described his travels through this country in 1855 and 1861, when he visited the central and southern Aegean Macedonia and Albania. British scholars were also frequently assisted by their consuls in Bitola and Thessaloniki in obtaining permission from the Ottoman government to conduct research and export objects (Miljković 1982, 31). The most famous British scholar who researched in N. Macedonia was Arthur Evans. He published his observations on the antiquities from this country and his essays on antiquities from Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro in the already mentioned publication *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum I-IV* (Evans 1833; 1885). Macedonia was also a travel destination for 19th-century antiquarians and historians from Russia (e.g. V. Gligorovich, N.P. Kondyukov, P.H. Milyukov).[491] In 1898, the Russian Archaeological Institute from Constantinople organised a study trip to N. Macedonia (Miljković 1982, 29, footnote 94). Towards the end of the 19th century, the art and historical heritage of Macedonia also became increasingly studied by the Serbian scholars (L. Stojanović, M. Veselinović, R. Ćurković).[492] Interestingly, also during the First World War, the Austrians and Germans organised several excavation campaigns at Stobi and Palikura.[493]

Among the works of scholars from Macedonia before the First World War, the most influential was Margaritis Dimitsas (1829-1903), a philologist and archaeologist of Greek origin who was born in Ohrid. He obtained a degree from the University of Athens. He specialised in classical philology and archaeology at the universities in Berlin and Leipzig, where he also completed his doctorate on the Ohrid region's history. As a teacher at (Greek) high schools in Bitola and Thessaloniki, he published two key works on the early archaeological research in Macedonia – *Arhaia geografia the Makedoniae* (Dimitsas

491 See more Bitrakova-Grozdanova (2009).

492 See more in Miljković (1982, 31).

493 Karl Hald, *Auf den Trümmern Stobis*. Stuttgart 1917.

1874) and two volumes describing reliefs and epigraphic monuments in *Makedonia en lithois fthengomenois kai mnemeiois sozomenois* (Dimitsas 1896).[494]

Archaeology in 'Southern Serbia' (1912–1941) and 'Bulgarian Macedonia' (1941–1944)

With Vardar Macedonia's annexation in 1912, Serbia initiated an intensive programme of Serbisation of newly acquired territories labelled as South Serbia. The Macedonian nation was not recognised, and Macedonian Slavs were forced to declare as Serbs, while the local church was put under the Serbian Orthodox church's jurisdiction.[495] The Serbian language became dominant in all spheres of public life, and the only one allowed in education and administration.

With the Serbian programme of assimilation of Macedonians also came the first archaeological institutions to this country. In 1920 the Faculty of Philosophy was established in Skopje as a branch of the University of Belgrade. The majority of the teaching staff came from Serbia. However, the first professor of archaeology came from Croatia, Čiro Truhelka, who taught archaeology in Skopje between 1926 and 1931. His engagement was mostly in teaching, and he did not undertake any archaeological research, and he also noted the very modest level of archaeology at the Faculty. However, this faculty was an important hub for establishing other institutions, such as the Museum of Southern Serbia, the first museum in the Vardar Macedonia (1924), and the Skopje Scholarly Society (*Skopsko naučno društvo*), which was established in 1922 as a central research and cultural institutions in the newly annexed 'Southern Serbia'. In 1931, the Church Museum was established in Skopje, but it effectively started its work after 1935, when the museum's venues became refurbished (Miljković 1982, 69-70). Two smaller museums, or better to say collections, were also established outside Skopje, in 1928 in Struga, where Nikola Nezlobinski, a Russian doctor who came to N. Macedonia to assist in stopping malaria, put his natural history collection on display, and in Bitola in 1934, which later gave rise to the Municipal Museum (Miljković 1982, 75). Skopje institutions were in effect, 'Serbian', and were established with the precise aim to establish Serbian dominance over N. Macedonia and 'Serbisize' the country. Practically no local Macedonians were occupying any of the leading positions, and only a few scholars were from other parts of Yugoslavia, such as France Messesnel, Grga Novak and Ćiro Truhelka, who taught archaeology and ancient history.

The central 'archaeological' institution was the Museum of Southern Serbia. The museum was, in the beginning, focused on history and archaeology, but soon it also established several new departments (Ethnology and Anthropogeography, Zoology, and Geology and Petrography). In 1926 the museum got its lapidarium (Miljković 1982, 41). The museum itself did not have any archaeologists employed, but its staff frequently assisted archaeologists from Belgrade institutions (e.g. Nikola Vulić, Balduin Saria, Đorđe Mano Zisi). The museum had its own archaeological collection, though finds were frequently shipped to the National Museum in Belgrade. In 1928 France Mesesnel became the

494 Margaritis Dimitsas (Μαργαρίτης Δήμητσας) is also known as one of the pioneers of the geographical discipline in Greece. He advocated the formation of the Greek Geographical Society and the Department of Geography at the University of Athens. His research mainly focused on the geography and history of the Greek countries. His book *Political Geography* published in Athens in 1882, follows anthropogeographical ideas. It should be read chiefly in the context of justifying the Greek liberation of Macedonia from the Turks, and the same is true for his essays in history (Peckham 2000, 81–82). Among other works, Dimitsas was also the author of textbooks for primary schools on the history of Macedonia from Antiquity to the arrival of the Turks (*Επίτιμος ιστορία της Μακεδονίας (από τον αρχαιοτήτων χρόνων μέχρι της Τουρκοκρατίας*) published in 1872.

495 Before 1919, the Orthodox Church in (North) Macedonia belonged to the Patriarchate in Constantinople, which sold its 'Macedonian' parishes to the Serbian Orthodox Church for 800,000 francs (Poulton 2000, 90).

museum Director, a Slovene art historian from Ljubljana who conducted some smaller excavations at Suvodol near Marinovo.[496] Another scholar from Slovenia, Balduin Saria, came to N. Macedonia as a curator of the National Museum from Belgrade and intensively researched Stobi in the early 1920s. Later he moved to the University of Ljubljana.

As Truhelka noted in his memoirs, archaeology at the newly established Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje did not develop very much. The reasons could be found in very modest funds that were available, a small number of students and lack of supporting infrastructure, especially the library with its few archaeological books and journals. However, the principal reason why archaeology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje did not develop to a higher level, as was, for example, the case with the University of Ljubljana, which was established at a similar time (1919), was the significant lack of local tradition. In addition to this, the Serbian 'colonial' investment in changing the culture (and boosting the education and science) in N. Macedonia was of a much smaller magnitude and success compared to the Austrian one in Bosnia Herzegovina a few decades before.

The first archaeologist at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was Grga Novak, a Croat, but he worked as a professor of ancient history (1920–1924). It was only in 1926 that the Chair in Archaeology was established with the appointment of Ćiro Truhelka. After an extraordinary career in the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo before 1918, Truhelka, in 1926, quite reluctantly accepted the professorship in Skopje.[497] He had to start from scratch since there was almost no archaeological literature in the faculty's library, no funds for research, and archaeology was considered a supplementary subject. Despite his endeavours to secure the necessary infrastructure for teaching archaeology, after his retirement in 1931 the Chair in Archaeology was left vacant until after the Second World War. France Mesesnel took on the teaching of art history (another subject Truhelka taught).

The greatest efforts of Serbian archaeology in N. Macedonia were dedicated to Stobi. It is not by chance that this site's excavations were by far the most extensive archaeological project in the whole of Yugoslavia in the period between the two world wars. The project of the National Museum in Belgrade in Stobi took place between 1924 and 1940. The site was very carefully selected.[498] As a relatively well-preserved Roman town, it could enable research on monumental architecture (e.g. theatre, basilicas, mosaics), and had plenty of attractive art objects, such as statues, small objects, such as jewellery etc., and abundant epigraphic data[499]; a perfect archaeological showcase of the new 'Royal' Yugoslavia which attempted to emulate the great 'imperial' archaeological projects. [500] And, indeed, the Sto-

496 Franc Mesesnel was not mentioned in the chapter on archaeology in Slovenia. He was born in 1894 in Cervignano in Italy and studied art history in Vienna and Prague. Before 1928, when he started his career in Skopje, his scientific work was generally in the field of art history and art criticism. Towards the end of the Second World War, Slovene Home Guard members arrested him because of his work with the Liberation Front and shot him. In his career in N. Macedonia, he was active in the field of study of medieval art as well as archaeology. He contributed significantly to the development of conservation practice in N. Macedonia.

497 Before he accepted the professorship in archaeology, he was offered a Chair in Albanology, later also Balcanology (Truhelka, Majnarić-Pandžić and Bukovac 1992, 119–120).

498 This site had already been recorded by L. Heuzey (Découverte des Ruines de Stobi, *Revue Archéologique* 2, Paris 1873). In 1917 and 1918, the German army also excavated at this site (D. Hald, *Auf den Trümmern Stobis*, Stuttgart 1917; for more on early investigations in Stobi see Kitzinger 1946).

499 B. Saria, Iskopavanja u Stobiju (Excavations at Stobi), *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, vol. 1, issue 1, Skopje 1925, 287–300; B. Saria and R. Egger, Istraživanja u Stobima (Research in Stobi. *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, knj. 5, 1929; R. Egger, Die städtische Kirche von Stobi, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut in Wien*, Band 24, 1929.

500 In the Yugoslav press in the 1920s, Stobi was termed a 'Second Pompei', and motifs from Stobi were printed on postcards etc.

bi project strongly echoed outside the country and attracted many foreign scholars.[501]

Of the Serbian scholars, the most prominent role in the archaeological investigations in N. Macedonia was played by Nikola Vulić, a professor of ancient history at the University of Belgrade. He extensively studied the pre-Roman and Roman period of the Central Balkans: epigraphy, the ethnic structure of the population, and Romanisation. He made a significant contribution to several crucial scientific works in the domestic and international literature (for example, in the *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenshaft* and *Dizzionario epigrafico di antichitá romana*). Of particular importance are his early papers on the finds from classical Antiquity in Serbia that he published together with A. Premerstein and F. Ladek, for instance – Vulić and Premerstein (1900); Ladek, Premerstein and Vulić (1901); Premerstein and Vulić (1903).

The most famous site in N. Macedonia that Vulić investigated was Trebenište in the Ohrid Lake area. Between 1930 and 1934, Vulić excavated a late prehistoric necropolis and discovered two golden masks dated mid-1st millennium BC. Together with the two similar masks found at Trebenište by Bogdan Filov[502] in 1918, during the Bulgarian military occupation of this area, the mask found by Vulić was among the most attractive discoveries in Yugoslavia at the time. The discovery of the golden mask made Ohrid area one of the most exciting places for archaeological research in Macedonia, which also attracted foreign teams (e.g. from Germany), since the only previously known golden masks were those unearthed during Schliemann's excavation in Mycenae, which were almost a thousand years older.[503]

Vulić's other notable research in Macedonia included excavation of the theatre in the Roman town of Scupi in 1925 and research in Heraclea Lyncestis in Bitola. Heraclea Lycestis was very probably founded in the early Hellenistic period, in the mid-4th century BC, when the urban settlement was erected near the route, later known as Via Egnatia. The site yielded a great wealth of the remains of architecture, art and epigraphy. The first excavation at Heraclea Lyncestis has been carried out already in the early 1930s, whilst systematic investigations followed in the period between 1935 and 1938 (Grbić 1938). Among the most important finds was the Roman copy of the Phidias' sculpture Athena Parthenos (Sokolovska 1994, 7) Vulić's major archaeological project in this area was at Suvodol, east of Bitola, where between 1931 and 1933 he discovered Hellenistic tombs and Early Christian basilica. Last but not least, N. Vulić needs to be credited for two volumes of the Archaeological Map of Yugoslavia, for the regions of Kavadarci and Bitola-Prilep (Vulić 1937; 1938).

Between the two world wars, foreign archaeological teams were relatively rare in N. Macedonia, aside from research in the Stobi and Ohrid areas. In general, foreign scholars were traditionally more interested in the Aegean Macedonia, and only a few publications dealt with its northern

501 Rudolph Egger from the University of Vienna worked with the Yugoslav team. The Fogg and Peabody Museum of Harvard University and the American School of Prehistoric Research, led by J.V. Hewkes and R.W. Ehrich, organized an archaeological tour of Macedonia in 1932, which made a great impression on them (Goldman 1933).

502 Bogdan Filov from the National Museum in Sofia (later, in the period 1940–1944, prime minister of Bulgaria, sentenced to death for being the head of the pro-Nazi government) and Karel Schkorpil, a Czech-Bulgarian archaeologist and Director of the Archaeological Museum in Varna, excavated the necropolis in Trebenište and discovered numerous princely graves and two golden masks. Bibliography: Filow and Schkorpil (1927); Vulić (1925b, 1932).

503 The fifth golden mask was found in 2002, but at a different site in the Ohrid Lake area; it also drew great attention of the international community, especially in the context of a heated discussion of Macedonia's state name. The wider audience showed great interest in this discovery (see more details on the masks and discussion of their origins in Proeva 2006/2007).

areas.[504] Even more rare were foreign excations. Among the most known are the excavations of Johann Reiswitz and Wilhelm Unverzagt from the German Archaeological Institute, who, in 1931 and 1932, collaborated with M. Grbić from Belgrade at the excavations of Gradište above Sv. Erazmo near Ohrid. In this period the British School at Athens also extended its interests to the broader Macedonian region. Among the British scholars W.A. Heurtley, the Director of the School, was particularly active, and although he did not undertake field research in N. Macedonia he did publish a monograph on Macedonia's prehistory in 1939, which gave a synthetic overview and new interpretations, and argued against the theories of Miloje Vasić on prehistoric developments in the southern and central Balkans (Heurtley 1939).

This brief overview of major archaeological activities between 1918 and 1945 clearly shows the absence of local (Macedonian) scholars. Before the annexation of (Vardar) Macedonia to Serbia in 1912, and its incorporation (as part of Serbia) into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, there were practically no significant Macedonian cultural institutions in the country, apart from some rare high schools.[505] The 'Macedonian' institutions such as museums, universities and scientific societies which could serve as nuclei for the development of archaeological discipline simply did not exist or were Serbian. The institutional framework for the development of the archaeological discipline in the period 1918-1941 in N. Macedonia was certainly not national (i.e. Macedonian), but conceived as an extension of Serbian archaeology. It is only following the recognition of the Macedonian nation in Yugoslavia after 1944 that the process of creating actual national (Macedonian) institutions started.

However, before presenting the establishment of the national archaeological disciplinary framework in N. Macedonia, a brief overview of the period of the Bulgarian occupation (1941-1944) is needed for a more accurate contextualisation of its beginnings. Between 1941 and 1944, the country was occupied by Bulgaria (central and eastern parts) and Italy (western parts), which annexed the occupied territories to Albania. Bulgaria, unsatisfied with the outcome of the Balkans Wars, retained its territorial claims over N. Macedonia. In 1941, Bulgaria effectively returned to the territories which it had already occupied during the First World War. Advocating that Macedonians are Bulgarians, and their language a Bulgarian dialect, Bulgaria started forced 'Bulgarisation' on the occupied territory, which since 1918 had already for more than two decades suffered from strong 'Serbisation' (and de-Bulgarisation and de-Macedonisation). In the school year 1941/1942, Bulgarian authorities opened 800 primary schools, 180 middle schools and 17 gymnasia, and planned a 'Bulgarian' university in Skopje – Tsar Boris University (Rossos 2008, 184). All Macedonians were declared Bulgarians and Bulgarian the only official language. Not much different happened in the parts which belonged to the quisling Albania, with Bulgarisation strong in the domains studied in this book.

Instead of the Museum of Southern Serbia in Skopje, Bulgarians established a national museum to 'explain and present the national Bulgarian character' and refute the 'Serbian propaganda' (Miljković 1982, 89-90). The Bulgarian government – its prime minister was Bogdan Filov, archaeologist and historian, excavator of the famous Trebenište cemetery during the First World War – put forward a plan of establishing museums in all major towns in N. Macedonia (Skopje, Bitola, Štip, Veles, Prilep, Strumica, Ohrid...). The 'new' national museum in Skopje was opened in May 1942, with archaeology and ancient history departments. Altogether the museum had some 25 employees,

504 E.g. Leon Rey. Observations sur les premiers habitans de la Macédoine. Paris 1921–1922; Stanley Casson, Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria. Oxford 1928; Gavril Katsarov, Paeonia: Contribution to the Ancient Ethnography and History of Macedonia (Гаврил Кацаров, Принос към старата етнография и история на Македония). Sofia (1921).

505 The first full-status gymnasium in the wider region of Macedonia was founded in 1888 in Thessaloniki (*Macedonian Encyclopedia*, Skopje 2006, 1394).

led by Hristo Vakarelski, a renowned Bulgarian ethnologist (Miljković 1982, 98). The curator for archaeology was Ivan Venedikov. Bulgarian authorities also attempted to organize a network of the "antiquities offices" (as branches of their national museum) in all major macedonian towns. Their task was to collect and buy antiquities, and occasionally excavate some sites.[506] In 1943, the project of the Archaeological Map (of the territory of today's N. Macedonia) was launched, and some surveys in the valley of Bregalnica were actually undertaken (Miljković 1982, 99). Bulgarisation was, indeed, attempted very ambitiously and with plentiful resources. Still, it did not succeed for several reasons, mainly because the national liberation movement (led by Communists), the strongest anti-fascist organisation in N. Macedonia, first adopted an independentist agenda and later decided to become a part of the Yugoslav National Liberation Movement. The process of 'Macedonisation' of today's N. Macedonia was made possible only after the resolution of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia in 1943, which granted autonomy to the Macedonian nation and the status of the constitutive republic in newly reformed federal Yugoslavia.

Formation of a national archaeological system in North Macedonia (1945–)

In the immediate post-war period, the infrastructure left from the 'Serbian period', and probably some of it also from the Bulgarian occupation, provided a good basis for establishing the Macedonian national infrastructure of archaeology. Some of the existing organisations and institutions were transformed into national bodies, and a certain number of Serbian scholars (and other scholars from Yugoslavia), who worked in N. Macedonia before 1941, continued their work after the Second World War in the Macedonian national institutions or closely cooperated with them (for example, M. Grbić). However, it should be kept in mind that, with regard to the advance of the archaeological discipline, the 1920s and 1930s can be regarded as the initial phase of professionalisation and consolidation of archaeology in the future Socialist Republic of Macedonia, but not yet as a national school.

After the Second World War and obtaining the status of the republic and a constituent nation of Yugoslavia, there started the very intensive development of national political, cultural and scientific institutions in N. Macedonia. For archaeology, this was principally enacted in the establishment of the National Museum in Skopje in 1944.[507] The act of establishment of the National Museum gave an unambiguous message – the museum was made anew, and with no reference to the two previous 'national' museums in Skopje – the Museum of South Serbia (est. in 1924) and 'Bulgarian' National Museum which existed during the Bulgarian occupation of N. Macedonia. In 1949, the museum was divided into two independent museums, the Archaeological Museum of Macedonia and Ethnological Museum of Macedonia.

Another new institution was the University of Skopje, which was established in 1949. The Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was already founded in 1920 as a branch of the University of Belgrade. It stopped working during the Bulgarian occupation of N. Macedonia (1941–1944) and was not revived after the war.[508] Instead, the new 'Macedonian' Faculty of Philosophy was established in 1946 and three years later incorporated into the University of Skopje. On the republican (national) level, the third major institution was established in the first post-war years (1949) – the

506 In Ohrid, the director of such office was Kiril Prličev who excavated the church of St. Pantalaimon where he discovered the grave of St. Clement (Sv. Kliment) judging by the publication of Dimče Koco (1948), the first Macedonian Director of the Heritage Protection Institute. St. Clement was a disciple of Cyril and Methodius and highly worshiped saint among Macedonians and Bulgarians, considered protector of Ohrid.

507 In the same year the Natural History Museum in Skopje was also founded.

508 Bulgarians established the 'Bulgarian' National Museum in Skopje and also attempted to establish the 'Bulgarian' university.

Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, the first such institute in N. Macedonia. The establishment of several national institutions 'anew' was a quite explicit statement of abolishing the continuity of institutions from the 'Serbian' or 'Bulgarian' periods.

Outside Skopje there were only two very small museums that existed before the Second World War, in Struga (1928) and Bitola (1934), and no professional archaeologists were working there at that time. After the war, museums started to be established in all major towns all over the country, first in Veles (1946), then in Skopje (1949, the Municipal Museum), Štip (1950), Tetovo (1950), Ohrid (1951), Strumica (1954) and Prilep (1955). Later, in the 1960s and 1970s, followed another wave of new museums, in Kumanovo (1964), Kavadarci (1973), Negotino (1978), and Kičevo (1980). Small collections also existed in Stobi (1972) and Gevgelija (since the late 1970s). After 1991, museums were installed in Sveti Nikole (1994), Gevgelija (2003) and Vinica (2006).

The development of archaeology in the Republic of Macedonia after 1945 can be divided into roughly two phases: the formative phase (1945–ca. 1965), when the elementary infrastructure and conceptual framework were successfully established, and the developed phase from the mid-1960s onwards. The latter phase is marked by a more autonomous and 'organic' growth in all disciplinary domains. After gaining independence (from 1991 onwards), the changes were very gradual and not of the magnitude known from the previous periods. However, the political context left a strong imprint on archaeology's image and status in N. Macedonia.[509]

Without a doubt, the main problem in the formative phase was the lack of educated archaeologists in the country. There were simply no local archaeologists whose careers would have started before the war and could thus secure some continuity afterwards.[510] The archaeologists who worked in N. Macedonia before the Second World War all came from outside the country and left it before or during the conflict. Although the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was founded in 1946, the full archaeological curriculum was not introduced until three decades later, in the academic year 1974/1975. The first Macedonian archaeologists had degrees in art history (e.g. Dimče Koco, Vasil Lahtov, Blaga Aleksova) or graduated from archaeology in Belgrade and Zagreb (e.g. Vlado Malenko, Vera Bitrakova-Grozdanova, Vojislav Sanev, Borka Josifovska). In such circumstances, it was understandable that archaeologists from other republics of the former Yugoslavia (e.g. Josip Korošec, Jože Kastelic, Milorad Grbić, Milutin and Draga Garašanin), played an important role in the post-war development of the archaeological discipline in N. Macedonia. One of the priorities (in political terms) in historical disciplines in the first two decades after the war was the assistance in building national archaeological schools, and N. Macedonia was no exception to this.

The situation in N. Macedonia after 1945 required quick solutions in terms of the infrastructure and concept. An especially important task was to establish an efficient service for the protection of cultural heritage. Some places, like Stobi, Ohrid, and Heraclea Lynkestis near Bitola, were extremely rich in archaeological remains. Without an adequate protection system, they could face significant threats in the country's post-war renewal. In addition to this, hundreds of churches and monastic structures also needed attention and protection. The Ohrid Lake area was especially 'packed' with monuments, sites and architecture from the Hellenistic to Early Medieval period. It is not by chance that the museum there was among

509 This is further discussed at the end of the chapter on N. Macedonia.

510 Fanula Papazoglu was born in Bitola (1917–2001), where she completed high school. Later on, she graduated in classical philology, ancient history and archaeology at the University of Belgrade (1936). At the same university she succeeded Nikola Vulić after the Second World War, and continued with a very successful career.

the first established. In addition to this, in 1952 a special unit of the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was placed in Ohrid, transformed in 1962 into the Municipal Institute. Other regional units of this institute were established later, between 1960 and 1980. That the tasks in the domain of heritage protection were very demanding can be seen in the fact that regional institutes were joined with museums, which was the only way to secure the needed staff and infrastructure.

Among the first generation local scholars, Dimče Koco, Vasil Lahtov, Borka Josifovska and Blaga Aleksova played a crucial role in establishing the national Macedonian archaeological school. Dimče Koco (1910–1993) was the oldest in this group, and the only one with a degree obtained before the war (at the University of Belgrade). He laid the foundations for the study of the Early Christian history of art and archaeology in the newly-created Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In 1944, the provisional Macedonian Liberation Government authorised him to re-establish the National Museum in Skopje. Macedonians recognised neither the 'Serbian' nor the 'Bulgarian' museums as the predecessors of their National Museum. Dimče Koco was also among the founders of the new Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, and one of its first professors. In 1952, he took up the position of Director of the Archaeological Museum. Further, he initiated the two main archaeological journals in N. Macedonia at the time: *Glasnik na Muzejsko-konzervatorsko društvo* and *Godišniot zbornik na Arheološkiot muzej*. Concerning research, his main activities were in medieval, Byzantine, and early Christian art history and archaeology. He conducted investigations of some of the most important monuments from these periods in the area of Ohrid (for example, the monastery complex of St. Clement, and the Churches of St. Naum and St. Sophia). Based on his scientific and professional achievements, he was elected a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute in 1955. In 1969, he was awarded the degree of *doctor honoris causa* of the University of Besançon in France.

D. Koco closely collaborated with Vasil Lahtov (1914–1964), an art historian who graduated from the University of Skopje (1954) and obtained his doctorate in archaeology at the University of Ljubljana (1963). Lahtov was the founder of the Museum in Ohrid (1951) and the journal (*Lihnid*) which the museum published. Despite his relatively short professional career, Lahtov laid solid grounds for systematic research in southwestern N. Macedonia. He directed several important field investigations, including the ancient theatre's excavations in Ohrid, the late-prehistory cemetery at Trebenište and the Early Christian basilica near Imaret. His topographic works produced the documentation of over 400 archaeological sites from southwestern N. Macedonia.

Besides these two figures, B. Aleksova (1922–2007) also deserves attention, as she was among the first graduates of art history at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, with a PhD from the University of Lublin, Poland (1958). She pursued her career at the Archaeological Museum in Skopje and the University of Skopje. In the early years of Macedonian archaeology, Aleksova represented, together with D. Koco and V. Lahtov, an equally influential figure in establishing modern archaeology in her country. Her research was also focused on the Early Christian, Byzantine and medieval archaeology.[511]

The bibliography of D. Koco, V. Lahtov and B. Aleksova indicates the research priorities of post-war Macedonian archaeology – the early

511 For example, B. Aleksova, Arheološki naogališta na dolniot tek na rekata Topolka, *Glasnik na Muzejsko-konzervatorsko društvo* 9, Skopje 1954; B. Aleksova, Naodi od srednovekovnite grobovi vo Kratovo, *Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija* 1, Skopje 1957. Of particular significance is her work conducted towards the end of the 1960s in eastern N. Macedonia, in the region of Štip, where she directed a number of excavation seasons investigating the Late Antiquity town in Bargala that became an episcopal seat in the 5th and 6th century (B. Aleksova, Bargala–Bregalnica vo svetlinata na novite arheološki istražuvanja, *Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija* 3, Skopje 1967, 5–50; B. Aleksova, Pridones od istražuvanjata od Bargala–Bregalnica za osvetluvanjeto na istorijata na Južnite Sloveni, *Posebna Izdanja XII, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 4, Sarajevo 1969, 105–114).

Christian and Byzantine periods and the Middle Ages. One of the main reasons for this lies in the, undoubtedly, a very high number of architectural and art monuments from these periods and their exceptional character. On the other hand, one cannot ignore the political climate in the first two decades following the war and intensified institutionalisation of the Macedonian nation as *sui generis* in Yugoslavia, with its own language, culture and political autonomy. In such circumstances, Macedonian archaeology could, for the first time, contribute significantly to this process by focusing on the critical period from the Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages, during which the political and cultural structures were formed that the new Republic of Macedonia attempted to use as the basis for affirming its historical identity and legitimacy.

In addition to the local pioneers of archaeology, some experts came to N. Macedonia from other places in Yugoslavia, and some remained there permanently. Amongst them, Boško Babić (1924–1998), the founder of the Museum and Institute for Early Slavic Studies (1980) in Prilep, and the Archaeological Society of Macedonia (1970), occupies a special place.[512] Today he is considered a doyen of the Slavic archaeology in N. Macedonia. He was born in Bosanska Gradiška and was of Croatian-Romanian descent. He graduated from the art history department at the University of Belgrade and completed a doctorate in archaeology (the topic of which was the Macedonian Slavs) at the University of Lublin in Poland. From the very beginning of his career in Prilep, Babić worked intensively on the archaeology of the Early Slavs, which, until then, had been a non-existent area of research in this country. During his investigations, he discovered some of the earliest Slavic sites in the central Balkans in general. Over two decades, he succeeded in creating the third major centre of Macedonian archaeology in Prilep, besides those in Skopje and Ohrid. His most famous works on Early Slavic archaeology were published in the 1970s and 1980s.[513]

An essential part in the formation of Macedonian archaeology, especially in terms of its conceptual development, was also played by some archaeologists from other Yugoslav republics. Their contribution was primarily in prehistoric archaeology, which was very poorly developed in N. Macedonia, although it had great potential. Of the Serbian archaeologists, Milutin Garašanin and Miodrag Grbić were the most active. Just after the Second World War, Grbić carried out several field investigations in N. Macedonia and, in 1954, published the systematic list of archaeological sites and monuments in the country (Grbić 1954), which served as an essential basis for the development of archaeology in N. Macedonia over next two decades. In 1950 and 1952, Grbić conducted excavations of the sites Zelenikovo and Porodin, together with Wilhelm Unverzagt and Johann Reiswitz from the then German Democratic Republic, which is probably the earliest example of international cooperation in field investigations in post-war Yugoslavia.[514] Milutin Garašanin

512 He was among the founders of two important scientific journals in N. Macedonia, *Macedoniae Acta archaeologica* and *Balcanoslavica*, as well as the first president of the Association of Yugoslav Archaeological Societies (1972–1976) and the head of the International Union of Slavic Archaeology (1975).

513 For example, B. Babić, Crepulja, crepna, podnica – posebno značajan oslonac za atribuciju srednjovjekovnih arheoloških nalazišta Balkanskog poluostrva Slovenima porijeklom sa Istoka. *Materijali IX (Symposium of the Medieval Section of the Archaeological Association of Yugoslavia, Prilep 1970)*, Beograd 1972, 101–124; B. Babić, Die Erforschung der altslavischen Kultur in der SR Mazedonien, *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 10–76/1, Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin 1976, 59–73; B. Babić, Materijalnata kultura na makedonskite Sloveni vo svetlinata na arheološkite istražuvanja vo Prilep. *Prilozi na istorijata na kulturata na Makedonskiot narod*, 1986. For further information on the work of B. Babić see G. Babić-Janeska, 1986 and K. Petrov, 1986.

514 Grbić collaborated with Johann Reiswitz and Wilhelm Unverzagt already in the 1930s at Gradište above Sv. Erasmo Church in Ohrid, and during the Second World War, when both were stationed in Belgrade as German military officials (*Ahnenerbe*) in charge of historical and heritage research. Later, they both continued their academic careers, Reiswitz at

also undertook several surveys and excavations in N. Macedonia and published a number of papers that contributed significantly to the conceptualisation and building of interpretative models for the country's prehistory.[515] The Slovene archaeologists Jože Kastelic and Josip Korošec also produced some significant results in the first decades of Macedonian archaeology. Jointly with V. Lahtov, J. Kastelic investigated the area of Trebenište in the early 1950s, while J. Korošec was involved in the research of important sites from the Neolithic period in Grgur Tumba and Anzabegovo.

By the beginning of the 1960s, Macedonian archaeology made remarkable progress. Only fifteen years earlier, the discipline was almost non-existent at the local level. There were neither adequate domestic institutions nor domestic experts, and the degree of research was extremely low. Such significant advancement (the formation of nine new museums and the National Museum, the Faculty of Philosophy with the Department of Art History, and the service for the protection of the monuments of culture) was possible thanks to several factors. In the first place, there was a substantial investment in the development of Macedonian culture as an essential component of the institutionalisation of the Macedonian nation in Yugoslavia. This process ran parallel to, and in synergy with, the Macedonian society's general social and economic modernisation. Moreover, one must not ignore the fact that both processes were strongly supported by the then ruling Communist government (Macedonian and Yugoslav), which imposed the ideology of the fraternity and unity of Yugoslav people, also aimed at bridging the developmental gap between the various parts of Yugoslavia. It also certainly desired a 'strong' Macedonia in the south of the country bordered by Bulgaria, Greece and Albania, with which it there were tense political relations.

The most significant changes since the 1960s onwards (i.e. developed phase) were in the domain of heritage protection. In 1949 the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments (with its branch in Ohrid since 1952) was established and acted as the only such institution in the whole country. Soon the amount of work increased to a level that demanded reorganisation of the public service for heritage protection. New regional institutes started to be established in Skopje (1963), Bitola (1975, Štip (1979), Prilep and Strumica. These new regional institutes increased the number of professional archaeologists in the country and the general extent of the archaeological work in protection and research. Compared to other republics in the former Yugoslavia, the Macedonian particularity was the integration of regional museums with regional institutes, which was actually a continuation of the earlier practices. In the first two decades after the war, in the formative phase, the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage could efficiently perform its tasks only if assisted by local museum staff and infrastructure. In this sense, the museums were, from their beginning, involved in heritage protection and developed abundant experience in this field. The regionalisation of public service for heritage protection took this fact into account and created a 'hybrid' institutional network.

By 1970s, Macedonian archaeology reached the levels of other national archaeologies in Yugoslavia in infrastructural and conceptual development, and it was well integrated into Yugoslav archaeology. In 1971, when the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia (the principal archaeological scholarly society) was transformed into the Association of Archaeological Societies of Yugoslavia, the Macedonian society took

the University of Munich, while Unverzagt became one of the most important archaeologists of the GDR, as a professor at the Humboldt's University in Berlin. In 1942 and 1943, he investigated Kalemegdan Fortress in Belgrade (W. Unverzagt, Neue Ausgrabungen in der Festung Belgrad, Berlin 1945. *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 21, 41–45). On Reiswitz' and Unverzagt's activities in Serbia during the Second World War, see more in Bandović (2014).

515 E.g. Garašanin M. (1956).

the presidency of the association. Unfortunately developments, not only in archaeology but also in general, were abruptly interrupted by a catastrophic event that had immense economic consequences, the catastrophic earthquake in Skopje in 1963 when more than 1,000 people were killed, and 70% of the city was utterly destroyed. About 200,000 people had to leave their homes because Skopje was left without functioning infrastructure. Despite sizeable Yugoslav and international aid, the whole country suffered a significant blow to its economy and infrastructure. It took more than a decade and enormous financial and material support to restore the city of Skopje, and many institutions in the heavily damaged capital could not fully function for a significant period of time.

To illustrate the consequences in archaeology, I have looked at the number of archaeological publications produced in N. Macedonia before and after the earthquake.[516] The diagram below shows the works by their date of publication, at five-year intervals.

The diagram shows that three lows are evident in the curve, corresponding to the three phases with a negative impact on archaeology, (a) the earthquake in Skopje in 1963, (b) the start of the major economic crisis in Yugoslavia in the early 1980s, and (c) the onset of the wars with the break-up of the former Yugoslavia.

Nevertheless, the rebuilding of Skopje and N. Macedonia's economic reconstruction stimu-

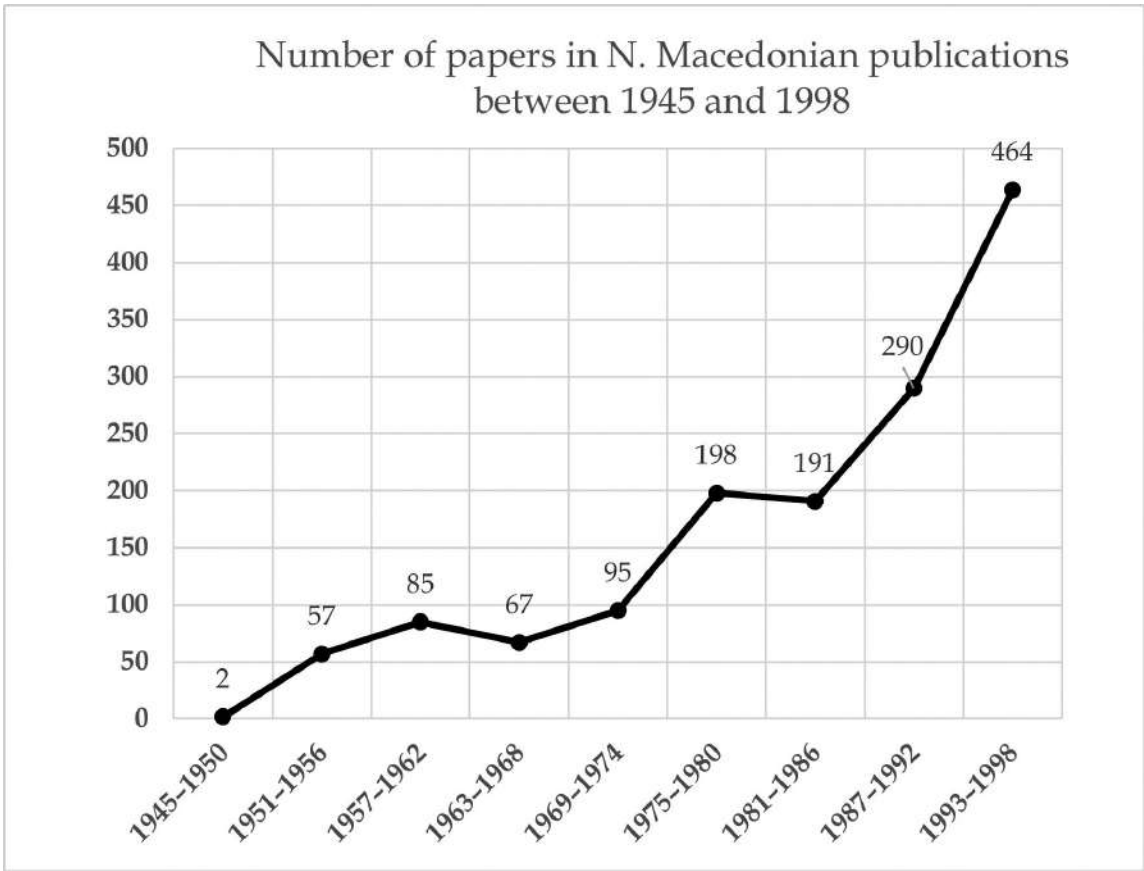


Fig. 146 The frequency of publishing in Macedonian archaeology (i.e. the number of papers per 5-year interval, between 1945 and 1998).

lated a new cycle of development in the country, within which archaeology was also offered some fresh perspectives. The new, state-of-the-art buildings were erected for the Archaeological Museum and the Faculty of Philosophy. Simultaneously, a complete archaeology curriculum was introduced at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje (1974/1975), [517] thus finally completing the establishment of all main fields of archaeological research and practice.

The following two decades (1970–1990) were the time when Macedonian archaeology was at its peak. During this period, the number of professional archaeologists rose significantly, both in the central and regional or local institutions, enabling the expansion of archaeological work into areas that were previously less intensively studied. In 1971, following the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia's transformation into an association of national archaeological societies, Macedonians established their own national scholarly society, which in 1975 started to publish the *Macedoniae acta archaeologica*, the leading archaeological journal today. In 1972, the Centre for Early Slavic Research at the Museum in Prilep,[518] in cooperation with the Association of the Archaeological Societies of Yugoslavia, launched a journal *Balcanoslavica*, still published today. Prior to the 1970s, there were not many archaeological publications. Among the journals, the principal role was played by *Živa antika* (*Antiquitė Vivante*), established in 1951 in Skopje on the initiative of the classical philologists from the universities of Skopje, Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, which also published some archaeological papers. The journal is still published today and has the highest international reputation among all journals in humanities and social sciences published in N. Macedonia. Another early journal with important archaeological content was *Lihnid*, published as the journal of the Museum and Regional Institute for Protection of Cultural monuments in Ohrid. The first issue appeared in 1957 (1959), but then only irregularly.

The period of the creation of modern Macedonian archaeology was also characterised by another advance – intensive international cooperation in research. Besides Grbić's collaboration in the early 1950s, who worked with archaeologists from the German Democratic Republic in Zelenikovo and Porodin, there were no other significant international projects in N. Macedonia until the 1960s, although the great archaeological potential of the country did not escape the attention of many foreign scholars.

The situation began to change as early as 1969 when Maria Gimbutas (UCLA) expanded her large project focused on the Neolithic period of the southern Balkans to include N. Macedonia, that is – the early Neolithic site of Ansa near Štip, which she investigated until 1971.[519] A markedly larger and more important project for the development of domestic archaeology was the one in Stobi (1970–1980), within which Macedonian institutions (the Archaeological Museum in Skopje, the Museum in Veles, the University of Skopje) collaborated with an American team composed of specialists from a range of universities and other institutions.[520] Another international project was carried out in 1976 and

516 The bibliography listed in *Archaeological Map of the Republic of Macedonia* can be considered a reasonably representative sample of archaeological publications. *The Archaeological Map* lists 632 works published between 1945 and 1995.

517 The archaeology curriculum was combined with the curriculum of art history studies. Only after 2000 was the programme in archaeology introduced as a separate degree course.

518 In 1980 the centre was transformed into the autonomous Institute for Early Slavic Culture.

519 See Gimbutas (1976).

520 The Stobi project was jointly funded by the Macedonian Government and the Smithsonian Institution. The American team included scholars from the University of Texas, Austin (the main US partner); University of Illinois, Chicago; University of Oregon; American School in Athens; Tufts University, Massachusetts; State University of New York, Buffalo. The bibliography of this project is considerable. For major publications, see J. Wiseman and Đ. Mano-Zisi (1971); J. Wiseman and Đ. Mano-Zisi (1973; 1975; 1976; 1981).

1977, when a Macedonian-Polish team excavated the Early Slavic site in Debrešte near Prilep. Together with an increasing number of projects initiated by local institutions in the 1970s and 1980s, all these were possible due to improvements in infrastructure. This is also evident in the fact that in the 1980s, besides Skopje, there were two other important centres of the discipline, Ohrid and Prilep.

The exceptional natural and cultural wealth of the area of Ohrid received full international recognition in 1979 when the town was placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.[521] It is thus not surprising that a very active archaeological centre developed there. From the archaeological perspective, this area is known for unique material remains and discoveries dating from the period starting in the Early Neolithic, through the time of the ancient Paeonian and Macedonian princely tombs of the first millennium BC (e.g. the golden funeral mask from Ohrid), the Hellenistic period (e.g. the theatre), the Roman settlement, up to the period of the Byzantine rule. There are also finds of early Macedonian remains (e.g. the oldest Slavic monastery of St. Panteleimon, with more than 2,500 m^2 of frescoes and the second largest collection of icons in the world).

In contrast to Ohrid, Prilep developed into a national centre with a narrower focus on the Early Slavs' archaeology. In 1980, the Institute for the Study of Early Slavic Culture was founded, and archaeological research was its essential part. Boško Babić held a leading position at the Institute and succeeded in developing it into the second-largest institution in former Yugoslavia dealing with Slavic archaeology, after the Museum of Croatian National Monuments in Split. Indeed, the political climate was highly favourable for establishing such a large institution primarily oriented towards research on national history and culture, but this does not diminish the importance of this Institute for further development of Slavic studies in former Yugoslavia.[522]

Along with the traditionally prioritised research areas (Late Antiquity and the Early Christian and Byzantine periods), a new field of research in Macedonian archaeology has seen profound development over the last few decades – the study of the Neolithic. N. Macedonia occupies one of the most pivotal places in the Central Balkans. The Vardar – Morava route served as one of the main pathways of Neolithisation of Southeast Europe. Intensive investigations of the Neolithic sites revealed an extraordinary wealth of Neolithic cultures (the group Anzabegovo–Vršnik, the Porodin group) and revealed numerous spectacular discoveries (such as the 'Adam from Govrlevo', a 15 cm-high male clay statue showing an unusually realistic representation of the human body). The remarkable potential for Neolithic research in N. Macedonia had been known to the broader international community for a long time, so it is not surprising that archaeologists from other centres in Yugoslavia often worked in the area and were joined by world-renowned scientists. Soon after the initial exploration of the sites from this period was carried out, usually by researchers from outside N. Macedonia, local archaeologists would take up the initiative and continue to develop Neolithic archaeology successfully. Among them, Vojislav Sanev (1938–2007) from the museum in Štip (later moved to the Archaeological Museum in Skopje) contributed notably to the development of Neolithic archaeology.

Over three decades, Macedonian archaeology accomplished the development of all main research fields – prehistoric, ancient and medieval

521 In 1979, Ohrid was placed on this list based on its natural heritage. In 1980, the nomination was extended to include cultural heritage.

522 The Institute regularly published the journal *Balcanoslavica*, a medium-quality publication on Slavic archaeology in former Yugoslavia. *Balcanoslavica* was first established as one of the journals of the Association of Yugoslav Archaeological Societies in 1972. However, very soon, the Prilep institutions took over the publishing of the journal. Eventually, following the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, the journal was formally handed over to the Institute in Prilep.

archaeology – up to the level of archaeological research in other republics of Yugoslavia at the time. Perhaps the only area where the progress was somewhat delayed was Palaeolithic and Mesolithic archaeology. Mirko Malez (1979), in his brief review of the Palaeolithic in N. Macedonia in *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja*, mentioned as the only relevant Macedonian researcher was Risto Garevski (1922-2012), a palaeontologist and a professor at the Faculty of Mining and Geology in Štip. In 1956 and 1969, Garevski excavated the cave of Makarovec near Veles.

At the end of this chapter, a curious fact must be highlighted that casts light on Yugoslavia's archaeological academic relationships and politics. Among the 28 authors and co-authors of texts included in the voluminous synthesis *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja*, none of the publication's five volumes contains a contribution of N. Macedonian archaeologists. All of the authors who presented regions of N. Macedonia through different prehistoric periods were from archaeological centres from outside N. Macedonia – Mirko Malez reported on the Palaeolithic, Milutin Garašanin on the Neolithic and Bronze Age, and Rastko Vasić prepared the overview on the Iron Age in N. Macedonia. It is difficult to identify the reason behind this. One possible explanation may stem from the fact that the key conceptual and interpretative models in the chronology, typology, and cultural determination of material culture in the Central Balkans (N. Macedonia included) were developed in the 1950s and 1960s by prehistorians from Belgrade (e.g. M. Garašanin).

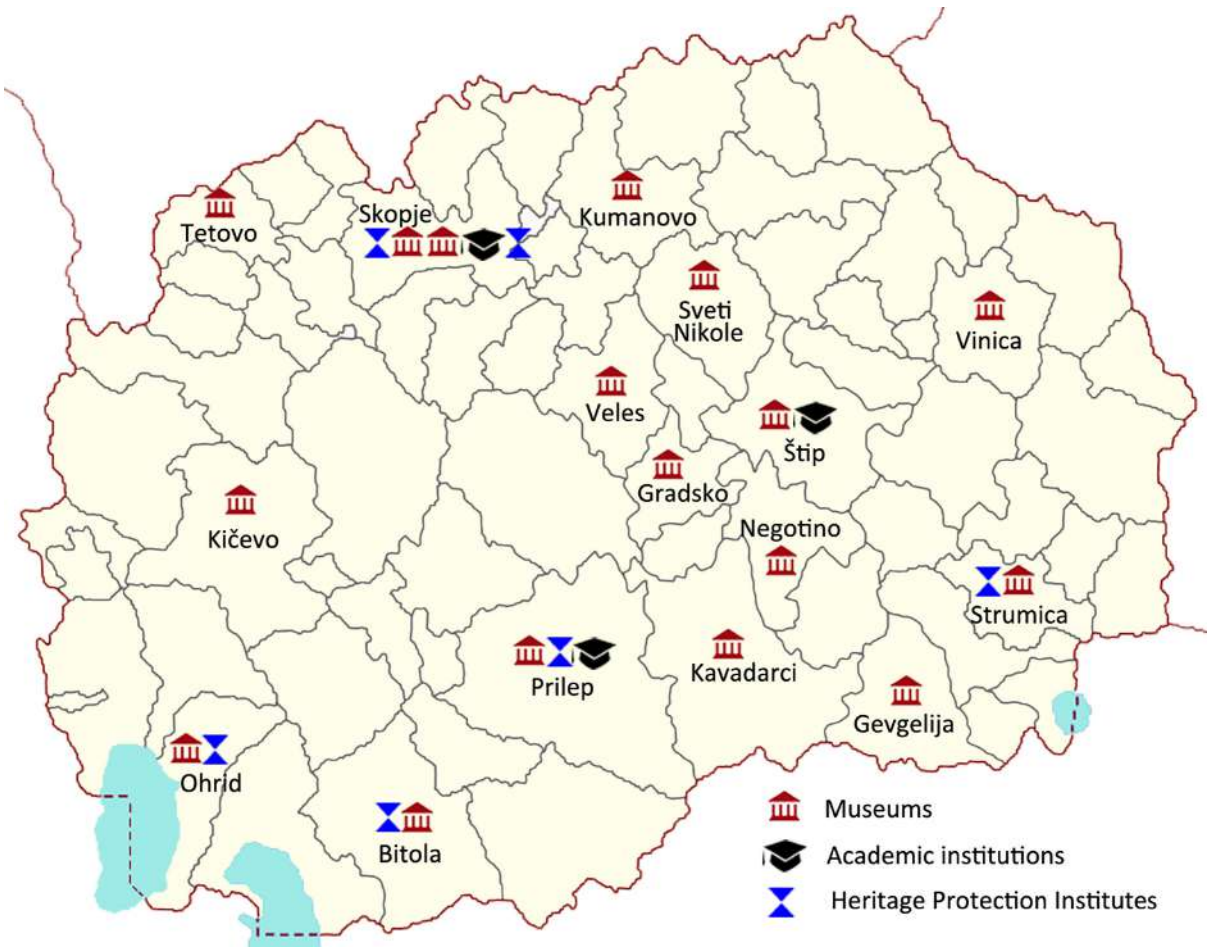


Fig. 147 Archaeological institutions in N. Macedonia.

However, this cannot be claimed for the 1970s and 1980s, because these were the times when domestic archaeologists indeed carried out most of the prehistoric investigations in N. Macedonia. One of the reasons may also be the difficulties faced by the editors of *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja* with regard to introducing coherent criteria for the presentation of different regions, which created significant problems for the coherence of the entire corpus of the publication.[523] However, regardless of the reasons, the absence of Macedonian scholars was not unnoticed in Macedonian archaeology, and revived some memories on the 'Serbian' archaeological 'colonialism'.

Archaeology after 1991 and the 'Macedonian issue'

During the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Macedonia declared its independence amid challenging economic and political circumstances. Since it was economically the least-developed republic, post-1991 Macedonia found itself in a harsh situation which further worsened in the first half of the decade due to the UN's economic sanctions imposed on Milošević's Serbia, which was one of Macedonia's principal economic partners, and the Greek economic embargo as a reaction to the official state-name of Macedonia. The gross national income per capita in 1992 dropped by about 15% compared to 1991, and the reconstruction was very slow and fraught with difficulties (down by 27% compared to 1991 in 1995, 22% in 2000, 35% in 2005, and 57% in 2008).[524] After the secession of Kosovo and the military intervention of NATO forces against Serbia, the relations with the Albanian minority in N. Macedonia (approximately one-third of the population) deteriorated. In 2001, this led to an armed conflict between the Army of the Republic of Macedonia and Albanian guerrilla units. The conflict was ended through an official agreement in Ohrid, which secured greater autonomy and political rights for the Albanian community in Macedonia.

Such political and economic situations undoubtedly had a negative effect on all aspects of society, including archaeology. The majority of public institutions in the country, especially in education, culture and science, could survive only by applying drastic reductions to costs and activities. The data presented in Fig. 146 shows that the number of archaeological publications in the first half of the 1990s plunged to the level recorded some thirty years before. The communication with archaeologists and institutions in the neighbouring countries, especially in the former Yugoslav republics, either ceased or was hampered because of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, the lack of funding, and also the rigorous visa regime imposed on the citizens of Macedonia by the countries of the European Union and many other European states. After a decade, however, the economic situation started to gradually improve, and a new stabilisation process has taken place over the last fifteen years or so, although still under very modest economic conditions.

All archaeological institutions from the period before the break-up of Yugoslavia have continued to be active. Some of them changed their status, but, in general, they remained fully active in archaeology. Three new local museums were established after 1991, in Sveti Nikole (1994), Gevgelija (2003) and Vinica (2006).

The changes were most substantial in public service for the protection of cultural heritage. Instead of the former Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, the Act on Protection of Cultural Heritage (2004) defines two types of institutions. New central institutions are the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage (*Uprava za zaštita na kulturno nasledstvo*) (2005) and National Conservation

523 This issue was very clearly presented by Staša Babić (2011).

524 Source: http://www.economywatch.com/economic-statistics/country/Macedonia/ (based on the data from the World Bank and the CIA World Factbook data).

Centre (*Nacionalen konzervatorski centar*). The Directorate is an administrative unit of the Ministry of Culture, and its tasks are primarily administrative (e.g. administrative implementation of legislation, development of the national strategy of protection of heritage, maintenance of the National Gazetteer of heritage objects, sites, architectures and areas, monitoring the implementation of legislation, etc.).

The National Conservation Centre replaced the former Republican Institute for Protection of the Monuments of Culture, but has somewhat different prerogatives. All former regional institutes for the protection of cultural heritage in Skopje, Ohrid, Bitola, Prilep, Štip, and Strumica were transformed into regional Conservation Centres and more integrated into the National Conservation Centre.

Another new institution was established in 2008 – the National Institution for the Management of the Archaeological Site Stobi. Thus, the likely most important ancient site in N. Macedonia was finally incorporated into a more appropriate institutional framework. New also was the Faculty of Education Sciences at the University of Goce Delčev, Štip, established in 1995, which recently an introduced archaeological curriculum, and the Faculty also launched a new journal – the *Annual Review of the Institute of History and Archaeology*.

The rebuilding of the international collaboration intensified after 2000 in terms of student exchanges, guest exhibitions abroad, cooperation with foreign research teams in fieldwork in N. Macedonia, and so on. Publishing activity also increased significantly by initiating new series and publications (e.g. *Macedonian Archaeological Journal / Makedonski arheološki vesnik* – a joint electronic publication of the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage and the Euro-Balkan Institute for Postgraduate Studies). The number of archaeological excavations has been on the rise as well (40 to 50 per year according to the data for 2009 and 2010).[525] Besides the traditionally important investigations at Stobi, in recent years large field projects were conducted at Plaošnik in Ohrid, Skopsko Kale and Scupi. Concerning these large projects, all of them were conducted in places which have already been researched, and represent 'particular' locations (citadel of old towns, Roman towns, etc.) and important historical markers. However, one could not escape the feeling that many of the large projects on places, perceived as particularly important for the historical image and identity of N. Macedonia, were synchronised with political goals. For most of the last two decades, the nationalist government intensively supported the so-called 'antiquisation', i.e. creating the Macedonian historical identity based on the ancient Macedonians. I will say a few words later in the text on this phenomenon.

However, while 'representative' archaeology was at its peak, the situation in other domains was quite different, especially in preventive archaeology, which could not meet the challenges of large infrastructural development (e.g. motorways, large industrial plants, etc.). This was not the problem in legislation but in implementation and relatively weak capacities of public service for the protection of cultural heritage to promptly meet the challenges of large development projects. Compared to Slovenia and Croatia, where motorways' construction catalysed a strong boost to preventive archaeology and a substantial increase in research, employment and infrastructure, this was not the case in N. Macedonia. There, preventive archaeological research was not – and still is not – included in the planning phases of development. Only those already listed sites (i.e. being previously discovered) have to be either avoided or researched before the construction works. Still, there are no funds (and obligations) secured for the actual preventive

525 http://www.mand.org.mk/mk/aktivnosti.php?id=1. The website of the Macedonian Scientific Archaeological Society lists the projects approved by the Ministry of Culture. The number of excavations may be even greater if short-term, preventive interventions are taken into account.

research as part of the necessary impact studies for each development project. Though more than a hundred kilometres of new motorways were recently constructed, only a small number of sites were rescued. The situation is not much better with regard to preventive archaeology in urban areas.

At present, there are 21 institutions in the Republic of North Macedonia which employ archaeologists. Four of them are academic institutions, the Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, The University of Goce Delčev at Štip, the Institute for Early Slavic Culture in Prilep. To this group, I have also added the Archaeological Museum in Skopje. Though academic research is not its primary task, the museum was the country's principal research institution for many decades. Together with the University of Skopje, the museum employs the largest team of archaeologists in the country. The other two academic institutions are much smaller with regard to archaeological personnel, with two or three archaeologists at maximum. There are two national institutions for heritage protection, the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage and National Conservation Centre, with its regional branches in Skopje, Bitola, Štip. Ohrid, Prilep and Strumica. In general, each regional branch has one or two archaeologists. With the formation of the National Conservation Centre and its branches in 2005, the traditional 'hybrid' model of integrated regional museums and institutes for the protection of cultural heritage was abolished. The 'archaeological' museum network is, presently, composed of 17 museums to which the Archaeological Park Stobi should also be added.

All in all, the archaeological 'institutional' landscape is reasonably developed and has stable potential for the future. [526] On the other hand, the picture is somewhat different if one looks at the number of archaeologists in individual towns or regions. Of about 110 active archaeologists, based on the information from the Macedonian Archaeological Society, nearly half of them are employed in the institutions in Skopje. The second centre is Prilep, with ten archaeologists working at the Regional Conservation Centre, Institute for the Early Slavic Culture and Museum, followed by Bitola with five and Ohrid with four archaeologists. Such an unbalanced distribution of archaeological posts indicates certain centralisation of human and material resources, but the situation is still not at the level of centralisation seen in Bosnia and Herzegovina or Serbia. In my opinion, the major challenge in the future will come in the field of preventive archaeology, where the lack of archaeological posts, especially at regional and local levels, is evident. According to the Ministry of Culture data, there are some 4,200 archaeological sites listed. Experience in Slovenia and Croatia, where in the last two decades alone, after the introduction of intensive preventive research, the number of newly discovered sites increased significantly, point to a much higher number of sites also in N. Macedonia. Their protection and research inevitably call for more archaeologists.

In the period after 1991, indisputably the most significant achievement in Macedonian archaeology has been the publication of the Archaeological Map of the Republic of Macedonia (*Arheološka karta na Republika Makedonija*) prepared jointly by the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Archaeological Museum in Skopje. The preparation of the materials for publication started much earlier, in the framework of the Yugoslav initiative for publication of archaeological topographies and archaeological maps of the individual republics. North Macedonia was the third which published an extensive gazetteer of sites, after Slovenia (*Areheološka najdišča Slovenije* 1975) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine* 1988). The Archaeological Map of the Republic of Macedonia was published in three large volumes. The first volume (1994) contained synthetic texts

526 Virtually all these institutions conduct archaeological research (according to the data on projects approved for 2009 and 2010), meaning that they have resident archaeologists and the necessary material infrastructure.

on ar5chaeological periods, the second volume (1996) was a catalogue of sites, while the third volume (2002) contained detailed maps. Altogether, in this publication, some 4,500 archaeological sites on 1,300 locations were catalogued.

After the Republic of Macedonia was proclaimed a state in 1991, the archaeology and ancient history of the region came into the centre of attention of the domestic and foreign public because of the dispute with Greece over the country's official name. The Macedonian constitution spoke of the Republic of Macedonia. Greece contested the name 'Macedonia' and argued that it denotes a region which, through history, was Greek and, as such, belongs to Greek cultural heritage, with the use of this name an expression of territorial pretensions towards other parts of the former historical province of Macedonia. Greece repeatedly vetoed Macedonia's accession to international organisations, so it was not until 1993 that the Republic of Macedonia was finally admitted to the United Nations under the provisional name – the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. After a year of very tense relations, Greece and the Republic of Macedonia signed a temporary agreement in 1995. Both sides acknowledged the other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and they agreed to the rapid start of negotiations on the official name of Macedonia.[527] Greece also vetoed Macedonia's access to NATO in 2008, which further worsened the two countries' relations.[528] Finally, in January 2019, the Greek and Macedonian parliaments ratified the so-called Prespa Agreement, which resolved this dispute. Since then, the country has been officially named North Macedonia. However, this process left deep marks on Macedonian archaeology, especially its public image.

As in all other former Yugoslav republics, a surge in ethnocentric perspectives in historiography (Brunnbauer 2003) can also be observed in N. Macedonia, especially after Yugoslavia's dissolution and during the dispute with Greece. Simultaneously, pseudo-archaeology and pseudo-history flourished widely, most often concerning the national groups' origin and ethnicity. The theory of Venetian and even Etruscan origin of the Slovenes was popular for a while in Slovenia. In Croatia, 'proof' of the Iranian origin of Croats was sought. A theory of Illyrian ancestors was favoured among the Albanians and Bosniaks. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Illyrians were also seen as the forefathers of the Bogumils, the supposed Christian heresy from the medieval period. In Serbia, the origin of the Serbs was pursued in the Neolithic Vinča, and so on.[529] Common to all these theories was the quest for the non-Slavic origin of these nations.

N. Macedonia, naturally, was not immune to such 'theories' and 'hidden histories', especially not in the heated political atmosphere of the last three decades. Here, along with some rare and exotic pseudo-archaeological ideas (for example, the Macedonian alphabet dating from the Neolithic, etc.), the thesis about the ancient origin of the present-day Macedonians was

527 That year also, the Republic of Macedonia changed its flag. The official flag (1992–1995) showed the star from Vergina in gold against a red background. Greece considered this symbol its property and submitted a request that year to the World Intellectual Property Organization for the exclusive right to use it.

528 A formal statement from Athens was published on the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Greece (http://www.mfa.gr/en/fyrom-name-issue/), according to which the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was violating the interim agreement between the two countries by, among other things, using the name the Republic of Macedonia in international contacts, using ancient Macedonian symbols (the so-called star from Vergina) on its flag, naming the airport in Skopje after Alexander of Macedon/Alexander the Great (i.e. Aleksandar Makedonski), and erecting large statues of Alexander and Philip II, the kings of Macedonia. The Greek position was that "A compound name with a geographical qualifier for use in relations to everyone (*erga omnes*) is the best possible basis for finding an honest, mutually beneficial compromise that will not create winners and losers...".

529 For further information on pseudo-archaeology and historical myths in the regions of former Yugoslavia, see Novaković (2007a; 2007b); Džino (2014); Slapšak (1993).

seriously promoted by the government.[530] The initial authors of such theories were mostly amateur historians and archaeologists. Still, with the deterioration of the relations with Greece, especially after the failed attempt at the admission of N. Macedonia into NATO in 2008 (Proeva 2010, 219), the official Macedonian authorities began to very openly promote the ancient Macedonians as ancestors of the modern Macedonians, and the continuity of present-day N. Macedonia from ancient Macedonia.[531] Whether this referred to symbolic continuity or even implied direct continuity is actually of not much importance here. The fact is that the official state ideology and archaeology found themselves on opposite sides. In the entire Macedonian archaeological bibliography between 1945 and 1991 there is virtually no single text that would provide a basis, i.e. scientific legitimacy, to the theses of the ancient origin of modern Macedonians. Despite this, the Macedonian government launched a project of '*antiquitisation*' of the country, which had a far greater public prominence thanks to the high financing it received. In such a political context, numerous publications about the 'true' history of Macedonia and the Macedonian nation began to emerge, arguing that previous national history and historiography were created by the (Communist) regime denying or restricting the Macedonian nationality in Yugoslavia. In addition to this, foreign historiographies were accused of appropriating the Macedonian past.[532] Concerning such *antiquitisation*, it is necessary to point out another one of its 'inherent' aspects, along with the 'appropriation' of ancient Macedonia and its exclusive connection with the Macedonian nation, such picture of the past excluded the Albanian component.[533]

In both ideological and material terms the investment into *antiquitisation* was enormous. *T*he symbols from ancient Macedonia (important figures, graphic symbols, architectural models, archaeological finds) became more and more present in public. According to Nada Proeva (2012), this process was, to a high degree, encouraged by the Macedonian diaspora, which had a significant influence on the authorities in the Republic of North Macedonia and also financed some *antiquitisation* projects. Among the most evident cases was the naming of the airports in Skopje and Ohrid after Alexander the Great and St. Paul the Apostle, the principal motorway became the Alexander of Macedonia Motorway, the football stadium in Skopje was named after Filip II Macedonian, etc. However, by far the most expensive was the project *Skopje 2014* which included the

530 Brunnbauer (2003, 303) speaks of a U-turn in creating of the historical myth of the Macedonians' origin. Before gaining independence in 1991, the idea of Macedonians as a nation *sui generis* sought its basis in the independent political formations of the Slavs (such as the Samuil's Kingdom) and the cultural and linguistic achievements of Cyril and Methodius and their students. After 1991, the idea draws upon the thesis of the ancient Macedonians. Brunnbauer explains this shift mostly due to the reaction of Macedonians to the Greek refusal to accept the name of the new state, and partly to the Bulgarians pushing the origin of their nation back to the Thracian past.

531 It is true that, in the 1990s, governments of all the states of former Yugoslavia, some more some less, were making use of certain pseudo-archaeological or pseudo-historiographical narrations. Later on, this practice largely ceased. However, in N. Macedonia the authorities most openly supported and financially aided the historical myths about the continuity of state from ancient times.

532 Proeva (2010) argues that the inspiration for the (new) Macedonian myth of the Macedonians' ancient origin was, to a great extent, a reaction to the myths of the neighbouring nations that denied the Macedonian nation.

533 An interesting question arises in connection with archaeology, not only in N. Macedonia but also in Montenegro and Serbia. Namely, archaeologists of Albanian origin were, in Yugoslavia, present only in Kosovo. In contrast, in N. Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia, where large local Albanian communities also exist, there were none. This quite clearly shows that archaeology was perceived as a discipline dealing with the past of a nation, that is, the past of the territory of a (dominant) nation. One should certainly further explore the broader aspects of this phenomenon. Although the exact figures are not available, it could be argued that archaeology studies at Yugoslav universities had a disproportionately low number of students of Albanian origin. The question is whether the Albanians find the study programmes in Serbia or N. Macedonia relevant for their views on the past. There is one person of Albanian origin among the current members of the Macedonian Scientific Archaeological Society.

massive construction of a series of public buildings in 'ancient' style and erection of a series of large monuments to historical figures from the period of ancient Macedonia onwards.[534] Among new constructions, there was also a new building for the Archaeological Museum (2014) and the two gigantic, over 20 m high, statues of Alexander, the Great of Macedonia (2011) and Phillip II of Macedonia (2012),[535] as well as the Triumphal Arch, the new buildings of the National Theatre and Museum of Resistance, all in distinct Neo-Classical style.[536] There were opponents in the political, scientific and other circles to this tendency that, above all, required immense resources from a developing country. However, they received nowhere near the same level of attention in the media as the promoters of *antiquitisation*. Another area in which the Macedonian government imposed the narrative about the ancient origins of the modern Macedonians was education. In the history textbooks, a disproportionate amount of space has been dedicated to very persuasive claims about the Macedonians as a nation *sui generis* from the 1st millennium BC, and that this nation survived the process of Romanisation, preserved its customs, language and culture, only to be assimilated with the Slavic newcomers in the Early Medieval period (Stoyanov 2014).[537]

In such an atmosphere, the general public perceived archaeology as a discipline whose task is to provide tangible evidence that connects the ancient Macedonians with the modern Macedonian nation. The Macedonian government went in this direction immeasurably farther than the governments of all other successor countries of former Yugoslavia. The scientific community of archaeologists, historians, philologists, art historians and other scholars in N. Macedonia who study ancient history have been in a much more difficult situation than their colleagues in the neighbouring countries. Their scientific work largely depended upon the relatively modest state funding, and thus the voices of criticism in N. Macedonia were few, very much ignored by the media and pushed to the margins of public discourse. Although at first glance, it appears that archaeology has undergone a revival with the construction of the new national archaeological museum and large-scale investment into extensive and long-term research projects in Ohrid and Skopje. However, the question arises as to whether such projects are sustainable, being so heavily dependent upon the ideological and political agendas of the pre-2018 government.

Despite significant changes that emerged with the new government in 2018, which openly criticised and abandoned the *antiquisation* project, the Macedonian scientific community still faces a very difficult task of maintaining the standards of critical reflection under the circumstances – both in and outside the country – which not long ago required the discipline to legitimise the 'national' interests that promoted by the authorities. This may be the greatest challenge for the competence and integrity of a scientific discipline such as archaeology, which often found itself in a similar situation in all other European countries, but managed to endure and preserve its integrity precisely thanks to the criticism coming from its own scholarly communities. The truth is that there have been no papers in the Macedonian archaeological publications that openly promote the ancient origin of the Macedonians. This is a significant

534 The estimates on the number of new buildings and monuments reached a figure of 136, with more than 700 million US dollars spent on their construction (The New York Times International Edition, October 14, 2016, 19).

535 The official names of the statues are 'Warrior' on 'A Horse and Warrior'.

536 A severe critique of this architectural 'antiquisation' of Skopje was published by Nikos Čausidis 2013), professor of archaeology at the Cyril Methodius University at Skopje. See also Filak (2018).

537 It should, however, be noted that in numerous textbooks in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia in the 1990s, there could be found profoundly revisionist theses about national histories. The trend was not only directed at rejecting the 'Communist' narration and perception of national history, but at promoting nationalist attitudes as well. There is a large body of literature on the problematic content of the textbooks. Here, the essay by Dubravka Stojanović (1996) is suggested as a starting point.

indicator of the scholarly community's views, but, on the other hand, there was some flirting with such ideas. The range of scholarly archaeological publications is very limited, however, and it is in the broader public discourse, where the standards of scholarly discourse are not respected, and where there is a much more significant challenge for archaeologists in N. Macedonia. Indeed, despite a highly disadvantageous position in mass media, one could find ample examples of the local criticism of *antiquitisation* and pseudo-archaeology (e.g. Proeva 2010, 2012; Stoyanov 2014; Sarakinski 2009).

Nevertheless, significant damage has already been done because the pseudo-archaeological rhetoric has become the dominant factor for a decade or so in the public discourse, and research priorities were openly dictated by the nationalist government. However, since it was primarily external factors, the conflict with Greece in the first place, that represented the main generators of this situation, it seems that after the Prespa Agreement there has been a very positive change in the atmosphere and better conditions established for the protection of scholarly standards.

Images

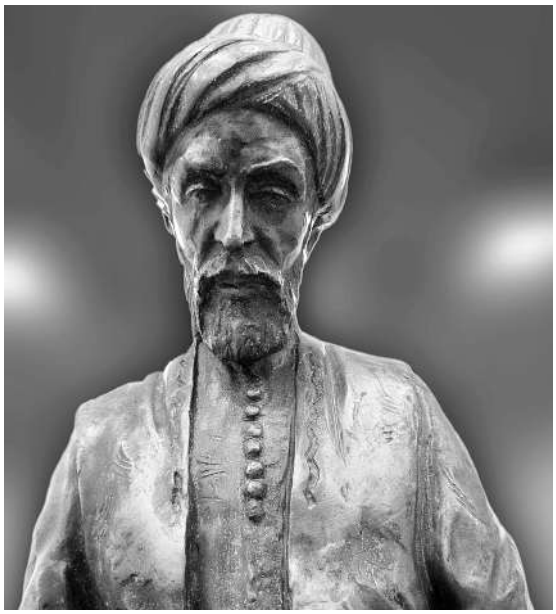


Fig. 148 Evlya Çelebi (1611–c. 1684), famous Ottoman traveller. In his travelogues (Seyahatname), Çelebi reported several accounts of historical remains from N. Macedonia. Image: Evliya Çelebi by North Macedonian sculptor T. Serafimovski (CC-BY-SA-3.0-RS).

Fig. 149 François Charles Hugues Laurent Pouqueville (1770–1838), French scholar, consul in Greece. In 1811 he visited the area of Ohrid and recorded the remains of the ancient town.

Fig. 150 Léon Heuzey (1831–1922), French scholar, author of Mission archéologique de Macédoine (with H. Daumet) (1876).

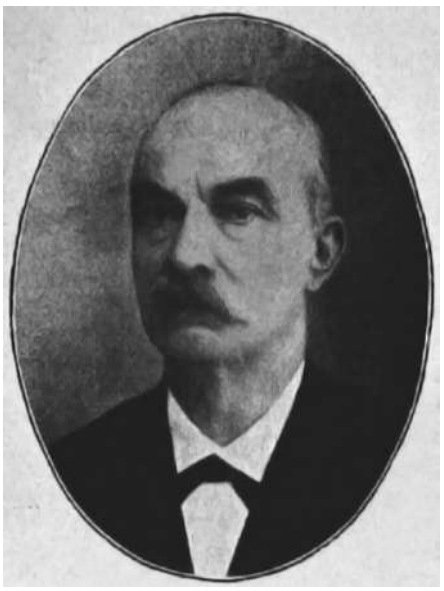


Fig. 151 Margaritis Dimitsas (1829–1903), Greek historian and philologist, born in Ohrid. In his PhD thesis Dimitsas researched the ancient history of his hometown.

Fig. 152 Bulgarian Army excavating the Trebenište cemetery (1918). Unknown author – http://collections.cl.bas.bg/APlus/PhotoBojanaNHM/S084.html, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=46045873.

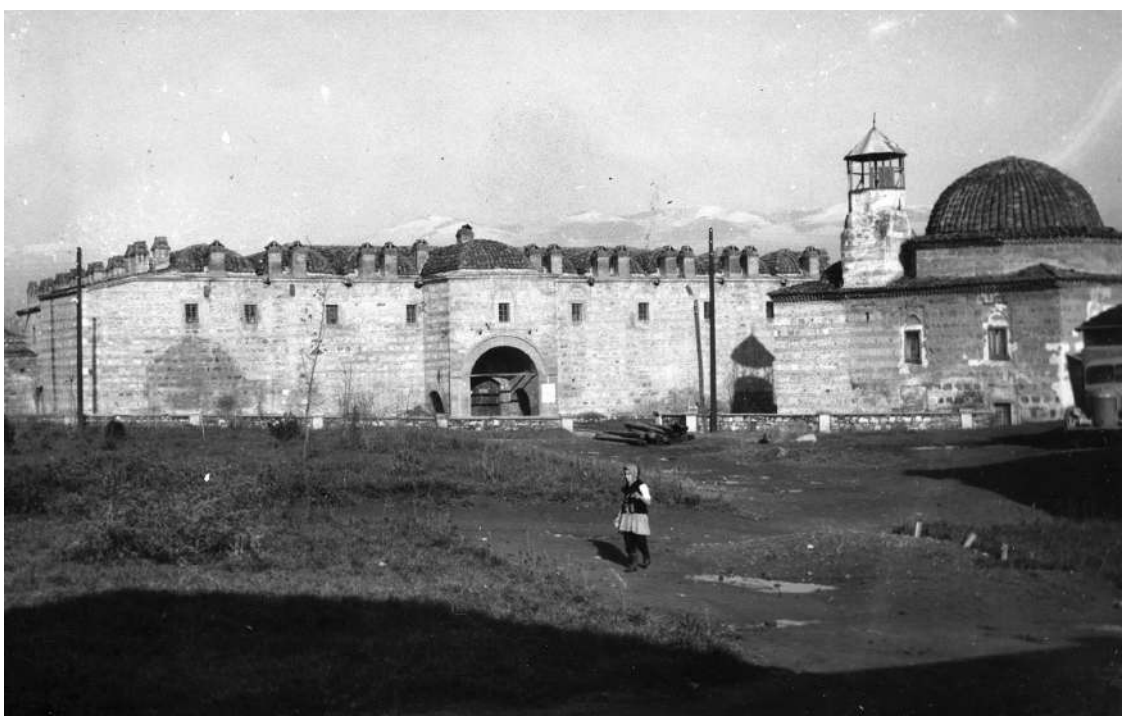


Fig. 153 Museum of South Serbia in Skopje in Kurshumli an building (early 1920s). Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Republic of North Macedonia.

Fig. 154 Lapidarium at Kurshumli an building (early 1920s).
Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Republic of North Macedonia.

Fig. 155 Museum of Macedonia in Skopsko kale (Skopje fortress) 1945–1963
Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Republic of North Macedonia.

Fig. 156 Balduin Saria at Stobi (1924).

Fig. 157 Ancient theatre in Stobi on postcard from 1933.

Fig. 158 Museum in Ohrid (1956). http://muzejohrid.mk/en/history-of-museum-ohrid.

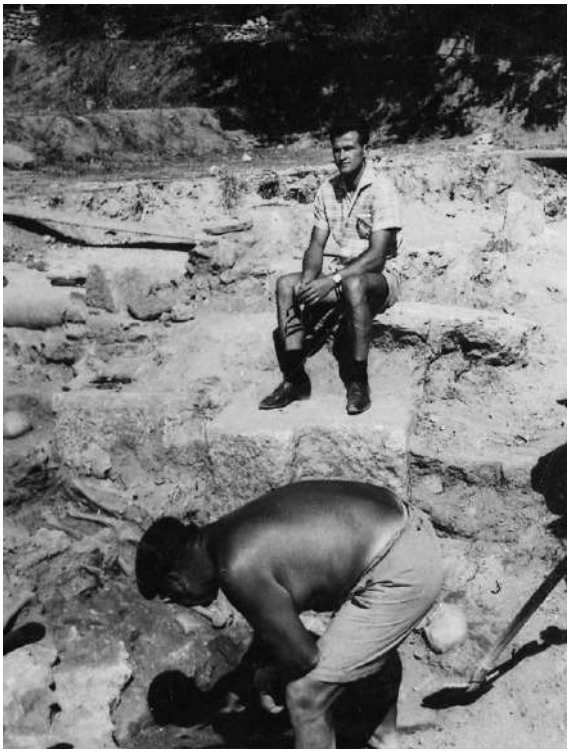


Fig. 159 Vasil Lahtov (1914–1964), curator at the Museum of Ohrid; excavating in Ohrid (1950s). Courtesy of the National Museum Ohrid.

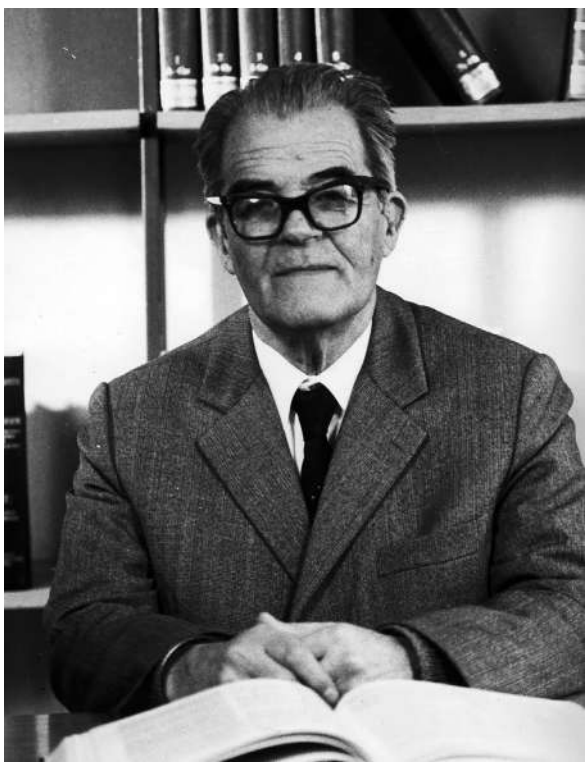


Fig. 160 Dimče Koco (1910–1993). Founder of the National Museum of Macedonia and professor at the University of Skopje. Courtesy of the National Museum Ohrid.

Fig. 161 Excavations of National Museum of Macedonia at Demir Kapija (1950s). Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of North Macedonia.

Fig. 162 Josip Kastelic (Ljubljana) and Vasil Lahtov at Trebenište (1953 or 1954). Courtesy of the National Museum Ohrid.

Fig. 163 Blaga Aleksova (centre) (1922–2007), curator and Director of the Archaeological Museum of Macedonia. Opening of the museum in Stobi (1970s). Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of North Macedonia.

Fig. 164 First venue of the Museum in Prilep (late 1950s). Photo: https://www.muzejprilep.org.mk/pocetoci/pocetoci-i-razvoj-na-muzejskata-dejnost.

Fig. 165 Borka Josifovska (1910–2003), the first archaeological curator at the National Museum in Skopje (1948).

Fig. 166 Boško Babić (1924–1998), founder of the museum in Prilep, Macedonian Archaeological Society and Institute of Old Slavic Culture in Prilep. President of the International Union of Slavonic Archaeology.

Fig. 167 Blagoja Kitanoski (1931–2007), one of the pioneers in prehistoric archaeology in N. Macedonia, curator at the Museum in Prilep; the first Secretary of the Association of the Yugoslav Archaeological Societies (1972–1976).

Fig. 168 Ivan Milkulčić (1936–2020), curator at the museums in Štip, Bitola and Skopje, since 1969 professor at the University of Skopje.

Fig. 169 The first building of the Museum in Strumica (1952–1961).

Fig. 170 Main building of the Archaeological Museum of Macedonia (1976–2014), constructed after the eartquake in 1963.

VII. MONTENEGRO

With 620,000 inhabitants (based on the census data from 2011) and a territory of somewhat less than 14,000 km^2, Montenegro is one of the smallest states in southeastern Europe in terms of both territory and population. It is located on the southern part of the Adriatic sea, between Croatia and Albania. Due to the large Boka Kotorska Bay and numerous other small bays, its coast is 290 km long while its straight-line air distance is only 95 km. In its continental part, Montenegro borders on three other countries – Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo. It is worth noting that most of its borders are in highly mountainous and densely forested terrains dominate in most of the country. The country probably got its name because of these characteristics, Crna Gora meaning Black Mountain or Montenegro.

Montenegro is an ethnically very diverse country. About 45% of the population declare themselves as ethnic Montenegrins, 28% as the Serbs, the Bosniaks are represented by slightly less than 9% (and occupy mostly northeastern part of the country), 5% are Albanians (predominantly in the southeast of the country) and, in the 2011 census, 3% of the population declared themselves as Muslims. Today, Montenegro is one of the economically less-developed countries in Europe, with an annual *per capita* income of around 17,000 US dollars, similar to Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The population is concentrated in the coastal zone and the lowland area north and west of Skadar Lake, while the northern half of the country is much more sparsely populated. The most intensive industrial and urban development of Montenegro is relatively recent, after the Second World War. From the 1970s onwards, tourism has become one of the most important economic activities.

There are three major and quite distinctive geomorphological units in terms of physical geography, which are all parts of larger regional units of the southeastern Adriatic and its hinterland. The first region could be considered as a part (or an extension) of Dalmatia. It extends along the whole coast of Montenegro and is comprised of two major zones. The first is a very narrow (1 to 10 km wide) coastal belt, named Crnogorsko Primorje (Montenegrin Littoral). This zone occupies some 3 to 4% of the country's territory and is marked with typical Adriatic coastal relief, climate and vegetation. In this area, a series of small historical towns emerged from the Roman period on. The second zone in the wider Littoral region is high mountains which quite abruptly rise for several hundred meters. Such mountainous hinterland (Dinaric Alps), rising almost immediately after the coast, is very common throughout eastern Adriatic, from Velebit mountains in the northern Adriatic almost to Albania and Ionian sea, and is called the Maritime Dinaric Alps. In Montenegro, it is also known as the Old Montenegro. The landscape is typical barren karst with numerous mountains (e.g. Orjen, Lovćen, Crne Planine) and hills, with no surface waters, and with hundreds of small karstic depressions. In the southeastern part of the country, there is the only larger flat area that extends from the confluence of the Zeta and Morača rivers in the north to the Skadar lake (the largest lake in the Balkans) in the south. This area, comprising some 3 to 4% of Montenegro, is most suitable for agriculture, and the largest town (Podgorica, the country's capital) is also situated here.

Fig. 171 Relief map of Montenegro.

The mountainous hinterland of the Littoral in the north smoothly passes into the central region of Montenegro. This region still retains numerous features of karstic geomorphology and geology, but its landscape is not so barren and rugged, and it is frequently covered with forests. The major areas of settlement here are extensive plateaus, karstic fields and areas of more levelled terrains suitable for farming. In the central region, two major zones can be distinguished, western and eastern. The western zone, extending roughly between Grahovo in the south and Piva river valley in the north, exhibits more karstic features with streams in some larger karstic fields (e.g. Nikšić and Grahovo fields) but almost no surface streams. In

general, the altitude is up to 1,000 meters above sea level. The eastern continental zone is somewhat different. It is here that the rivers Zeta, Morača and Lim formed larger valleys intersecting mountainous areas that offer more suitable conditions for settlement and farming.

North of the Rivers Piva and upper Morača, Tara and Lim, begins the most mountainous and forested Montenegrin highland, extending into Serbia and Kosovo. The area is dominated by large mountain complexes, such as Sinjajevina, Durmitor, Bjelasica, and Prokletije (Accursed Mountains) in the east, on the border with Kosovo and Albania. Summits here frequently reach heights of more than 2,000 meters. The settlement here is sparse and limited mostly to some smaller areas of flatter terrains along the rivers. All these mountains and all continental highland of Montenegro belong to the broader Dinaric Alps, to the so-called Dinaric central belt or High Dinaric Alps. Both continental regions are densely forested; forests in Montenegro cover nearly 60% of the country (*Mapiranje i tipologija predjela Crne Gore* 2015, 10–11).

The most significant part of the landscape in Montenegro is karst terrain, rugged and barren in the south, densely forested in the north. The rivers belong to two drainage basins, each taking up half of the country: the Adriatic basin in the east and southeast (the Zeta, Morača and Bojana rivers), and the Black Sea Basin in the north and northeast of the country (the Tara, Piva and Lim rivers). Because of the highly porous karst geology, the western and southwestern parts of Montenegro have almost no larger surface water flows. In the southeastern part, along the border with Albania, sits the largest lake in the Balkans – the Skadar Lake, about 60% of which is in Montenegro. The lake is approximately 40 km long and some 10 km wide. Major rivers flow in the continental part. The Adriatic catchment's major river is Morača which springs in the mountains in north-central Montenegro and flows southwards to Skadar lake. Its major tributary is Zeta which flows into Morača near Podgorica. Three larger rivers are situated in northern Montenegro, all flowing to the north – Piva, Tara and Lim. In the extreme north of the country, Tara runs through one of the most spectacular landscapes, through the deepest canyon in Europe (over 1,300 m deep on average) and joins with the Piva river. From their confluence, the river is called Drina and flows northwards to the River Sava in the Pannonian Plain. Through similar mountainous landscapes also flows the River Lim. It springs in the Plav lake in the extreme east of Montenegro and runs northwest into Serbia, where it also joins with the Drina river. In southeast Montenegro, the northern and western areas around the lake are flat and very suitable for farming.

The climate in Montenegro varies from the Mediterranean type on the coast to the mountain-type continental climate in the central and northern parts. Due to predominantly mountainous terrain, the country, in general, is not particularly suitable for agriculture; less than 14% of the country can be used as arable land. Major agricultural areas are concentrated in the lowlands to the north and west of Skadar Lake.

Highly mountainous terrain largely determined traditional routes of communication, which followed the valleys and saddles between the mountains. Along the coast, the primary route connected coastal towns from Boka Kotorska to Ulcinj. A series of naturally well-protected ports were also well connected with inland routes which crossed the Lovćen mountain range to the north (to Nikšić and further on to Drina river), east (Podgorica) and west (Trebinje and Dubrovnik). In the continental part, the area of Nikšić presented a crossing of all major routes leading towards Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, frequently passing a series of mountain saddles. In the medieval period, the route from Nikšić to Pljevlja, at the border with Serbia, presented probably the most important communication link, even though it crossed altitudes of more than 1,300 meters several times. Except for the lowland area around Lake Skadar in southeast Montenegro, the eastern routes, which lead to Kosovo, also had to cross very high altitudes.

Archaeological and historical background of Montenegro

Due to its smaller size, Montenegro did not develop any particular or isolated regional phenomena during the archaeological periods. The Montenegrin territory was part of some larger regional systems, Adriatic or continental, especially in prehistory. The other factor which influenced what we know today about the archaeology of Montenegro the a relatively low degree of research.

As will be shown in the following text, systematic archaeological research only started in Montenegro in the 1950s, with almost no prior local tradition and very few known archaeological sites. In addition to this, the uneven settlement of Montenegro should also be pointed out as one of the reasons for the lack of research in large parts

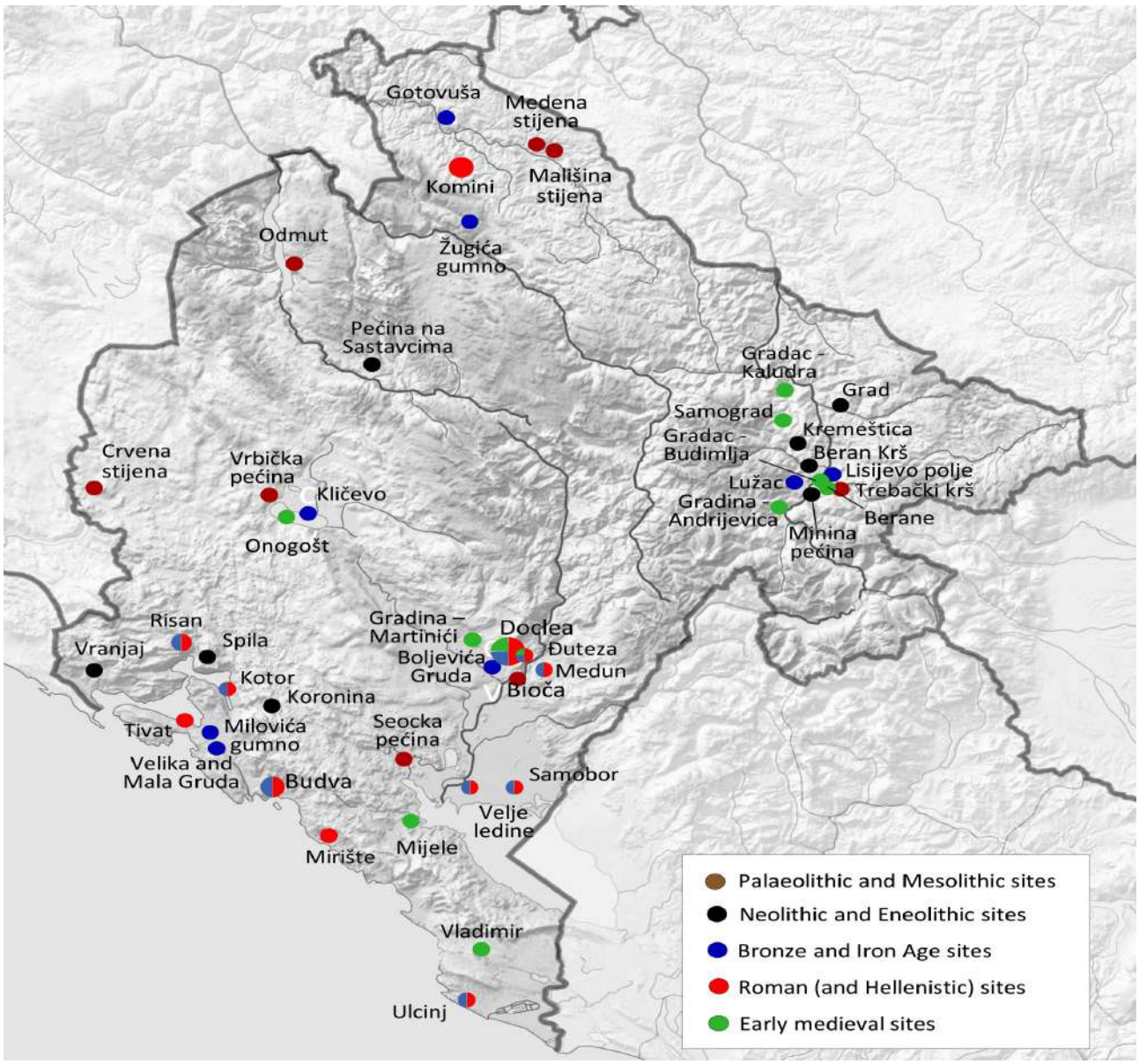


Fig. 172 Archaeological sites in Montenegro mentioned in this chapter.

of the country. Large continental mountainous areas covered with dense forests were (and to a great degree, still are) rarely settled compared to the densely settled coastal belt along with some of the lower-lying larger karstic fields and lowland plain north of Lake Skadar. Moreover, in the zones with intensive development of infrastructure for tourism, where the pressure on land is enormous, many sites were not recorded due to their destruction. The third factor, associated with the latter, stems from the fact that especially in the Littoral, which has a much greater proportion of sites than any other region in the country, modern settlements were built on the places which themselves were traditional settlement zones in the past, thus having very long historical continuity, and contributing in its way to the destruction of earlier pieces of evidence.

The pronounced differences between major geographical regions largely correspond to the contrasts in cultural development in archaeological periods and, as I have already said, also to the differences in the degree of archaeological research. Taking this into account, it should not be a surprise that, so far, only some 40 to 50 sites are known from the periods older than the Bronze age. The reason for this is almost purely the limited research that has been done, and more so if we consider that earlier prehistoric sites were mostly discovered in rock shelters. It was only with the Bronze Age when their number increased considerably, and the sites became more 'visible' because they appeared in the form of hillforts and large barrows that are much more distinguishable in the landscape.

Natural rock shelters are, indeed, very abundant in Dinaric karst. All Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites come from such places. However, they are still very few and too sparse in spatial and chronological distributions to provide a more accurate synthesis. The most extensively researched site is Crvena stijena in eastern Montenegro, situated on the bank of the (artificial) Lake Bileća, near the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina. The site was discovered in the mid-1950s and intensively researched for almost ten years. The site contains 31 stratigraphic horizons spanning from the Middle Palaeolithic to the Early Bronze Age. It represents the best single location for seeing the early prehistory of Montenegro to date, and the fifteen Palaeolithic layers span more than 100,000 years.

Since the major excavations took place some 60 years ago with that time's methods and techniques, particular caution is needed when interpreting today's results. Crvena stijena provided the evidence for the earliest Palaeolithic settlement in Montenegro in the late Riss glaciation and the proto-Mousterian periods (six layers altogether) (Marković 2006, 40). Some later authors see the beginnings of this shelter's use in the early Mousterian because of the Levallois technique type of tool making (Mihailović 2014, 59). The typical Mousterian period is found in layers with a combined depth of more than eight meters. However, due to the various excavation, recording and sampling methods, data quality exhibits substantial variability, and does not allow very precise pinpointing of the developmental sequences of this period. It seems that throughout the whole Mousterian, the most typical feature of the Crvena stijena were well-elaborated tools made in the Levallois technique. Experts point to similarities at sites in the Near East, such as Karain in Turkey and Zagros in Iran (Mihailović 2014, 66). Mousterian layers were also discovered at two other sites, at Mališina pećina in northern Montenegro and Bioča near Podgorica in central Montenegro.

At present, there is also very little evidence for the Aurignacian period in Montenegro. In Crvena stijena, the transition from the Middle Palaeolithic to Upper Palaeolithic is marked by a distinctive layer of volcanic ash (Marković 2006, 54), and it seems that this shelter began to be more intensively used only much later. Some earlier publications identified some finds as Aurignacian, but later research put them more convincingly in the Gravetian period (Mihailović 2014, 106). Moreover, at other Upper Palaeolithic sites in Montenegro (Medena stijena, Trebački krš, Mališina pećina), clear evidence of the Aurignacian is missing.

These sites contain mostly Gravettian and Epigravettian materials, which, in general, are not very abundant in terms of artefacts and demonstrate relatively modest development. Generally speaking, both the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic in Montenegro exhibit rather local features.

Excavations in Crvena stijena in 1954 also provided the first Mesolithic evidence in the country. Mesolithic layers were also discovered at some other Palaeolithic sites, such as Medena stijena. Among the more important sites are Odmut in the canyon of the River Piva, Seocka pećina and Vrbićka pećina – altogether, there are six sites, all in rock shelters. The Mesolithic remains of tools do not exhibit any particular features, and they remain within the broader standard Mesolithic repertoire of stone and bone tools of the Adriatic area. The heterogeneity between the individual site assemblages points to local adaptations. The recent radiocarbon dates from Crvena stijena put the earliest Mesolithic at around 9320–9190 cal. BC. Even earlier dates came from the site of Odmut (10,020–9310 cal. BC). The end of the Mesolithic, based on data from Odmut, is around 6000 cal. BC (see Borić et al., 2019, 473–474). Some authors (e.g. Miracle 2007) argue that the Balkans "*acted as refugia for the plant, animal, and human populations*" during the last glacial period, due to its favourable environment, and hence the transition from the Epipalaeolithic to Mesolithic was relatively smooth, without distinctive breaks and changes in the lithic industry, which are more visible in other areas of Europe. In the debate about the low numbers of Mesolithic sites, Borić et al. (2019, 491) point to the very dynamic erosional processes in the Dinaric landscapes and, secondly, to the relatively less trained researchers capable of recognising the Mesolithic materials, and on lower research focus on the Mesolithic period in general.

The Neolithic period in Montenegro started at around 6000–5800 cal. BC with the impresso pottery, which corresponds in dates and site materials to the data in the broader eastern Adriatic region. Again, all the early Neolithic sites are found in rock shelters. Altogether there are some ten Neolithic sites, very few of them researched in any great depth. The earliest Neolithic sites were discovered both in the Montenegrin Littoral and its hinterland (Crvena stijena, Spila, Vranjaj, Koronina) and in the inner continental part (e.g. Odmut, Pećina above Sastavci and Kremeštica) (Marković 2006, 85). Despite the low number of sites and limited research, it is quite clear that the Early Neolithic period exhibits strong evidence of continuity from the preceding Mesolithic. The major novelty was pottery, but there was almost no evidence of other standard Neolithic features, such as animal breeding or farming (Forenbaher and Miracle, 2015).

Compared to the Littoral, the situation in continental Montenegro appears to be somewhat different, where at the Odmut shelter, for example, bones of domesticated goats, sheep, cattle and swine were found. However, the remains of hunted animals were still dominant. The lack of the standard Neolithic repertoire may, to a certain extent, result from the fact that most Early Neolithic sites were found in rock shelters, which generally could not mirror all the cultural or economic variabilities and components. However, the only open-air site at Kremeštica did not provide more 'Neolithic' evidence, except for some polished axes that may be associated with some farming practices (Marković and Srejović 1985). The different development on the Littoral against the continental parts is also visible in the pottery. While the impresso-cardium style was typical for the Littoral, in the continental north, the pottery assemblages also included the pottery of the (continental) Starčevo style, such as at Kremeštica (Marković 1985, 77; 2006, 103; Grašanin 1979, 116).

The distinction between these two geographical zones became even more pronounced in the Middle and Late Neolithic. According to the pieces of evidence from those few Middle Neolithic sites, farming in this period still seems not to be practised or was practised at a very modest scale. In terms of cultural-stylistic attribution of

the pottery, the Littoral region Middle Neolithic belonged to the Danilo (also Danilo–Kakanj) style (or culture), which is typical for the Middle Neolithic in the eastern Adriatic (Marković 2006, 109, Benac 1975, 141). Also, the late Neolithic period is still modest in terms of the number and types of sites. From the Littoral, we know only of sites from rock shelters (Spila, Vranjaj); however, in the continental part there are also two new, open-air sites, Beran krš and Trnje near Bijelo Polje. Among them, especially significant is the open-air site at Beran krš near Berane in northeastern Montenegro, with some four-metre thick Late Neolithic deposits (Marković 206, 113). The excavations revealed rectangular houses (app. 6 x 3.5 m) made in the wattle-and-daub technique. It was estimated that the settlement was composed of seven or eight houses (Marković 2006, 113). It seems that the Late Neolithic was the period of ultimate adoption of animal breeding (i.e. goat, sheep, cattle) and farming, as evidenced at Beran krš by querns. Pottery styles continued to exhibit differences between the Littoral and continental regions; the Littoral followed the general developmental trends of Adriatic Neolithic with the late Neolithic Hvar (or Hvar–Lisičići) style while the continental parts, especially at Beran krš, pottery of Vinča style became typical (Marković 2006, 121–123).

Again, the Eneolithic is known almost exclusively from the rock shelters. Some of them were used in the preceding periods (e.g. Odmut, Spila), and some only during the Eneolithic (e.g. Grad and Minina pećina, both near Berane). The only open-air site was at Berani krš, but with very little evidence of built structures. All in all, the evidence from the Eneolithic period is very scarce. At rock shelter sites the evidence still speaks of the greater importance of hunting. The most distinguishable feature is pottery which exhibits more variability in terms of its production technology and decoration. The earlier Eneolithic pottery was attributed to the Nakovan culture, while the Late Eneolithic pottery assemblages include the vessels of the Adriatic type of the Vučedol style (Marković 2006, 165–167). It is also interesting to note that, regarding the pottery, the regional differences between the Littoral and continental parts are less enhanced in the Eneolithic period.

The Bronze and Iron Ages in Montenegro are much better represented. They were discovered in larger quantities, and most of them were either hillfort or barrows. The earliest barrows (e.g. Mala gruda) could be dated to the final phase of the Eneolithic or the transitional phase to the Bronze Age, depending on various chronologies. However, in the Bronze Age monumental structures in the landscape started to emerge in more significant numbers. On the other hand, not many hillforts have been sufficiently researched to allow their more precise dating; most of them having been just briefly surveyed and mapped (Marković 2006, 171). Based on the present data, it seems that hillforts were intensively built during the Bronze and Iron Ages across the whole of Montenegro, from the coast to the mountainous north of the country, and that they appear in all sizes and shapes. Several already known rock shelters remained in use (e.g. Crvena stijena, Odmut, Grad). The dating is somewhat better with regard to barrows since many of them were excavated in the last 50 years and provided some more diagnostic finds. Consequently, it appears that both hillforts and barrows emerged simultaneously and should be considered as associated phenomena.

The emergence of hillforts and barrows in Montenegro is, in general, synchronous with the broader region of central and southeastern Adriatic. Based on the radiocarbon dates, the earliest barrows were raised at around 3000 cal. BC or slightly later (e.g. Mala gruda, Velika gruda and Milovića gumno near Tivat, and Boljevića gruda near Podgorica).[538] Mala gruda and Velika gruda were also re-used for funerary purposes in later periods. Their earliest phase represents

538 Radiocarbon dating of the human bones from the central grave at Boljevića gruda indicates that the burial took place at around 3050 BC, while at Velika gruda a century or so later (Guštin and Preložnik 2015, 31–32).

central graves. In Mala gruda, the central grave was built with stone slabs and contained a set of vessels and several metal objects: a golden dagger, silver axe with inlaid golden decoration, and five golden pendants, possibly part of a tiara (Parović-Pešikan and Trbuhović 1971). The vessels, decorated in a Vučedol- or post-Vučedol-like style (incised and encrusted decoration) puts this grave at least into the transitional period between the Eneolithic and Bronze Age. The golden pendants have almost exact analogies in the Creto-Mycenaean Aegean area.

In terms of grave goods, the central grave in Velika Gruda was similarly structured. It contained a copper axe, two copper daggers, and pottery similarly decorated as vessels from Mala gruda (Primas 1996; Della Casa 1996). A bronze dagger was also found in Boljevića gruda, together with a greenstone hammer axe and golden ring-pendants (Baković 2012, 376). The deceased were placed either in a crouched position (Mala and Velika gruda) or laid in an extended position on their back (Boljević gruda) (see Fig. 10 in Guštin and Preložnik 2015). Similar barrows were also found near Danilovgrad in central Montenegro and Nikšić in the north of the country, demonstrating the wider geographical distribution of the burials under barrows which contained central graves with metal and stone weapons, golden pendants and finely decorated vessel sets, which lasted until around 2500 BC. Barrows were a clear indicator of increased social ranking and long-distance exchange, which became visible from the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC. Most probably, the number of barrows must have been much higher.

Burial in or under barrows continued in much greater numbers in the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Some earlier barrows were also re-used later. In Velika gruda the earliest central grave (Eneolithic/Bronze Age transition) was covered with a series of later layers, better to say new 'barrows' made of earth or stone. The latest of these superimposed 'barrows' is dated to the Late Bronze Age and contained 35 graves exhibiting different burial rites (i.e. stone cists, inhumation and cremation burials, individual and collective burials), among which the most frequent were burials of children in large vessels (*pithoi*) (Della Casa 1996, 21–82).

Unfortunately, not much is known about the earliest hillforts and other types of settlements. Not many of them have been researched or precisely dated. In most cases, only some sporadic objects were found during topographic mapping, which could not tell us the settlements' lifespan.[539] Nevertheless, based on analogies from neighbouring Dalmatia, the hillforts must have started to emerge in the same period as the barrows, and soon became the dominant type of settlement for almost three millennia.

In the Iron Age, the number of sites, hillforts in particular, significantly increased, and the landscape became much more densely settled than previously. However, the major pieces of evidence that enable more detailed insight into society and culture come from the burials under the barrows (e.g. Gotovuša, Žugića gumno, Lušac, Kličevo, Lisijevo polje, Budva). The Iron Age burials are, in general, wealthier than those from the Bronze Age. One standard feature is the deposition of metal weapons (i.e. iron spears, swords, and axes) in graves. High ranked individuals were frequently buried with helmets (Kličevo, Budva, shields (Lušac) and shin guards (Kličevo) (Marković 2006, 247–259). The most frequent type of grave goods is jewellery, found in male and female graves (fibulae, bracelets, pins, belt plates, buttons, pearls, pendants, etc.). In terms of traditional cultural attribution, the continental Montenegro Iron Age is ascribed to the Glasinac (also Glasinac–Mati) culture (Marković 2006, 262; Čović 1987, 576), which extends from eastern-central Bosnia and Herzegovina, through Montenegro to northern Albania. Traditionally, this culture was associated with the Illyrians.

539 Such as the Middle Bronze Age axes of the so-called Dalmatian-Albanian type found at Grdova gradina near Petrovići, and axes from hillfort of Kulina near Nikšić; Marković (2006, 202).

During the Late Iron Age period (4th century BC–1st century AD), the first polities ('princedoms' or 'kingdoms') in the Montenegro area are reported in the ancient sources. The most notorious was the Kingdom of Ardiei, which fought wars with the Romans over the control of the southern Adriatic maritime routes (so-called Illyrian wars). With increased social complexity, larger settlement centres also developed, marked by the 'cyclops' walls made of large cut square stone blocks (e.g. Đuteza near Podgorica; Velimirović–Žižić 1986). The emergence of such central sites in Montenegro is part of a broader process observable along the eastern Adriatic coast. Furthermore, under the Greeks' (and later Roman) cultural influence, after the 4th century BC settlements with some urban characteristics gradually started to develop, for example, Risan, Kotor, Budva, and Ulcinj.[540] The best evidence comes from Budva, which was probably a Greek emporium, and where, in the late 1930s large Hellenistic cemetery was discovered. All these 'towns' followed a Greek 'archaic' model of non-rectangular settlement centred on an acropolis.

Intensive contacts with the Greeks from the Aegean and southern Italy are also visible in a significant increase of imported objects from the Greek area. Such objects were most frequent in coastal Montenegro, where also local production centres of the Greek-like objects developed. Similar 'urban' settlements also emerged in the coastal hinterland, at Medun (ancient Meteon) near Podgorica and Samobor on Lake Skadar's shores. At Budva and Velje ledine near Gostilj (at Skadar Lake), two large cemeteries are especially important for understanding the contacts with the Greek world. Both were flat-grave necropoles with inhumation as the dominant rite. The graves contained a rich repertoire of the Greek and Greek-type ceramic vessels (Garašanin 1973) and metal weapons, very probably deriving from Greek workshops (Marković 2006, 304–305). Both cemeteries also provided other essential evidence of high cultural and social development of the local polities – coins of local princes.

The establishment of Roman rule in Dalmatia, Montenegrin territory included, was only possible after a series of wars against various princedoms on the eastern Adriatic. It was only since the mid-1st century BC when the Romans established their permanent rule in what they called Illyricum. Emperor Augustus established the new province of Dalmatia, which extended from Istria in the northern Adriatic to northern Albania, including the territory of Montenegro. In the south, the province bordered on the province of Macedonia, while to the north, it extended almost to the River Sava where it bordered on the province of Pannonia. In this large province, which included almost all the western Balkans, the Montenegrin territory's position was relatively marginal in the economic and strategic senses. The process of Romanisation was much stronger in coastal Montenegro, where the Roman newcomers settled anew and took over the municipal government in existing 'towns' and centres of local elites (e.g. Risan, Budva, Ulcinj). The Romans did not make these towns proper colonies or municipia. They considered them as *oppida civium Romanorum* (the lowest municipal status) while the principal provincial colonies were further north along the coast, in Narona (Vid), Salona (Solin), Iader (Zadar), all today in the Croatian region of Dalmatia. The territory of Montenegro belonged to the judicial administrative district (*conventus*) of Narona, the colony at the mouth of the river Neretva (*Istorija Crne Gore* I, 1967, 145). It is not by chance that Roman colonisation focused primarily on the coastal towns, which were all ports that had a long tradition of trade with Greeks and other neighbouring communities, and with already developed urban infrastructure. Much less is known about the Roman settlement in the continental parts, especially in the more mountainous areas. It appears that for a century or so the local communities and

540 In historical sources known as Rison/Rhizinuim, Acruvium, Buthua, Olkinion/Olcinium (Suić 1976 (2009), 63–65).

their traditional territories were incorporated as *peregrini* into the Roman administrative system.

However, one area stands out, that at the confluence of the rivers Zeta and Morača, in very close vicinity of the modern capital Podgorica. Here, during the Flavian emperors (AD 69–96), the Romans established a municipium Doclea), a century or more later after the colonisation of the coastal towns. The Roman Doclea was erected in the former centre of the local community Docleates and developed into the most important and affluent urban centre in the southeastern part of the province of Dalmatia. Much later, in the mid-2nd century AD, another autonomous town was established in the very north of Montenegro (*Municipium S* in Komini near Pljevlja), on the road which led from the Adriatic towards Morava and Danube.

Other Roman settlements are mainly known from historical sources, mostly from the Roman itineraries *Tabula Peuntingeriana* and *Itinerarium Antonini*. The Romans constructed two major roads from Narona towards the south and crossing Montenegro in a northwest-southeast direction. The first was the road that led from Narona to Epidaurum (Cavtat), where it branched out in two directions. The northern route led towards Trebinje and then Nikšić, from where it went along the Zeta valley and northern shores of the Skadar Lake towards Scodra (Skadar/Shkodra) in northern Albania (*Istorija Crne Gore* I, 1967, Figure 7). The southern route went from Epidaurus along the coast to Boka Kotorska, Budva and Ulcinj, where it probably turned north to Scodra. Along the northern road Leusinum, Sallunto, Anderva, Varis, Halata, Bersumno, and Cinna are listed as stations, but have not been yet fully confirmed by archaeological evidence (Marković 2006, 327). In continental Montenegro, there was another road leading from Nikšić towards the mountainous north and Municipuim S.

In addition to the town settlements or individual villages (*vici*), there is also some evidence of the *villae rusticae*, which were found mostly in coastal Montenegro, close to the towns (e.g. near Tivat, Mirište near Petrovac, Kruče near Ulcinj) (Marković 2006, 334).

The most extensively researched Roman site is the town of Doclea, where research began in the last decades of the 19th century and then, starting with the 1950s, continued in several campaigns until the present. Doclea was erected on a plateau surrounded by three rivers Access from the land was possible only from the east. Archaeological research revealed a town of some 25 hectares with typical features of the Roman urbanism in Dalmatia, city walls, basilica, forum, temples, baths (see map 1 in Radunović (2010, 78), private housing quarters, and overall rich architectural decoration.Two aspects are especially important for a better understanding of Doclea and, to a great extent, also the Roman period in Montenegro – epigraphic sources and towns cemeteries (Cermanović-Kuzmanović, Velimirović-Žižić and Srejović 1975), which, at the moment, provide the best "window" into the Roman objects which circulated in Montenegro. Of the other Roman towns, only Municipium S was excavated to a relatively considerable extent between 1965 and 1975 and in the last two decades. This site is particularly important because where the Roman settlement was much less dense than in the Littoral. With some 685 graves, the town cemetery revealed substantial material evidence of the population living in this region. The third significant cemetery comes from the Littoral, from Budva, where the Roman cemetery continued from its earlier, Hellenistic phase. It revealed a wide variety of burial customs and monuments up to the 5th century AD. Of particular interest are glass objects, mostly small vessels and containers, found in graves, which reveal a very well developed glass industry in the Montenegrin Roman towns, such as at Doclea.

At the end of the 3rd century, between AD 297 and 306, Emperor Diocletian reformed the provincial organisation of the Empire. In this process, southwestern Dalmatia's territory was separated and made the new province of Praevalitana

with its of its location in the very north of Montenegro, in a mountainous area capital in Scodra. Except for extreme western coastal parts (from Boka Kotorska to Budva), almost all Montenegrin territory was included in Praevalitana. Doclea was the second most important town in this new province. In a century or so, the administrative reforms shifted the province of Praevaliana from eastern to the western half of the Empire and back, until it, after the collapse of the western Empire, came under the Byzantine administration, which extended over the whole eastern Adriatic coast. From the 5th to the beginning of the 7th centuries BC, Byzantine rule in the eastern Adriatic was frequently challenged by various migrating peoples, Eastern Goths, Odoacer's troops, and finally, Avars and Slavs. Unfortunately, there are very few archaeological finds from this period. One site which might shed some light on this period is castrum Anagastum at Nikšić, also known as Onogošt, which bears the Gothic name, probably of the local commander (*Istorija Crne Gore* I, 1967, 254–255).

Like in Dalmatia, also in Praevalitana (i.e. Montenegro), the Late Antiquity and Early Medieval archaeology are strongly marked by the research of architectural objects associated with early Christianity. As Christians in this early stage were much more present in towns, it is no surprise that the best evidence is from Doclea, which was the bishop's seat from the mid-5th century onwards, and where the remains of two early Christian basilicas were found (Istorija Crne Gore I 1967, 260, 262–263). Another site with early ecclesiastic architecture from the late 5th to early 6th centuries is Doljani in the vicinity of Doclea, where the bishop's seat was transferred after the destruction of Doclea by Goths (*Istorija Crne Gore I* 1967, 263; Korać 1958–1959; 2009). There, a large three-nave basilica was raised during the reign of Justinian I. Early Christians' presence was also recorded on some stelae and inscriptions across Montenegro (e.g. Risan, Podgorica, Kolovrat near Prijepolje). The remains of early Christian objects were also found in Kotor, where also seem to be a bishop's seat already in the 4th century AD (Martinović 2016, 36). Christian basilicas from the 6th century AD were also discovered in Budva (Kovačević M. 1996), Bar (Mijović 1987), and Privlaka near Tivat (Mijović 1987), clearly showing full Christianisation of the Montenegrin coastal towns which, despite sporadic unrest in the region, continued to live in the Roman/Byzantine way. In the architecture of the early Byzantine rule, one can also find numerous fortifications (e.g. Gradac–Budimlja, Gradac–Kaludra, Berane, Gradina–Andrijevica, Onogošt (Nikšić), Samograd near Berane, Gradina Đuteza in Dinoše, Vladimir near Svač, Gradina near Martinići (Bulić D. 2013, 173–178).

Very significant demographic and historical change started in the 7th century. After the fall of Salona and when large parts of Dalmatia came under the rule of Avars from Pannonia, the migration of the Slavic peoples to the eastern Adriatic also started. The Avaric finds are, in fact, very scarce, and the closest sites with such finds are on the island of Šipan near Dubrovnik (belt buckle) and at the cemetery of Kalaja Dalmaces near Komani in northern Albania, east of Lake Skadar (*Istorija Crne Gore* I 1967, 288–289). The Slavs started to move to Praevalitana along the major Roman roads where they settled in existing or already abandoned Late Roman settlements on places suitable for farming. In these areas, the Slavs organised in '*župas*', their local political and ecclesiastic communities. However, the archaeological finds from the period between the 7th and 9th centuries AD are still scarce. The process of the settlement of Slavs and their cohabitation with the local population is still not very clear. The most important pieces of evidence came from the cemetery of Mijele near Virpazar (Zagarčanin 2018). Despite its destruction in the 20th century, this cemetery is the largest excavated early medieval cemetery in Montenegro. It contains very precious evidence of archaeological and cultural development in the Montenegrin coastal hinterland before the 10th century. The finds mostly consist of jewellery and parts of clothing (i.e. earrings, necklaces, bracelets, fibulae, buckles), accompanied by pieces of weapons and tools such as knives, axes,

and arrowheads (Zagorčanin 2018). Most of the grave goods were attributed to the Komani–Kroja culture, which is generally interpreted as typical for the local post-Roman population, not yet Slavicised, which lived between the Skadar and Ohrid lakes. It is also important to note that, so far, no early Slavic cemetery has been found yet, neither in the Littoral nor in continental Montenegro, which could be dated prior to the period of the formation of the *sclaviniae* (regional Slavic medieval polities) in the 9th or 10th centuries.

The first medieval political entity of the Slavs, which can be associated with the development of today's Montenegro, was the Principality of Duklja (named after Doclea) which in various territorial and feudal forms existed between the 9th and 15th centuries. In its later history, it was also known as Zeta. In the 14th century, Zeta was incorporated into the medieval Serbian state while Venice occupied parts of its coast and ruled them until the end of the 18th century. The ultimate end of Zeta came with the Ottomans in the late 15th century, who established their regional administrative unit (Sanjak) with its capital in Skadar/Shkodra. However, due to challenging karstic terrain, mountains and extensive woodlands, the Ottomans failed to establish full control over continental Montenegro. They limited themselves to controlling the major communication route and strategic places, while local mountainous Montenegrin 'tribes' maintained certain autonomy and frequently rebelled against the Ottomans.[541]

In Montenegro, Islamisation and religious conversion were not so intensive as neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina or Serbia. New. Ottoman settlers were not numerous and were limited mostly to military garrisons and civil servants in towns or large villages, while in mountainous areas, this process was even weaker. There, the powers largely remained in the hands of local tribal princes and the Orthodox church.

The process of liberation from Ottoman rule began in the 18th century. By the mid-19th century, the Montenegro princedom had gained independence, which was officially confirmed at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, but without the Littoral, which remained Austrian.[542] In 1910 Montenegro proclaimed itself a kingdom. During the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), Montenegro allied with Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria and annexed parts of the (former Ottoman) Sanjak region. After 1918 and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Montenegro took over the formerly Austrian coastal areas and formed the union with Serbia, thus becoming part of the new Yugoslav state (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Kingdom of Yugoslavia), in which it retained a certain level of administrative autonomy (as the Zeta Banate). During the Second World War, Montenegro was first occupied by the Italians and then, after 1943, by the Germans. After the liberation, Montenegro gained the constitutional status of the federal republic in Yugoslavia, and it remained one until 1991. After the break-up of the Yugoslav federation, Montenegro preserved for some time its union with Serbia, but in 2006 declared independence.

Intermittent early archaeological activities

Different historical development of the Montenegrin coastal and inland mountainous also

541 In the history of Montenegro, 'tribe' is considered as a group or community made of closely related lineages, extended families, and phratries that trace their origin from an actual (or supposed) common ancestor or ancestral family, and which occupy compact territory. The size of the Montenegrin tribes, which could have varied from a few thousand to more than 10,000 people, is considered an endogamous group. Though the 'tribal' organisation stems already from the early Slavic period, its development was further catalysed during the Ottoman period when a certain level of local autonomy was left to the local tribes and their leaders. This 'tribal' structure gradually ceased to exist with the formation of the modern integrated Montenegrin state in the 19th century.

542 After Venice's fall and victory over Napoleon, Austria annexed all former Venetian territories in the eastern Adriatic, including the Montenegrin coast.

areas affected, similarly as in Croatia, the development of archaeology. On the one hand, the coastal area was the place of continual urban culture and development from the early Roman period onwards and rich in historical and architectural monuments.[543] An archaeological tradition emerged there that followed a pattern similar to neighbouring Croatian Dalmatia, emphasising the urban archaeology of the Roman and medieval periods, and research mainly focused on architecture.

Full institutionalisation of archaeological practice in Montenegro came very late, not until 1945. Before this period, only sporadic archaeological activities took place in particular archaeologically and historically significant places, such as the Roman city of Doclea or in the coastal towns, or they resulted from accidental archaeological discoveries during construction works.

However, since parts of coastal Montenegro, especially Boka Kotorska, were ruled by Venice for almost 400 years (the beginning of the 15th century until the end of the 18th century), the development of culture was heavily influenced by Venetian/Italian culture. For this reason, it is not a surprise that some noted Italian antiquarians (e.g. Cyriacus of Ancona), while studying antiquities in Dalmatia, also expressed interest in the ancient ruins in Montenegro, and also influenced the development of local antiquarianism in coastal Montenegro. The earliest known local scholar is Andrija Zmajević, born in 1628 in Perast in Boka Kotorska, archbishop of Bar diocese, poet and historian, who is also known for his collection and studies of the Roman inscriptions and ruins from Boka Kotorska, which he kept in his palace in Perast (Čoralić 2018). Though at the moment we do not know much about other antiquarians who may have followed Zmajević's example, judging from vivid developments in other spheres of cultural and scientific life and close communication with Dalmatia, Venice and Italy, there definitely must have been some more local scholars who practised some kinds of antiquarian research and collection. It is not by chance that in Boka Kotorska, in Kotor in 1906, the first local antiquarian society, the Antiquarian Society of Boka Kotorska (*Bokeško starinarsko društvo*), was established and opened a lapidarium. Two decades earlier, in Boka Kotorska, the first museum-like institution was established – the Boka Navy Cabinet (*Kabinet Bokeljske mornarice*). A favourable circumstance for the development of antiquarian and museum institutions and practices in Boka Kotorska was also that this region was part of the Austrian province of Dalmatia since 1815, which had its own institutions dealing with research and heritage protection.

So it should not be a surprise that the Roman inscriptions from Montenegro (Doclea) were already included in Mommsen's *Corpus inscriptionum latinorum* in 1873. Mommsen had consulted some earlier texts and records to publish these inscriptions, particularly the studies of Valtazar (Baltazar) Bogišić, jurist, sociologist, lawyer, native from Cavtat, professor at the University of Odessa, Russia, later also Minister of Justice in Montenegro. During his elaboration of the civil code for Montenegro, Bogišić also studied the history of the earlier legal systems and consulted some Roman inscriptions from Doclea, which Mommsen later included in his *CIL* (Koprivica and Pelcer-Vujačić 2019). Doclea, with its relative abundance of inscriptions, attracted interest among foreign scholars in the 19th century even before it was excavated.[544] Arthur Evans was another famous scholar who also visited Boka Kotorka, and who published his observations in *Antiquarian Research in Illyricum* (Evans 1883, 1885).

543 Around 45% of all currently listed historical and cultural monuments in Montenegro are located in the Bay of Kotor (*Boka Kotorska*).

544 The history of early research on epigraphic evidence from Doclea is presented in more detail in Koprivica and Pelcer-Vujačić (2019). Besides Mommsen, they list the following authors who published their studies on Doclean inscriptions in the period between 1850 and 1900: Neugebauer (1851), Denton (1877), Knight (1880), Mowat (1882a), Saski (1882), Ljubić (1884); Petričević (1890a; 1890b), Cagnat (1893), Munro, Anderson, Milne, and Haverfield (1896).

When speaking of continental Montenegro, this area, compared to other eastern Adriatic regions, was not much visited by foreign travellers and scholars interested in ancient history and antiquities. The primary observations of travellers were mostly focused on political circumstances in the area, general geography, and very frequently on the ethnography of the 'traditional' Montenegrins, frequently stereotypically painted as 'barbaric' and wild but noble.[545] As Marija Krivokapić and Neil Diamond (2017, 16) put it: Montenegro was almost until the end of 19th century an 'empty place', nowhere on the Grand Tour maps, contained no important classical monuments, had few roads, was avoided by pilgrims to Jerusalem, or diplomats travelling to Greece and Turkey, not interesting for Philhellenist travellers or those interested in the Oriental Balkans. Nevertheless, one of the earliest accounts of travels in Montenegro was published by Jacques-Louis Vialla de Sommières as *Voyage historique et politique au Monténégro* (Paris 1820) and was based on his observations during his secret military mission in 1811 to the Montenegrin *vladika* (Head Bishop of the Montenegrin Orthodox Church). His account mostly depicts the highlands of Montenegro and its people in a highly romanticised view, almost as a utopia of 'noble savages' (Corbet 1961). Such style was typical for much of the accounts of foreign travellers to Montenegro of that time. Of other interesting accounts, it is worth noting the texts of Bartolomeo Biasoletto, a botanist from Trieste who accompanied Frederich August, King of Saxony, during his visit to Istria, Dalmatia and Montenegro in 1838, aimed at collecting specimens of local plants (Bartolomeo Biasoletto, *Viaggio in Montenegro di Federico Augusto di Sassonia*, 1841).[546] Of the local 19th-century historians stands out Jakov Ćudina (Giacomo Chiudina, 1826–1900), a lawyer and administrator in Trieste and Split, who published works on the local history, ethnography, literature and heritage of Dalmatia (including Montenegro), and who also published *Storia del Montenero (Crnagora) da' tempi antichi a' giorni nostri* in Split in 1882 (Chiudina 1882).

The year 1890 can be taken as the symbolic start of archaeological research in Montenegro. In that year Prince Nikola, due to relatively abundant archaeological evidence, ordered an archaeological excavation of Doclea; this was the only Roman town in his princedom and also the place which gave name to the medieval Princedom of Duklja. The earliest sporadic finds, inscriptions apart, appeared already in the 1870s and drew foreign scholars' attention[547]. All this prompted Prince Nicola to hire a Russian amateur archaeologist, Pavel Antolovich Rovinsky, to conduct excavations in Doclea, which he did in 1890 and 1892, and discovered basilica, baths and two temples.[548] The following year, British archaeologist R. Munro, one of the participants in the archaeological congress in Sarajevo in 1894, excavated at the same location (Cermanović-Kuzmanović, Velimirović-Žižić

545 In this respect, it is worth mentioning the poem *Montenegro* (1877) by the 'Montenegro Byron' Alfred Lord Tennyson, and accounts of Montenegro by William Gladstone (Youngs 2006, 28).

546 Here I have consulted the edition published in 2000 (Biasoletto 2000). For a bibliography on travellers in Montenegro in the first half of the 19th century, see Kilibarda 2000, 18).

547 For example, A. Dumont, *Bulletin de la Société nationale de antiquaries de France*, 1873, 71–73. The so-called Podgorica cup from Doclea caught particular attention. It was purchased by the then Italian consul in Montenegro (Burzanović and Koprovica 2011, 220) and published by G.B. De Rossi in *Bullletino di archeologia cristiana*, 1877, 77–85. R. Mowat (1882b) also wrote about Doclea in *Examples of gravure antique sur verre, for proposing quelques fragments provenant of Dukle (Montenegro), Revue archéologique* 44, 1882, 296–297. In 1879, Pricot de Sainte-Marie, the French consul in Dubrovnik and Thessaloniki, archaeologist, author of the study on early history and settlement of South Slaves in Illyricum (Pricot de Sainte-Marie 1974) initiated small-scale excavations of grave mounds near the ruins of the Roman town.

548 P.A. Rovinsky, Raskopki drevnei Dioklei proizvedennaya po ukazaniyo i na schet ego vissochestva czernogorskog knyaza Nikolaya (Excavations of the ancient Docleae according to the decree of His Majesty, the Montenegrin Prince Nikola), *Zhurnaly of the Ministry of National Prosperity*, St. Petersburg 1890.

and Srejović 1975, 7-8, Marković 2006, 21).[549] Based on these excavations, an Austrian expert Piero Sticotti wrote the first monograph on Doclea in 1913 (*Die Römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro*), published by the Department of Antiquities of the Balkan Commission of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna. For more than half a century, this represented the reference work about the site and the ancient history of southern Dalmatia (Sticotti 1913). In 1919, this commission published a report on the archaeological research trip undertaken by C. Praschniker and A. Schober. They made field excursions during the Austrian occupation of Montenegro and Albania during the First World War. In this text the authors reported on the Roman remains and provided one of the first overviews of the prehistoric settlements and discoveries in Montenegro (Praschniker and Schober 1919). At the beginning of the 20th century, there was also an interest of the Italian authorities in archaeological research in Montenegro. Roberto Paribeni visited Montenegro in 1901 and, on that occasion, assisted by local authorities, conducted minor investigations in Podgorica, Gradina, Spuž and Nikšić. Antonio Baldacci, a botanist, organised the first larger Italian expedition in 1902, including archaeological excavations.[550]

However, as among most of the Balkan nations ruled by Ottomans, also in Montenegro, the idea of historical heritage developed in the context of national liberation – as national heritage. Instrumental for raising the awareness about this heritage were the high Orthodox clergy, who kept written records and objects, mostly about the history of their dioceses. Monasteries were also important centres of these activities in the country. In this context, already at the end of the 18th century an impressive collection of militaria was formed from military objects from different wars fought against the Ottomans (military flags, weapons, decorations) and displayed as war trophies at the Prince's court (as war trophies). The first initiative for the museum came in 1893 on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the printing house of Charnoyevich (*Čarnojević*). Three years later, an Act on the Library and Museum of the Princedom of Montenegro in Cetinje was adopted (*Vodić kroz muzeje Crne Gore* 2007, 6). Although at that time archaeology was not among the themes of the first national Montenegrin Museum – the priority was given to themes closely associated with the Montenegrin national liberation and ecclesiastic history – it was the very establishment of the national museum which had significant effects on the further development of infrastructure in culture and science in general.

After the formation of the new state of Yugoslavia, the Montenegrin Littoral was integrated with continental Montenegro into the Province (*oblast*) of Cetinje, which was, in 1929, enlarged into Banate of Zeta, which also included large parts of today's Serbian and Bosnian Sanjak and Kosovo with large Muslim and Albanian populations. The banate of Zeta was the smallest among the Yugoslav banates (925,000 inhabitants) and the least developed and urbanised in the whole country.[551] The Banate of Zeta also had very modest road and railway infrastructure and a low level of industrialisation.[552]

549 Munro, R. (1896). On the Roman Town of Doclea in Montenegro. *Archeologia* 55, 33–92; Munro, J.A.R., Anderson, W.C.F, Milne, J.G., Haverfield, F. (1896), On the Roman town Doclea in Montenegro. *Archeologia* 55, 1896, 1–60.

550 More information on the Italian archaeological initiatives of the time, and their political context, are given by S. Burzanović and T. Koprivica (2011; 2019). Here I will note that the Italian King Vittorio Emanuele III was married to the Montenegrin King's daughter what could have eased the 'archaeological' diplomacy.

551 The whole Zeta Banate had, in the mid-1930s, less than 4% of the urban population. Of all towns, none of them exceeded a population of 15,000 (*Statistički godišnjak 1934–1935*, 51), with some 66% of the population being illiterate (more than 20% higher than the Yugoslav average at that time; *Statistički godišnjak 1934–1935*, 30).

552 In the 1930s, between 5% and 6% of the population of Montenegro worked in various branches of industry, half the ratio for the whole country of Yugoslavia. For comparison, in Slovenia, there was more than 20% of the industrial population in the same period (Vrišer 1980, 210).

In the light of this data it seems quite logical that the conditions and circumstances for intensive development of cultural and scientific infrastructure in Montenegro were unfavourable. The development of archaeology was always connected with the developed urban population and middle classes, a situation lacking in Montenegro between the two world wars. Moreover, the few coastal towns had quite different historical and cultural traditions than the continental parts. In addition to this, Montenegro, once it proclaimed an independent princedom in 1878, had minimal capacities and time to develop a complete national infrastructure in many domains before being united with Serbia and Yugoslavia in 1918. The coastal towns which might have served as critical intellectual hubs for doing this were not part of Montenegro until 1918. In such circumstances, one can only admire the efforts of individuals or groups of intellectuals to engage more actively in archaeology and catch up with more developed regions in the country.

After the Second World War, the first museum was (re)opened in Cetinje in 1926 as the State Museum in King Nikola II's former royal palace. Ten years later, two small local museums – in Perast (1937) and Kotor (1938) – were also established. The establishment of the museum in Kotor resulted from the initiative of the Popular University of Boka Kotorska (*Narodni univerzitet Boke Kotorske*; a sort of community college for additional education of adults), which promoted a collection of historical and art objects. These objects were kept in churches and private homes and prepared for the historical exhibition held in Kotor in 1934. Similarly, the museum collection in Perast was made up of objects that in the 19th century had been kept in the town hall (*Hrvatski glasnik* 2018, 154, 81–85). The Boka Kotorska Navy collection, first displayed in 1880, was also raised to a museum's status in 1938. Compared to the neighbouring countries, the effective establishment of the first museums in Montenegro came relatively late. In continental Montenegro, most collections were kept in monasteries or houses of the local rulers.

These first museums primarily displayed the collections that showed the Montenegrin state's historical heritage and its ruling dynasty, or valuables and objects related to maritime affairs and trade activity of the towns on the coast. Moreover, before 1945 there were no professional archaeologists in museums or any other institution in Montenegro. In the absence of local experts, who could systematically document and promote archaeological heritage, the archaeological potential of Montenegro only occasionally aroused the interest of other Yugoslav archaeological centres. Two such cases were recorded in the 1930s: the discovery of the Roman villa in Risan by D. Vuksan, Director of the State Museum in Cetinje (1930), and excavations of a rich Hellenistic and Roman cemetery in Budva between 1937 and 1938, after its accidental discovery during the construction of a hotel. The fortunes of this cemetery are very illustrative for the state and organisation of archaeological service in Montenegro at the time. The cemetery in Budva, spanning almost 1,000 years, could have been one of the richest and most significant places in the Eastern Adriatic for studying the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but was unfortunately devastated and robbed during its exposure. Many of the finds were taken to the Museum of Prince Paul in Belgrade and illegally sold to numerous collectors in Yugoslavia and abroad (on misappropriations of archaeological objects in Montenegro). See more in Roganović (2008)).

Establishment of modern Montenegrin archaeology (1945–)

The proper establishment of the national (i.e. republican) infrastructure of the archaeological discipline in Montenegro commenced in the first decades after the Second World War. First, it was necessary to create a network of regional and local museums and an institute for heritage protection. The process started with the latter. The Institute for the Protection and Scientific Study of Cultural Monuments and Natural

Rarities was founded in Cetinje in 1948.[553] The establishment of local museums soon followed, in Herceg Novi (1950), Podgorica (1950), Nikšić (1951), Pljevlja and Berane (1953), Bijelo Polje (1957), Bar (1959), Danilovgrad (1960), Ulcinj (1961) and Budva (1962), thus covering all the regions in the country.[554] In 1961, the principal national research institution was founded in Podgorica (Titograd at the time) – the Archaeological Collection of Montenegro (*Arheološka zbirka Crne Gore*[555]). Thus, in less than two decades Montenegro was furnished with a more stable infrastructure that employed domestic experts and gradually caught up with other national archaeological systems in Yugoslavia in the 1970s and 1980s. The last established local museum in Montenegro was in Kolašin in 1981, but it currently has no archaeological collection.

The establishment of museums in Montenegro was part of the grand developmental economic and social process that the country underwent in the first two decades after 1945. This included large-scale industrialisation and urbanisation, as well as developments in education, science and culture. During the 1970s, increasing importance was given to the development of tourism, mostly on the coast. By the late 1960s, the country achieved a level of infrastructural development in archaeology comparable to that in the neighbouring republics. However, due to its smaller size and population, Montenegro could not afford large cultural and scientific institutions with numerous experts, as was the case elsewhere in Yugoslavia. In 1974, the University of Montenegro was established, but with a somewhat limited programme and without a curriculum in archaeology. Most Montenegrin archaeologists thus graduated from the University of Belgrade, a situation that continues to the present day.

We could reasonably estimate that in the period between 1945 and 1965 some ten professional archaeologists were active in the country. The figure seems small, but there were archaeologists in almost all local museums. In these first decades, Montenegrin archaeology was significantly supported by institutions and scholars from other Yugoslav republics working mostly on research and restoration projects. The most developed collaboration was with Serbian institutions. Montenegrin archaeology entered the Yugoslav (and international) scene in the 1950s with two large projects, Doclea and Crvena stijena. Due to the insufficient number of local scholars, these projects were jointly organised with institutions from other Yugoslav centres. In Doclea (1954–1962), the Montenegrin team worked with colleagues from Belgrade (from the Archaeological Institute and University of Belgrade), while the leading investigators at Crvena Stijena (1954–1964) came from Sarajevo (Alojz Benac and Djuro Basler) and Ljubljana (Mitja Brodar). There was also a third large 'Yugoslav project in Montenegro – the excavations of the Hellenistic/Roman cemetery in Budva between 1952 and 1955. However, the fact that the results of these excavations have not been published yet is another indicator of the relatively modest personnel capacity of Montenegrin archaeology at the time.

Due to their small number, and the fact that almost all archaeologists in the country had to dedicate much of their efforts to preserve the local heritage, they could not conduct large-scale research projects. For this reason, the number and size of excavations, though much higher than in any prior period, remained relatively low compared to other Yugoslav republics at the time. Instead, more efforts were dedicated to surveying and mapping the archaeological sites for the Archaeological Map of Montenegro, although this project remained uncompleted and unpublished. Besides research in Duklja

553 Between 1946 and 1948, some of the new institute's tasks were carried out by the National Museum in Cetinje.

554 For the presentation of Montenegrin museums, see *Museums of Montenegro* (2007).

555 Under this title, this institution effectively started in 1968; before that year, it was called Council for Archaeological Collection of Montenegro (*Savjet Arheološke zbirke Crne Gore*) (Čukić 2011).

and Crvena stijena, significant results were also obtained from the excavation of individual Bronze and Iron Age barrows, necropoles, newly discovered Roman settlements and early medieval sites (e.g. Municipium S., Mijele).

After modest beginnings in the mid-1950s, a genuine expansion of archaeological work was first accomplished in the 1960s, when local archaeological institutions grew stronger in human resources and better prepared to conduct independently larger-scale projects. This trend continued in the 1970s, especially in the 1980s, which presented another peak in archaeological activities.[556] The number of excavations between the 1970 and 1990 approximately tripled compared to the 1050s and 1960s, while the number of archaeologists almost doubled (Arheo 1989, 46, 47). Among the most famous sites investigated in more recent period were Odmut cave (Mesolithic-Eneolithic site), the Neolithic and Eneolithic sites of Beran krš and Kremeštice, both near Berane, Perast (Spila), a dozen grave mounds from the Bronze and Iron Ages scattered across the country, as well as the Roman sites at Samograd, Risan and Budva. Although much of this effort can be attributed to local institutions and experts, the contributions of Serbian archaeologists' should not be ignored. In 1967, Milutin and Draga Garašanin wrote the first synthesis on the prehistory of Montenegro and thus established the initial conceptual framework for the study of this period in the country.[557]

Serbian archaeological publications also regularly published articles on Montenegrin archaeology, while Montenegro failed to establish its own scholarly archaeological journal. The closest to one would be the journal *Starine Crne Gore* (*Antiquities of Montenegro*), established in 1960 by the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. It also published papers from other cultural heritage domains, but was more focused on heritage protection. Other local journals in which the Montenegrin archaeologists published their works were mostly annual reports of the museums or other cultural or scientific institutions.

Why was this so? The small number of archaeologists was not the main reason for the absence of a specialised archaeological journal; according to the number of monographs and papers published in other Yugoslav archaeological journals, Montenegrin archaeologists were, indeed, quite productive. My opinion is that the main reason lies in the absence of an 'archaeological centre' in Montenegro, an institution like the institutes of archaeology in other Yugoslav republics responsible for publishing the principal republican scholarly journals. The role of such a 'research centre' was aimed at the Archaeological Collection of Montenegro. Still, this institution remained largely understaffed and underfunded during its whole period of existence. Montenegro still lacks such a central institution, be it a museum or research institute, nor there is a university with an archaeological programme.

In 1979, an earthquake of catastrophic magnitude hit Montenegro, southern Dalmatia and northern Albania. In this the Montenegrin coastal historical towns (Budva, Ulcinj, Herceg Novi, Tivat, Kotor) and their historic architecture suffered considerable damage. For some time, most of the efforts and funds in the discipline were thus dedicated to the renewal of the destroyed heritage, which, for a while, stalled further developments in other domains in archaeology.[558]

556 The data on the number of archaeological projects in Montenegro is very hard to get because such surveys are not published. My estimates are based on a survey of Montenegrin archaeology published by Marković (2006). There, he mentions approximately 100 archaeological sites from the Palaeolithic to the Late Roman period. In terms of the frequency of archaeological works (per decade), the 1960s and 1980s present clear peaks. Unfortunately, we do not have data for medieval archaeology and urban works since they were most often done for conservation and restoration purposes.

557 D. Garašanin, M. Garašanin (1967); M. Garašanin (1967).

558 The restoration works on historical monuments in the Boka Kotorska Bay demanded the establishment of a new Municipal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Kotor, which was established in 1980.

In the chapters dealing with other national archaeologies, some of their most prominent scholars were briefly presented. In the case of Montenegro, it is not so easy to find such figures not only because of the relative delay in the onset of institutionalisation of archaeology, but also due to the absence of strong archaeological research centres and universities in Montenegro, where such scholars and their 'schools' are usually formed. The late formation of Montenegrin archaeological institutions, and their delayed arrival of fully-fledged expertise (from about the 1970s onwards), resulted in the situation in which some of the necessary conceptual tools, such as regional chronologies and typologies, came to be developed by scholars working outside Montenegro. To this end, it is necessary to bring back to mind the works of Milutin and Draga Garašanin, and of the team that initiated investigations at Crvena Stijena (A. Benac, Dj. Basler, M. Brodar, later in the 1970s and 1908s also D. Srejović), who put in place the basic concepts and classifications for prehistoric research in the territory of Montenegro. Sometime later, local archaeologists continued the work upon these foundations. However, in the 1970s and 1980s several local scholars were able to gain a high reputation in the Yugoslav archaeological community for their research achievements (e.g. Olivera (Velimirović) Žižić, Čedomir Marković, Ilija Pušić, Pavle Mijović). Except Mijović, they all started their professional careers in the mid-1960s collaborating with other Yugoslav archaeologists, and soon proved to be key scholars for the archaeology of Montenegro. Pavle Mijović (1915–1996) was the key scholar who should be credited for the proper establishment of the Montenegrin archaeology and art history in the infrastructural sense. After a short but brilliant diplomatic career in the late 1940s (press attaché and counsellor to the Yugoslav Ambassadors in Moscow and Stockholm, assistant to the President of the UN Committee of Human Rights in Paris (1948) Mijović opted for the career in archaeology, art history and literature, where he contributed significantly to the establishment of several national and regional cultural and scientific institutions.

Olivera Žižić and Čedomir Marković are particularly worth presenting here due to their quite outstanding contributions and influence in the development of both Montenegrin and, not to be forgotten, also Yugoslav archaeology.

Olivera Žižić, born in Nikšić in 1932, graduated in the 1950s from the University of Belgrade as the first Montenegrin archaeologist. During her career, until the early 1990s, she participated in almost all major field projects in the country (e.g. Crvena stijena, Budva, Duklja, Doljani, Mijele, Odmut, Onogošt, etc.) and several others in Serbia (e.g. Sirmium), Bosnia and Herzegovina (e.g. Pod near Bugojno) and N. Macedonia (e.g. Porodin).[559] In the period between 1968 and 1991, she was the Director of the Archaeological Collection of Montenegro. Her bibliographic and research corpus is extensive; it covers most archaeological periods and addresses many topics, including material culture, architecture, topography, heritage protection studies, and ancient history. In this way, she made a fundamental contribution to the progress of Montenegrin archaeology and its ascent to the level of other, more advanced schools in the broader region. For her outstanding role in Yugoslav archaeology, especially for her achievements in the organisation of Montenegrin archaeology, she was elected President of the Association of Yugoslav Archaeological Societies (*Savez arheoloških društva Jugoslavije*) in 1988.[560] Member of the Council for Archaeology at the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Montenegro.

Another figure that left a permanent mark is Čedomir Marković, born in 1937 in Peć (today in Kosovo). He graduated in archaeology from the University of Belgrade in 1963. Though he was primarily a prehistorian, his work also included a wide variety of topics in almost all archaeological periods. Like Olivera Žižić, Marković

559 For an extensive list of Olivera Žižić's field projects, see Čukić (2011).

560 Olivera Žižić was, in fact, the last president of this association, which ceased to exist in 1991 with the end of Yugoslavia.

actively participated in many projects conducted by Montenegrin archaeologists. He was also a co-author (together with D. Srejović) of the first synthesis of the Neolithic in Montenegro, which for a long time was the principal reference work for this period in the region (Marković, Srejović 1985). Marković built his career in the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Cetinje. Later, he also acted as a fellow of the Archaeological Collection of Montenegro, Podgorica. His monograph on the history of archaeology in Montenegro (Marković 2006) deserves particular attention, as it was the first synthesis in which the results of a century of archaeological research in this country are presented. Marković was also the first elected president of the Archaeological Society of Montenegro (1971). After his retirement, he continued to chair the Council for Archaeology at the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Montenegro.

The 1980s were a period of widening international cooperation, which extended across sites and archaeological topics other than Doclea. Inspired by very promising research results at Mala gruda barrow by the local archaeologists in 1970 and 1971, a team from the University of Zürich excavated a massive barrow at Velika gruda (1988, 1990). The excavations revealed a very early central grave (dated around the 28th century BC) with objects indicating contacts with the Early Bronze Age Greece and more than 150 other graves from the 14th century BC (Primas 1996; Della Casa 1996).

A few words are also necessary regarding the development of a system for the protection of cultural heritage (archaeological heritage included) in Montenegro in the period between 1945 and 1991.[561] Before 1918, the Kingdom of Montenegro did not have any elaborate legislation regarding the safeguarding of cultural heritage, except for occasional decrees about collecting and displaying historical objects and antiquities. The situation in Littoral Montenegro, which belonged to the Austrian province of Dalmatia, was much different. The Central Commission for Protection and Research on Historical and Art Monuments' Provincial Office had its seat in Split and powers to act in coastal Montenegro. The situation did not improve much during the Yugoslav period between the two world wars, since it took many years to prepare a draft version of an act on heritage protection, which ultimately was not officially adopted. Moreover, in this period the protection of antiquities was a matter that was occasionally resolved with governmental decrees. The situation changed radically after the Second World War, when the Yugoslav government adopted the federal act on cultural monuments and natural rarities in 1945. Four years later, Montenegro adopted its own republican act on this matter. In the decades that followed, Montenegro was constantly renewing its legislation for the protection of the cultural heritage (acts from 1960, 1970, 1991). In 1948 Montenegro established the Republican Institute for the Protection and Research of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities in Cetinje as the principal national institution responsible for cultural heritage. In 1961 a decree on the central register of protected cultural monuments was adopted. In 1980, due to urgent requirements for renovation after the 1979 earthquake, a Municipal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was established in Kotor, which in 1992 extended its responsibilities over all municipalities in Boka Kotorska, and was transformed into a regional institute.

Though legislation and institutional organisation of the heritage protection seem fully comparable with other republics in Yugoslavia, it should be noted that the development of this public service was not an easy task. It was frequently not very effective in the circumstances of massive urban, tourist and industrial development. Simply put, the republican and local authorities constructed numerous building projects without proper protection of heritage, including archaeological heritage, especially in urban areas or during the

561 For data on the development and state of heritage protection of Montenegro, I have consulted a document *Stanje kulturne baštine* (2006).

Fig. 173 Archaeological institutions in Montenegro.

construction of major roads and similar projects. Another significant problem was the development of tourism, which made giant leaps since the 1970s when Montenegro became an increasingly popular destination for many domestic and foreign tourists.[562] This threat is still very much present almost all over the eastern Adriatic coast. However, compared to Croatia, Montenegro had less effective public services in heritage protection and is significantly understaffed and underfunded.

The 1990s were far less suitable for further development in the domain of culture and science. The first half of this decade was marked by the civil war in Yugoslavia, which ended in 1995. At that time, Montenegro was a part of the newly formed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo), and Montenegrin soldiers

562 Here are just a few figures to illustrate the magnitude of this development. In the 1960s, Montenegro had around 13,000 beds in the tourist industry. In 1987, the number of beds was more than ten times higher (around 137,000). In 1989, Montenegro was visited by nearly 10 million tourists, hosted in more than 30,000 different tourist facilities (Vitić-Ćetković et al. 2018, 298–299).

actively engaged in southeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina and southern Croatia. The intensity of research activities plunged, the resources for cultural and research institutions were lacking, and most of the connections with archaeology colleagues from outside the country (except for Serbia) were broken. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Montenegro was an integral part, was placed under EU economic sanctions for half a decade due to the Milošević regime's politics. The country's economic and political crisis only deepened and led to another war in 1999 during which NATO troops bombed Federal Yugoslavia, Montenegro included. It is only with independence, proclaimed in 2006, that the situation stabilised, allowing further economic progress. The 'lost decade" definitely had long-term effects, especially in economic growth, and consequently in the slowed growth in all major domains of social life.

Only very recently, when Montenegro started to design its statehood, can a gradual revival be observed. The process entailed the reorganisation of numerous institutions. In 1998 the Archaeological Collection of Montenegro (*Arheološka zbirka Crne Gore*) was reformed into the Centre for Archaeological Research of Montenegro, an institution similar to the institutes of archaeology in other Yugoslav republics. And more recently, in 2011, the Centre for Archaeological Research of Montenegro was joined with part of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments into the Centre for Conservation and Archaeology of Montenegro (*Centar za konzervaciju i arheologiju Crne Gore*),[563] becoming the largest archaeological institution in the country. Still, in terms of this new institution's personnel and tasks, one could hardly speak of an archaeological research institute comparable to those in Slovenia, Croatia and N. Macedonia.

Concerning the protection of archaeological heritage, the situation since 2000 had not improved substantially. A study on the state of heritage protection commissioned by the Ministry of Culture and Media (*Stanje kulturne baštine Crne Gore* 2006) is quite open-minded and very critical in this regard. It explicitly points to the principal problems which were neglected for a long time: the non-existent archaeological map of Montenegro, sub-standard register of sites, lost records, the unclear legislative situation, a lack of monitoring, understaffed and underfunded institutions, and, last but not least, a significant number of archaeological sites not listed correctly in the central register (in 2006, only 17 sites in the whole country were considered monuments, 14 of them of the 3rd (the lowest) category). Another surprisingly low figure is the number of registered archaeological objects in museums in 2006, 22,077 in total (*Stanje kulturne baštine Crne Gore* (2006)).[564]

The truth is that Montenegro is still relatively poor (its GDP per capita amounts to 72% of Croatia's and 52% of Slovenia's). Another principal constraint is the high imbalance in the distribution of wealth between the regions: the coastal area is much richer and more developed than the hinterland, which is reflected in the distribution of public resources. Lately, heritage has been under tremendous pressure because of the growth of tourism and the increase in construction projects in the coastal zone. The archaeological institutions' current capacities are still relatively modest, and they cannot cope with such a challenge. This is, by all means, highly paradoxical; not only because 45% of all Montenegrin cultural monuments are from the Boka Kotorska area, but also the town of Kotor itself was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1979.

563 On this occasion, another part of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was transformed into a Directorate for Heritage Protection of Montenegro: its major tasks were administrative procedures that involved heritage objects.

564 Personal comment: for much of these problems, it is the Ministry of Culture and Media which should be considered responsible. It should be noted that between 1994 and 2011, a series of reforms were imposed by this ministry, which substantially affected and 'confused' the public service for heritage protection and long-standing good practices.

Concerning the discipline's infrastructure, a full range of archaeological institutions has not yet been fully developed in Montenegro. This is particularly clear in the field of education and research. However, despite Montenegrin archaeology's remarkable progress since the Second World War, the professional archaeological community always remained relatively small. At the end of the 1980s, just 19 archaeologists worked in 13 institutions, mostly in local museums. A single archaeologist is usually employed in one museum, and this significantly limits the capacities and potential of some of the institutions. Today, the number of professional archaeologists in the country is slightly higher, between 25 and 30. However, it is worth noting that not all of the regional museums have hired any archaeological staff.

However, despite the low numbers of archaeological professionals and, consequently, their lower social influence and power, the archaeological community in Montenegro is recently attempting to overcome this situation. One of the ways, especially for the younger generation, is international projects, which may to a certain extent improve the situation with regard to academic archaeology, and where local scholars have an opportunity to exchange ideas and experience with archaeologists from other counties more easily. In the last decade or so, the country's traditional partners – the Serbian archaeological institutions – almost completely terminated their activities in Montenegro due to several ups and downs in the bilateral relationships between these two nations. Still, the cooperation with research teams from Slovenia, Croatia, Italy, Albania, the Czech Republic, Poland and some other countries is increasing, as is the mobility of Montenegrin students and experts. A significant step forward in protecting archaeological heritage was the ratification of the European Convention on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage in 2011.

To summarise, archaeology in Montenegro started to develop more as a regional rather than a national framework. It stayed in this regional position for many decades, as a region of the 'Dalmatian' or 'Dalmatian-Adriatic' style of archaeology, with much of its history in common with Venetian and Croatian Dalmatia. To a certain level, this 'Dalmatian' facet also continued in the rest of Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the continental Montenegro, where the first Montenegrin national institutions were formed, was archaeologically largely underdeveloped until the 1950s and could hardly develop its own archaeological-scholarly identity. In many respects, but mostly due to the lack of local experts, the archaeology in inland Montenegro remained for a long time a 'region' or domain of Serbian archaeology. It is not by chance that the first archaeological synthesis on the prehistory of Montenegro was published in 1967 by Milutin and Draga Garašanin, both coming from the archaeological institutions in Belgrade. The lack of local Montenegrin experts is also visible in the voluminous synthesis on the prehistory of Yugoslavia (*Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*), published between 1979 and 1987, where the territory of Montenegro was presented as part of other larger regional units, and by authors coming from outside of Montenegro (Đuro Basler, Šime Batović, Stojan Dimitrijević, Borivoj Čović, Milutin Garašanin). Regarding the development of the institutional infrastructure, Montenegrin archaeology looked more like a regional entity than a fully national framework in much of its history. And even today, the process of completing the national disciplinary framework of archaeology in Montenegro is not yet finished; indeed, it could be said that Montenegrin archaeology is still in between the regional and national, but increasingly moving towards the latter.

There are at least two reasons for this long-standing 'regional' status. The first should be looked for in this country's history with the separate historical and cultural development of the coastal and continental parts. It was only in 1918 when these two parts became united (within Yugoslavia). However, creating a united national identity out of these two quite different

'Montenegros' remained a highly complex and challenging endeavour, especially regarding the country's relationship with Serbia. Here lies the second reason. At present, some 30% of the population of Montenegro declare as Serbs. These people did not migrate to Montenegro but are local native inhabitants. Among them, the tradition of dual identity is very much alive – the Serbian as a broader national identity and Montenegrin as a regional one. This view also strongly supports the majority of Serbian historiography and especially the Serbian Orthodox Church, the dominant church in Montenegro[565], which both see Montenegrins as part of the Serbian national body, and would like to bring Montenegro closer to Serbia, its history and culture. In parallel, the opposite process was and still is underway, that of an accelerated creation of Montenegrin national identity, which is, to no small degree, based on historical and cultural narratives which accentuate the distance from Serbia.

565 The Montenegrin Orthodox Church, which had an extremely important role in 18th and 19th-century movements for the liberation of Montenegro from the Ottomans and played a key role in the political and cultural processes in obtaining independence in 1878, had to, after the decree of the Yugoslav King in 1920, join the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Images

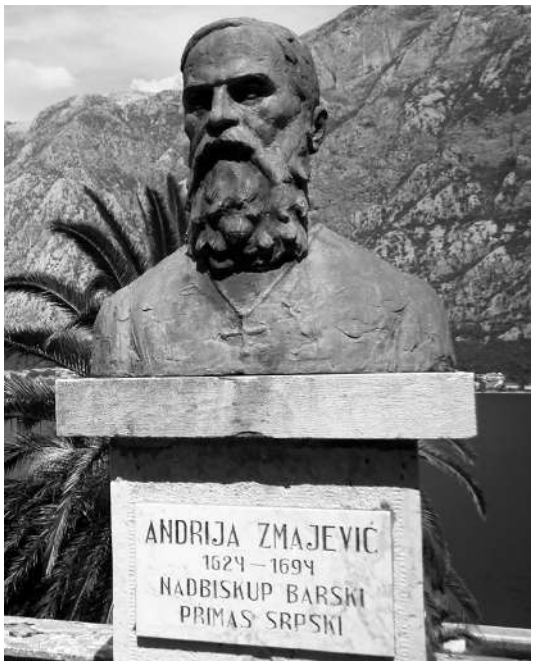


Fig. 174 Andrija Zmajević (1624–1694), Bishop of Bar, one of the earliest antiquarians in Montenegro.

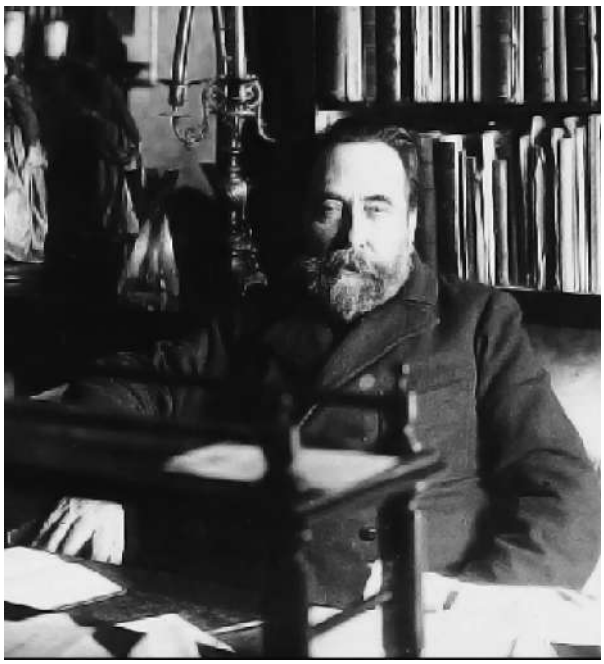


Fig. 175 V(B)altazar Bogišić (1834–1908), jurist, sociologist, professor at the University of Odessa, Minister of Justice of Montenegro. Bogišić consulted the Roman inscriptions from Doclea when making the civil code.

Fig. 176 Jacques-Louis Vialla de Sommières (1764–1849), French military officer, author of Voyage historique et politique au Monténégro.

Fig. 177 Robert Munro (1835–1920), Scottish archaeologists, excavated Doclea in mid-1890s.

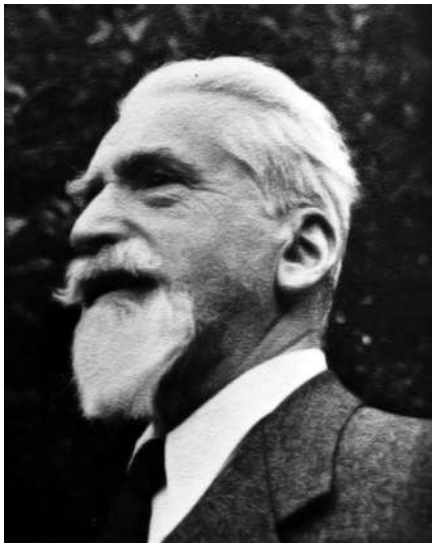


Fig. 178 Piero Sticotti (1870–1953), Italian archaeologist, Director of the Municipal Museum of Art History in Trieste (1920–1940); author of the first monograph on Doclea – Die Römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro (1913). Photo from 1953. Courtesy of the Fototeca dei Civici di Storia ed Arte, Trieste.

Fig. 179 Gregorino Palace in Kotor. The seat of the collection of the Fraternity of Boka Navy (since 1938). After 1949 the Maritime Museum of Montenegro. Photo ca. 1900.

Fig. 180 Construction of the Government House in Cetinje (1909). The place of one of the earliest archaeological and historical collections in Montenegro. Today the Historical Museum of Montenegro.

Fig. 181 House of Milan Komnenić, 1870–1941, Mayor of Herzeg Novi, bequeathad for use as a future municipal museum in Herzeg Novi (est. 1949).

Fig. 182 Palace of King Nikola in Nikšić, built in 1900. Since 1951 seat of the Museums and Galleries Nikšić.

Fig. 183 Doclea forum and basilica (photo by Josef Wünch, 1890). Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum Split.

Fig. 184 Doclea forum and basilica (1970s), photo from Marković (2006, Fig. 73).

Fig. 185 Hellenistic tombstone from Budva (late 1930s). Photo published in Marin (1995, 75).

Fig. 186 Pavle Mijović (1914–1996), art historian, historian and archaeologist, researcher at the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade, after 1980 worked in Cetinje at the Faculty of Cultural Studies, founder of the Museum in Ulcinj.

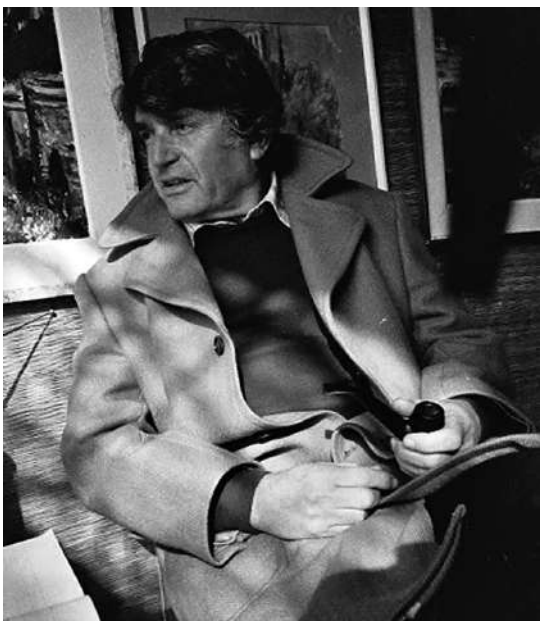


Fig. 187 Ilija Pušić (1922–2015), archaeologist, Director of the Museum of Herceg Novi.

Fig. 188 Olivera Žižić (1932), Director of the Archaeological Collection of Montenegro (1970–1990, the last President of the Association of Archaeological Societies of Yugoslavia (1988–1891). Photo taken at Doclea (1960s).

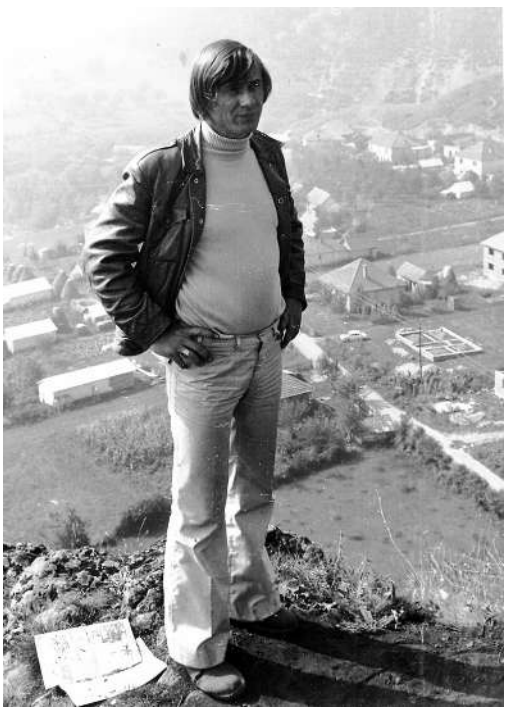


Fig. 189 Čedomir Marković (1934), archaeologists, conservator at the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Montenegro in Cetinje, the first president of the Archaeological Society of Montenegro (1971).

Fig. 190 Museum in Perast (1950s).

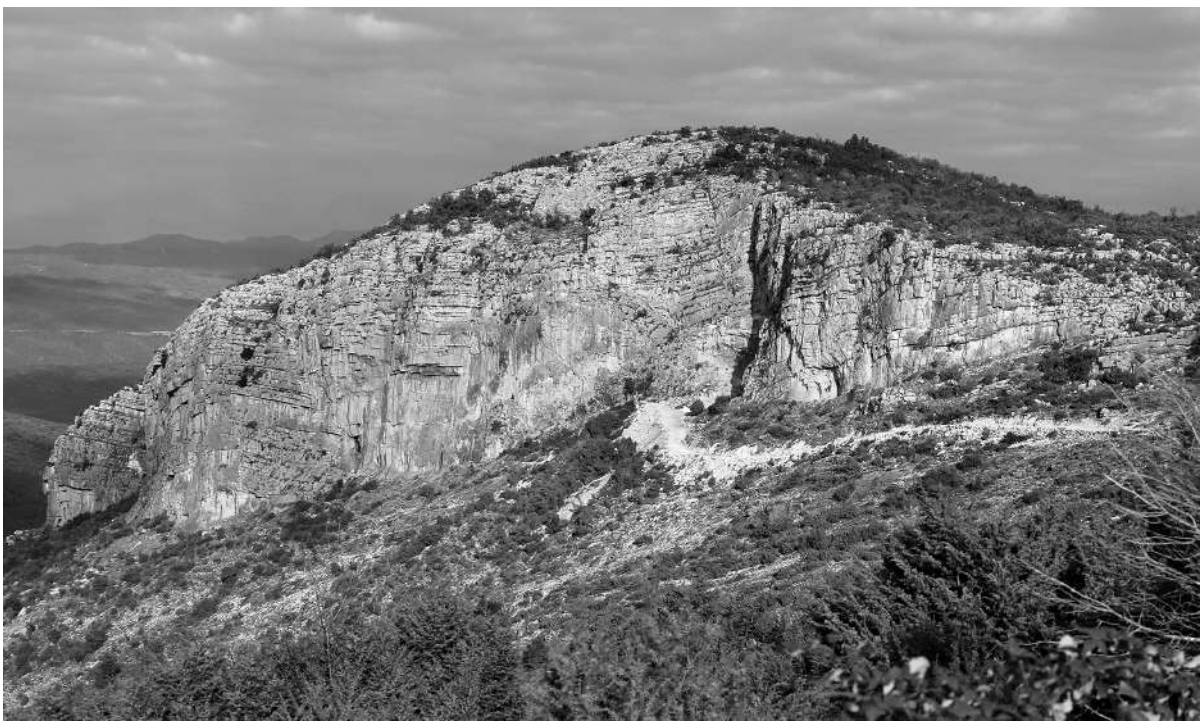


Fig. 191 Crvena stijena, the most important early prehistoric site in Montenegro, continuously researched from 1950s.

VIII. KOSOVO

Kosovo is still a relatively unknown country. It was always a part of larger geopolitical units (e.g. Ottoman Empire, Yugoslavia or Serbia) and, until recently, rarely considered as a well-defined political and geographical entity. Under the term *Kosovo vilayet* (Province of Kosovo), it first appeared during the Ottoman administrative reforms in the last two decades of the 19th century, which included a much larger territory than today's Kosovo (with northern and central N. Macedonia, the Sanjak region in Serbia, and northeastern Montenegro). Kosovo emerged with its modern borders after the Second World War as an autonomous province of Serbia, first under the name of Kosovo and Metochia, and in 1968 it was renamed Kosovo. It is important to note that Kosovo was the only former Yugoslav province with a non-Slavic (i.e. Albanian) majority.

Kosovo extends over a territory of 10,908 km^2 and has slightly less than 1.9 million inhabitants (Rothenbacher 2013, 928). It is estimated that, at present, some 90% of the population are Albanians, 6% Serbs and 4% members of other national or ethnic groups.[566] It is worth noting that Kosovo's demography and ethnic composition changed considerably in the last hundred years. In the 1953 census, the province had a population of 733,000, of which 68% were Albanians, 24% Serbs and 8% of other ethnic origins. Three decades later, in the 1981 census, the number of inhabitants had increased to nearly two million, with 81% Albanians, 11% Serbs, and 8% others. With around 7% of the annual population growth in the last hundred years, its population growth (mostly of the Kosovo Albanians) is the highest in Europe.[567] Among the former Yugoslav republics and provinces, Kosovo was the last to declare independence in 2008. However, Kosovo has not yet become a member of the United Nations. It has held the status of a temporary UN protectorate since 1999 because of opposition from Serbia which still officially treats Kosovo as its autonomous province. However, Kosovo has been recognised as an independent state by around a hundred UN member states.

Kosovo is a landlocked country with a very dynamic landscape, and nearly 80% of its area is between 500 and 1,500 meters above sea level (*Kosovo. Biodiversity Assessment* 2003, 5). The country consists of two major regions, both flat tectonic basins encircled by high mountains reaching altitudes of between 1,000 and 2,400 meters. Kosovo is an enclosed region, mostly open to the outside world through some river valleys and mountain passes. It sits at the contact of three large tectonic units (the Dinaric, Hellenic and Rodopian) and major drainage basins in SE Europe (Adriatic, Black Sea, Ionian Sea drainage basins). It borders, looking clockwise from the south, on North Macedonia, Albania, Montenegro and Serbia.

566 Due to the very extensive and dynamic emigration, and boycotts of recent censuses, it is not possible to provide the exact population figures for the period since the 1991 census, which registered the population of 1,954,747.

567 For more on the demography of Kosovo, see Rothenbacher (2012, 925–1063).

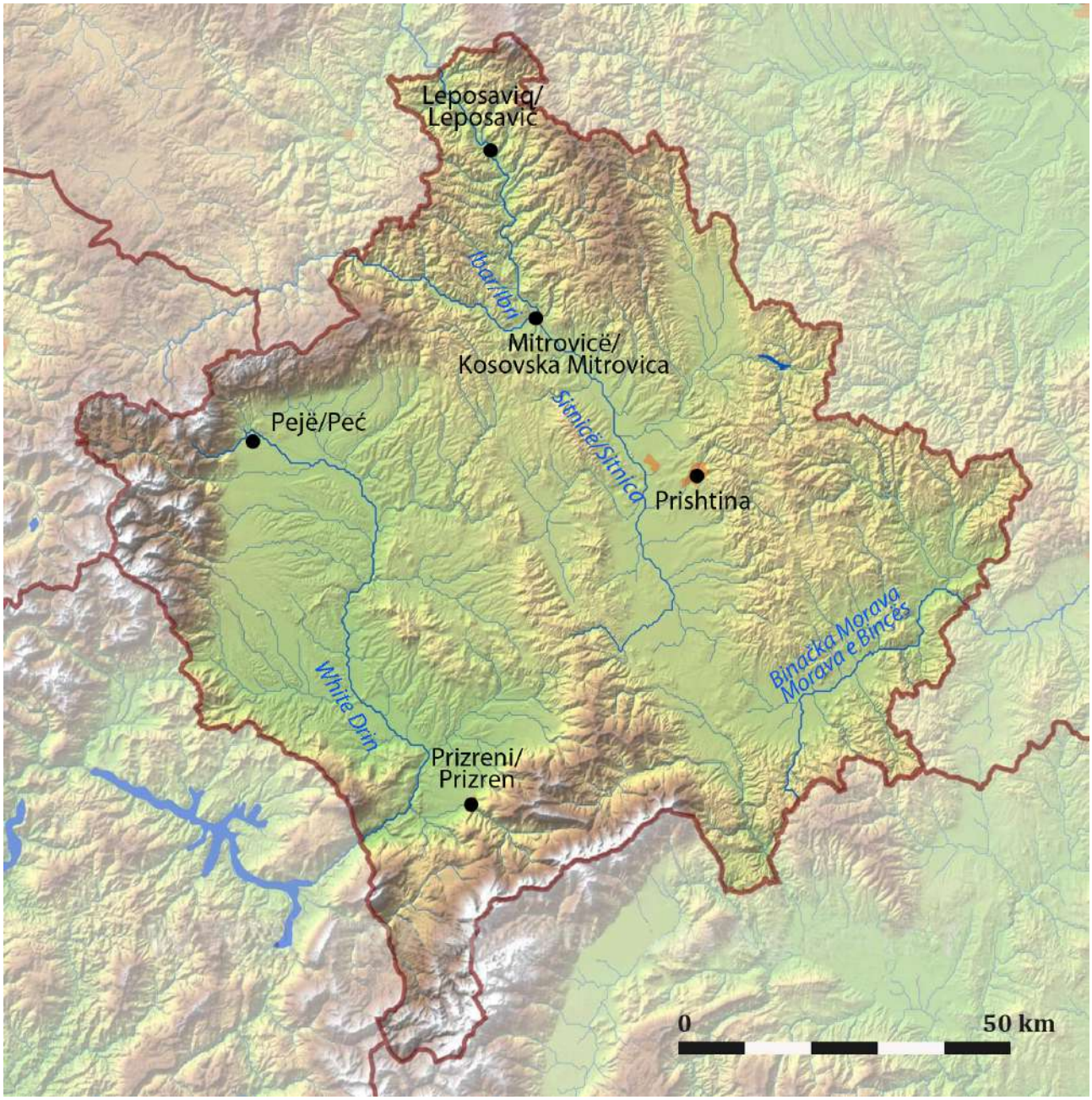


Fig. 192 Relief map of Kosovo.

The Šara/*Sharr* and Skopska Crna Gora mountain massifs are Kosovo's border with North Macedonia. These two massifs are divided by the Lepenac river valley, which presents the major communication route from Kosovo to Skopje and further south to the Vardar valley and the Aegean. The western and southwestern borders with Montenegro and Albania run along the mountain ridges of the Albanian Alps (*Alpet Shqiptare*) or Prokletije massif (Accursed Mountains, *Bjeshkët e Nemuna* in Albanian),[568]

568 After Kosovo's independence, geographical names became much more frequently reported in the Albanian language compared to the previous period when the Serbian variant dominated. To avoid problems in recognising places on maps published in one language only, I have used bilingual form (Serbian/*Albanian*) except for places where English form exists (e.g. Prishtina, Kosovo, etc.).

a part of wider Dinaric Alps, frequently reaching heights over 2,000 meters. This massif extends southwards to the White Drin (*Beli Drim/Drini i Bardhë)* river valley, which divides Prokletije mountains from the Šara massif. This river valley is the primary communication route connecting western Kosovo with northern Albania. In the north, the Kopaonik mountains, also reaching over 2,000 meters, present Kosovo's border with Serbia. From Kopaonik, the border turns to the east and then south and runs over the lower mountainous terrain reaching heights up to 1400 meters (*Goljak/Gallap, Pljačkovica, Krstilovica and Rujen mountains*), with several passes connecting Kosovo with the Morava Valley in Serbia.

The major lowland areas are two tectonic basins which lie at approximately 400 m to 700 m above sea level – Metochia (Metohija*/Rrafshi e Dukagjinit*) in the west and the Kosovo Plain (Kosovo Polje*/Rrafshi i Kosovës*) in the east. These two basins are divided by the Drenica/*Drenicë* mountains and hills chain, cutting the country into its eastern and western halves. Both basins were filled with tertiary lake sediments on which vast alluvial plains with numerous low river terraces were formed. Both basins contain large areas of fertile and well-drained soils highly suitable for agriculture.

The rivers in Kosovo belong to three different drainage basins. The White Drin flows across Metochia from north to south belongs to the Adriatic drainage basin. In central Kosovo, the principal river is Ibar/*Ibri*, which with its major tributaries (Sitnica/*Sitnicë*, Lab/*Llap*, Drenica/Drenic**ë**), cover the whole Kosovo plain, and flows to the north, to Western Morava, and ultimately to the Danube. The third river catchment is in southern Kosovo, where the principal river is Lepenac/*Lepenci,* which flows southwards to the Vardar in North Macedonia, and consequently, to the Aegean Sea. Due to its very heterogeneous terrain, the climatic conditions of Kosovo can vary considerably. However, the climate is of the mild and humid continental type in the lower regions. The influence of the Adriatic climate is felt in the Metochia basin. With rising altitudes, the climate rapidly changes into mountainous climatic types. Kosovo is a well-forested country, and some 47% of its territory is covered with mixed deciduous and coniferous forests (Milenković, Jakovljević and Ćurković 2016, 1). Another vital characteristic of Kosovo is a considerable abundance of various ores (lead, zinc, silver and others) which have been continuously extracted since at least Roman times.

Despite being almost entirely encircled by high mountains, Kosovo provides very suitable conditions for agriculture. Its geographical position in the contact zone between the Adriatic and western and central Balkans, and Kosovo's close connections to some principal Balkan communication routes between the Danube and Aegean (on the Morava – Vardar axis), puts this region in a different light when observing its past.

Kosovo in archaeology and history: a brief survey

Due to Kosovo being enclosed by high mountains, the country has retained its regional cultural characteristics for much of its past. However, because of the relatively late beginning of systematic archaeological research, it is still a mostly unresearched area for having detailed insight into its archaeological past. The earliest systematic excavation projects started in the 1950s. These were relatively numerous but very limited in size, especially when speaking about prehistoric sites. This brings us to another issue when attempting a brief synthesis of Kosovo in earlier periods – the fragmented nature of information in both geographical and temporal senses. For large portions of archaeological periods, the evidence is still missing or poorly known. Precise chronologies are lacking (very few radiocarbon dates), and due to the low number of well-researched sites, it is still difficult to recognise more detailed settlement patterning. It thus remains challenging to anyone attempting to present an image of archaeology in this region in greater detail.

To get a realistic image of state of the art, one should consult, in the first place, two recently published volumes of an Archaeological Map of Kosovo (*Harta Arkeologjike e Kosovës* I (2006) and II (2012). The map covers the eastern and parts of central Kosovo, around 55% of the country. Both volumes map 419 sites combined, broadly classified as prehistoric, ancient (i.e. Roman) and medieval.[569] The density of sites is about 7.2 sites/100 km^2. If we compare these figures with those in a similar database in Slovenia (Register of the Immovable Cultural Heritage), where 3,295 sites were listed until 2014 (Pirkovič 2014, 82), and where the density of sites is more than double (16.2 sites/100 km^2), the disparity becomes quite evident. Nevertheless, one should respect the efforts of the much smaller number of scholars in Kosovo, who in the last 70 years have transformed the archaeology of this region from being virtually *tabula rasa* to the present state of the art.

To date, there are no confirmed Palaeolithic or Mesolithic sites known in Kosovo. There are a few possible pieces of evidence of hunters and gatherers from rock shelters and caves (e.g. Radavca pećina/*Shpella e Radavcit*, Grnčara/*Gërnçar* near Vitina/*Viti*, Karmakaz and Demovo/*Demës* (both near Peć/*Pejë*); *Shpella e Zezë, Kallaba, Shkëmbi i Kuq*, see *Arheološki vodič Kosova* (2012, 7) and Bunguri (2006, 27, 44)). Still, these are not yet fully confirmed sites or individual finds. However, as many Palaeolithic sites have been found in neighbouring areas in Montenegro and Upper Morava Valley in Serbia, it is only a matter of time before they are discovered, most probably in the numerous rock shelters present in the Dinaric mountains.

The earliest proper archaeological evidence is dated to the Early Neolithic, to the Starčevo culture of the first farmers in the central Balkans, which extended from the Danube in the north to N. Macedonia in the south. According to Kosovo's radiocarbon dates, the earliest Neolithic evidence is dated approximately between 6000 and 5500 BC (e.g. site of Gladnice/*Glladnicë*, Tasić Ne. 1998, 46). Today, some 25 Neolithic sites have been recorded, but only a few have been researched to a degree that allows more detailed conclusions. Approximately half of them contained evidence of the Starčevo culture, while most of them contain evidence of the Late Neolithic Vinča culture. All sites are found in lowland areas in both major basins, the Metochia and Kosovo plain, well-drained and very suitable for agriculture. Some 70% of all Neolithic sites are in the Kosovo Plain. As far as it is possible to specify, these Neolithic sites are concentrated along the river axis Nerodimka/*Nerodime* – Sitnica – Ibar/*Ibri*, which crosses the country in a south-north direction. Another smaller concentration of sites is in the river catchment of Binačka Morava/*Morava e Binçës* in the southeastern corner of the country. The distribution of sites in Metochia did not exhibit any particular clustering. Still, it appears that they are more frequent in its southern parts, in the area of Prizren/*Prizren* and Suva Reka/*Suharekë*. It might be interesting to note that the Neolithic sites are distributed in all three drainage basins, making such a small region a unique case, and this clearly shows the major routes of communication and developmental influence from the very ancient past (Tasić Ne. 1998, 39).

The Starčevo culture in Kosovo appeared in its developed form with a wide variety of pottery forms and decorative styles (barbotine, polished, painted pottery) in the sites of Vlašnje/*Vlashnje near Prizren*, Žitkovac/*Zhitkoc*, Gladnice/*Glladnicë*, and Rudnik/*Runnik*. Southern Metochia presents a somewhat different Neolithic picture than the rest of the country. Here two sites are of particular interest: Vlašnje/*Vlashnje* and Reštani/*Reshtan*. An open-air site of Vlašnje, located on a raised terrace, was researched in the last two decades and revealed occupation spanning from the Early Neolithic

569 The number of sites may vary slightly due to the sometimes unclear distinction between sites and locations, especially in locations containing evidence from different periods.

to the Early Medieval period. Among the interesting finds of the Starčevo culture (6th millennium BC) there are small clay anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines and painted pottery with geometric motifs (Berisha 2012, 15). Cave paintings were found in the nearby rock shelter, *Guva e Mrrizit*, with twelve circular or oval ochre(red)-painted spirals, each having more than half a meter in diameter and a deer representation. However, at present, the exact age of these cave paintings is not very clear. Southern Metochia is, via the river valley of the White Drin, connected with northern Albania and the Adriatic region. These connections are especially visible in the Middle Neolithic period at sites such as Reštani/*Reshtan*, Hisar and Nišor/*Nishor*, which contain evidence of Adriatic (Danilo culture) pottery objects (Benac 1979c, 456–460); *Beautiful and Green* 2015¸ 8). Reštani/*Reshtan* also revealed evidence of two-roomed rectangular houses paved with stones or mud with wooden rods' walls.

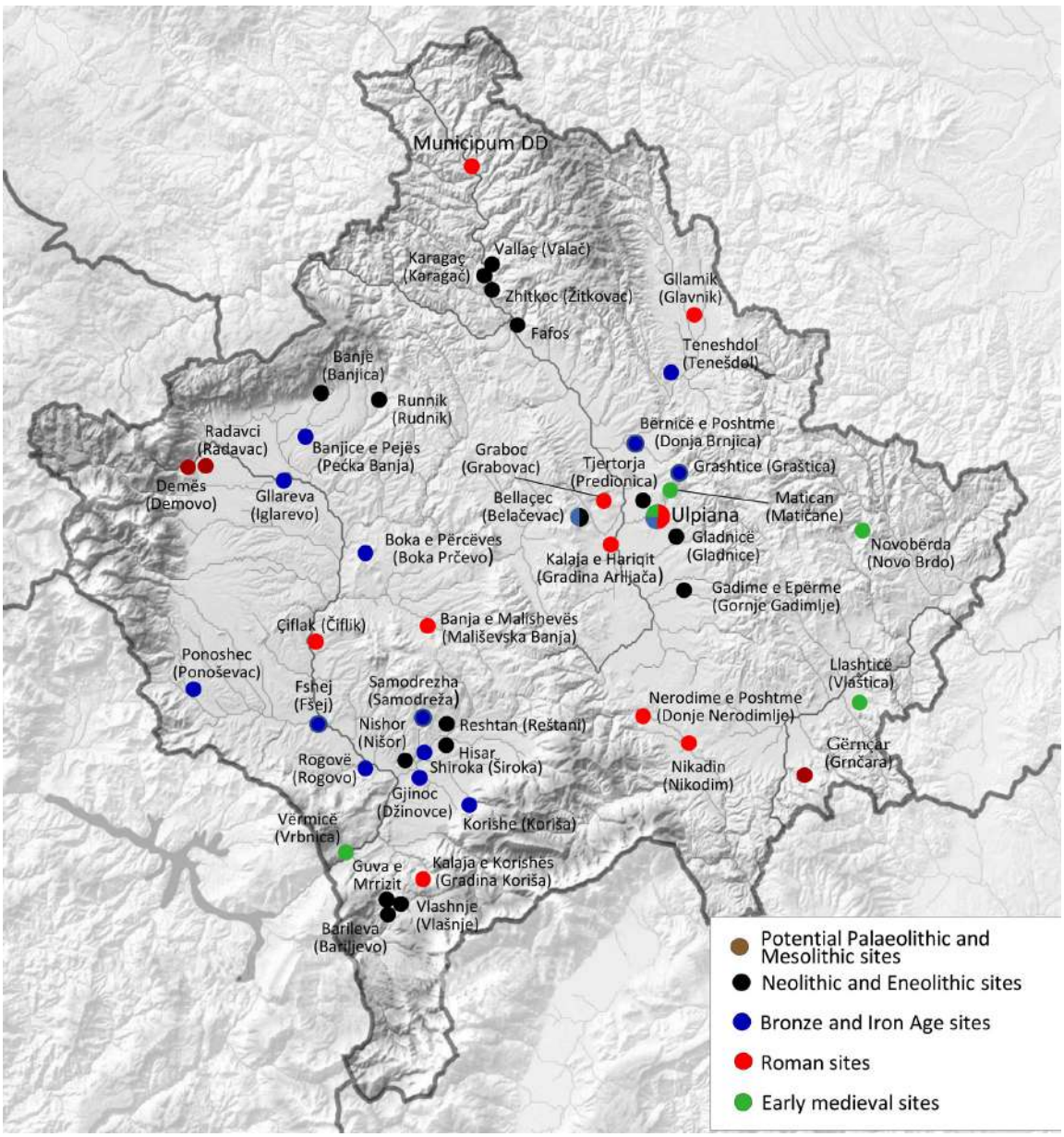


Fig. 193 Archaeological sites in Kosovo mentioned in this chapter.

More evidence is known from the Late Neolithic, which presents a clear developmental step forward and displays the quite flourishing life of the inhabitants in Kosovo. During this period, the general settlement image from the previous period has not changed much, except for the emergence of new settlements. Many of the Starčevo-period sites became more intensively re-occupied during the Late Neolithic, characterised by the Vinča culture, which in broader regional terms represents the peak of the Neolithic development in the central Balkans. The best examples from Kosovo are Valač/*Vallaç,* Žitkovac/*Zhitkoc*, Karagač/*Karagaç*, Bariljevo/*Barileva*, Predionica/*Tjerrtore* near Prishtina, and Fafos near Kosovska Mitrovica/*Mitrovicë*. Due to certain specificities, the Late Neolithic in Kosovo is considered 'the Kosovo regional variant of the Vinča culture' (M. Garašanin 1973). At the site of Fafos, evidence of azurite and malachite suggest very early metallurgical activities, probably based on local ores. In the Late Neolithic southern Metochia (Hisar, Reštani/*Reshtan*) also retains elements from the Adriatic cultural sphere.

Due to a small number of sites, around fifteen (not all fully confirmed), and their very dispersed dates, it is still impossible to give more than a very generalised image of Kosovo's Eneolithic. The Eneolithic settlement, which is in this region traditionally dated between 3500 and 2500 BC, followed similar zoning as in the previous period. Some 50% of the Eneolithic sites contain Neolithic layers. New sites are also found in the previous Neolithic settlement areas along the rivers Sitnica/*Sitnicë* and Ibar/*Ibri* in central Kosovo and central and southern Metochia. The early Eneolithic in broader chronological terms (pre-3500 BC) is probably still strongly marked by the Late Vinča culture. It is noticeable that some Eneolithic settlements were built on hilltop positions (e.g. Gornje Gadimlje/*Gadime e Epërme*, Hisar, Belačevac/*Bellaçec*), and were probably fortified with ditches and palisades (for Hisar see Ni. Tasić 1998b, 103; for Gadimlje see Ni. Tasić 1979, 90, footnote 15; Ni. Tasić 1995, 29). The best researched Eneolithic sites are Hisar at Suva Reka/*Suharekë* in southern Metochia and Gornje Gadimlje/*Gadime e Epërme* near Lipljani/*Lipjan*. The Hisar site is positioned on an elevated plateau and extends over the area of around 1.1 hectares (Arheološki vodič Kosova 2012, 36). It has been excavated in several campaigns, carried out between the early 1960s and 2004. Hisar is a multi-period site with nine dwelling horizons spanning from the Late Neolithic to the Late Roman period (Bunguri 2006, 47), with relatively abundant Eneolithic layers. These contained Middle Eneolithic evidence (pottery style) of the so-called Bubanj–Salcuța–Krivodol complex, which extends from eastern Serbia to Kosovo and North Macedonia, followed by layers that contained elements of Baden and Kostolac pottery styles. Finds of the Bubanj–Salcuța–Krivodol type were also found at Gornje Gadimlje/ *Gadime e Epërme* (Ni. Tasić 1998, 107). There is not much information about the types and constructions of houses or plans of settlements. One can reasonably speculate that there were no proper tell-type Neolithic and Eneolithic settlements in Kosovo even though tells existed in neighbouring southern Serbia and North Macedonia.

In the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (2500–1300 BC), the settlement pattern preserved did not change much compared to earlier periods. Sites are mostly distributed in the traditional settlement zones in central and southern Metochia and along the rivers of Nerodimka-Sitnica-Ibar on the Kosovo plain, where the Bronze Age sites frequently occupied places settled already in the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods. There is very little evidence of occupation in more marginal areas or hilly regions. The major novelty are burial barrows, but, surprisingly, there are no hillforts recorded. The earliest barrow comes from Banjica/*Banjë* near Istok/*Istog* where a single pit burial was discovered. The skeleton was deposited in a crouched position with no burial objects added. The barrow is dated to the Early Bronze Age based on analogies from the neighbouring regions (Harta Arkeologjike e Kosovës II 2012, 22). Burying under barrows continued

to be practised in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (e.g. Valjak/*Volljakë*, Rogovo/*Rogovë*, Ponoševac/*Ponoshec*, Pećka Banja/*Banjicë e Pejës* (Bunguri 2006, 33).

The earliest Bronze Age settlements were at Hisar and Koriša/*Korishë*, both in southern Metochia and fortified. Their initial Bronze Age phases are dated to the end of the 3rd millennium BC, but they were both occupied at various intervals also in the following periods. The archaeological material from their early phases associates them with the late Bubanj–Salcuța–Krivodol complex and Armenochori culture in Pelagonia (North Macedonia) and Maliq III phase (northern Albania) (Bungari 2006, 47). The Middle Bronze Age (c. 1800–1300 BC) is also known mostly from the barrows, of which some contained metal and amber objects (e.g. in Rogovo/*Rogovë*, Berisha 2012, 42–43). Significant changes emerged with the flat cemeteries and cremation burials, which started to appear after 1500 BC. The best evidence of the new burial rite came from the bi-ritual cemetery at Iglarevo/*Gllarevë* researched in the 1980s. The cemetery contained 48 graves, three of them cremated and buried later than the graves with skeletons in stone cists (Bunguri 2006, 49). Some very indicative finds came from this site: the Mycenaean types of rapiers, swords and daggers from 14th century BC (Bunguri 2012, 49), providing indisputable proof of contacts with the southern Balkans and Aegean cultures.

Another important Late Bronze Age cemetery was discovered at Donja Brnjica/*Bërnicë e Poshtme* near Prishtina; the cemetery contained exclusively cremated burials in urns. The emergence of flat cremated cemeteries should probably be associated with the general spread of this type of burials in the Middle Bronze Age from the Danube southwards (e.g. Vatin culture and related groups), and with the later spread of the Urnfield culture, possibly also indicating some demographic changes and migrations.[570] Two urn graves were also discovered in one of the barrows in Rogovo/*Rogovë* (Luci 1998, 125). Another larger necropolis with 60 graves (56 cremated with urns) was found at Graštica/*Grashticë* near Prishtina, spanning the same period from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age (Luci 1998, 123). Still, the traditional type of burials under the barrows continued in parallel with cremation burials (e.g. barrow necropoles at Ponoševac/*Ponoshec*), but to a lesser extent. With the beginning of the Iron Age, the burials under barrows appeared in much larger numbers. Much less is known about the Late Bronze Age settlements since the data on their internal structure constructions is very scarce and fragmented. The best recorded case is the hillfort Kulina at Teneš Dol/*Teneshdol* near Prishtina, measuring nearly 2 hectares (Mehmetaj 1990).

The Iron Age period (1000–c. 350 BC) is the best researched prehistoric period, especially its earlier phase. The traditional chronological system applied for Kosovo was that of M. Garašanin, which attempted to unite all Serbian regions into one system. According to Garašanin, before the proper Iron Age in Serbia, there was a transitional period (10th–9th centuries BC), followed by three Iron Age phases: I (8th–7th centuries), II (7th–6th centuries) and III (5th century). In terms of the settlement, the Iron Age is a period of expansion in the number of settlements and their emergence in the newly occupied areas. The spread of settlement is additionally illustrated by the distribution of burial barrows, which reach their peak in terms of their density during the Iron Age. They appear especially numerous in central and southern Metochia, in what was traditionally ascribed to the spread of the Glasinac Culture (R. Vasić 1987, 673) with its centre in east-central Bosnia and Herzegovina, and which is especially well known for thousands of burial barrows.

During the Iron Age, the dominant type of settlements were hillforts (e.g. Hisar, Belačevac/*Bellaçec*, Gornje Gadimlje/*Gadime e Epërme*, Široko/*Shiroka*, Samodreža/*Samadrezha*). The best researched is a small hillfort at Belačevac,

570 On the spread of cremation burials along the Morava valley, see R. Vasić (2013).

excavated in several campaigns, which revealed ramparts, dry-wall masonry, and several ditches around the hillfort. The evidence also shows that houses in this hillfort were made of stone (R. Vasić 1987, 681, Berisha 2012, 49). The dominant type of burials throughout the country was in the barrow cemeteries (e.g. Široko/*Shiroka*, Vlaštica/*Llasticë*, Pećka Banja/*Banjicë e Pejës*, Boka Prčevo/*Boka e Përçëves*, Rogovo/*Rogovë*, Fšej/*Fshej*), many of them continuing from the Late Bronze Age. These cemeteries had up to twenty barrows. The dominant burial rite is cremation, but on some bi-ritual burials were practised (e.g. Romaja, Boka Prčevo/*Boka e Përçëves*).[571] Some isolated single barrows can be of monumental dimensions. The one in Džinovce/*Gjinoc*, with a diameter of 84 meters, is the largest in Kosovo. Moreover, at the barrow necropolis at Romaja, the largest (so-called 'Warrior barrow') has a diameter of 40 meters (Green and Beautiful 2015, 12).

The grave goods provide good evidence of cultural and social development, and especially for contacts with other areas and groups in the Balkans. However, in general, the Iron Age cemeteries in Kosovo did not show any particular richness, as was the case in neighbouring regions. Still, there are some exceptional pieces, such as the 'Illyrian helmet' from Pećka Banja/ *Banjicë e Pejës*. Nonetheless, the cemeteries' inventory is relatively modest in terms of the number of grave goods and their exceptionality. A good indicator of relative wealth and contacts is objects made of amber found on several cemeteries in Kosovo.[572] A certain exception to this can be seen in two cemeteries, the 'Great Barrow' at Romaja which contained 38 graves which demonstrated more significant differences in the wealth of the buried persons (Đurić, Glišić and Todorović 1975), and the cemetery at Pećka Banja/*Banjicë e Pejës* where some graves contained objects made of silver (e.g. fibulae, bracelets, pins). However, the most frequent type of valuable goods in the later phases of the Iron Age are Greek ceramics and metal objects, which started to be imported to Kosovo by the end of the 6th century BC (Parović-Pešikan 1998, 229).

Two cemeteries stand out regarding Greek imports – Romaja and Pećka Banja/*Banjicë e Pejës*. Among Greek weapons, double-bladed swords from Romaja are the best examples (Djurić, Glišić and Todorović 1977, Pl. IV, VIII). More frequent are various Greek vessels, the most illustrious pieces coming from Pećka Banja/*Banjicë e Pejës* (black-figure Attic vases, skyphoi, cups). After the 5th century BC, Greek imports became rare, but this is mostly due to the lack of researched sites from the second half of the 1st millennium BC. At the end of the section on the Iron Age, one should note one extraordinary find – a carved octagonal stone stela from Kamenica/*Kamenicë* depicting a funerary scene found in eastern Kosovo. This unique piece was dated to the period between the 5th and 4th centuries BC (Berisha 2012, 56).

After the 4th century BC, the period is considered already 'historical' due to frequent references to Illyrians and Dardanians' historical polities in written sources (Harta Arkeologjike e Kosovës 2012, 23).[573] The most visible change in the archaeological record was the increased presence of Hellenistic pottery and metal objects; typical La Tène (Celtic) finds are lacking.[574]

571 Traditionally, the cremation was attributed to Dardanians, while inhumation to Illyrians (Ni. Tasić 1998, 176).

572 Amber beads appeared in Kosovo in two different periods, during the transition from the Middle to Late Bronze Age (14th–13th centuries BC) and during the Iron Age (6th–5th centuries BC). Earlier amber objects came very probably from the Aegean, while later objects were probably imported from the Adriatic area (Palavestra 1997).

573 Polities of Illyrians and Dardanians were neighbours. During the 3rd century BC, the Illyrians controlled Southern Dalmatia, Montenegro, northern Albania, and western Kosovo, while the Dardanian Kingdom included central and eastern Kosovo, southern Serbia and northern and central N. Macedonia.

574 The presence of Celts is documented in Kale–Krševica, near Bujanovac in southern Serbia, close to the border between Serbia, N. Macedonia, and Kosovo. There a fortified urban settlement of the Greek-type was erected in the 4th century BC and served as an important

In the mid-2nd century BC, the Romans approached Kosovo from two directions, from the southern Adriatic after the Third Illyrian War and from Macedonia after the Third Macedonian War (both in 168 BC) and established their province. However, the effective establishment of the Roman rule started with M. Licinius Crassus's victory over Dacians in 29 BC, when he also conquered the peoples between the Danube and Macedonia, Dardanians included (Mocsy 1974, 24). It is not clear whether this territory (Moesia) became a Roman province immediately after the military conquest, or if it was first attached to the province of Macedonia or received the provincial status after the reforms of Augustus (AD 6–9). However, present-day Kosovo's territory was seen as a part of larger Moesia and became included in this new province due to the Roman operations in the central Balkans.[575] During the reign of Domitian (AD 81–96), the province of Moesia was divided into Upper (Superior) and Lower (Inferior) Moesia, and Kosovo, with Serbia (up to the Danube) and northern N. Macedonia belonged to the former.

Kosovo had a rather marginal position within the province. The significant strategic assets which interested the Romans in Kosovo were ores (mostly lead and silver) and its transitional position between the Adriatic, Morava Valley and Macedonia. The whole province of (Upper) Moesia was initially seen as the territory of high military importance for conducting wars against the Dacians. It is only after Trajan's successful campaign in the Dacian wars, and consequently, the establishment of the new province of Dacia (AD 106) north of Danube, that in Moesia started the more intensive establishment of autonomous *municipia* and *coloniae*, and with this, also more intensive Romanisation (Mocsy 1974, 138).

The fact is that the first founded city (*colonia*) in Moesia was Scupi (today Skopje in N. Macedonia) during the Flavian Emperors (AD 69–96). But it was at the very south of the province, on the border with Macedonia. The foundation of all other autonomous cities in Moesia Superior was of later date: Ratiaria (in today western Bulgaria) was established in AD 106, Viminacium and Singidunum were granted a status of municipium in the Hadrian period (AD 117–138), and Naissus during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–180). In all these places, strong military garrisons existed for decades before establishing the towns' autonomous civil administration. The rather late establishment of the Roman towns in Upper Moesia suggests that there was not much Roman population or more Romanised local communities to be aggregated into autonomous towns (Mocsy 1974, 115). However, what interested the Romans in Kosovo were ores (mostly lead and silver) and mines (*metalla Ulpiana*, *metalla Dardanica*; Mocsy 1974, 131). It is not by chance that later, around the mid-2nd century AD, two autonomous towns were established in the vicinity of ore deposits (Municipium Ulpianum established during Hadrian's rule, and Municipium D.D. or Dard. (the full name of the latter is not recorded)[576] during the Severan dynasty. Another suitable circumstance for founding towns in Kosovo was a large quantity of land suitable for agriculture, providing the necessary basis for the town's economic autonomy. Moreover, their location was relatively close to the key communication routes from the Adriatic to Dacia (Mocsy 1974, 138).

The process of Romanisation in Kosovo, which hosted no larger military units, was further accelerated with the construction of roads that connected Kosovo with the river valleys of Vardar (in N. Macedonia), Morava (Serbia) and Adriatic (northern Albania), where major Roman roads in the Balkans were constructed

trade centre and fortress on the Morava – Vardar route. After its abandonment and fall of the Macedonian Kingdom under Roman rule in the mid-1st century BC, the Celtic Scordisci for some time occupied this area (Popović P. 2006).

575 Theoretically, its extreme western parts could have been in the province of Dalmatia.

576 Also, its date of foundation is not known. Mocsy (1974, 223) stipulated the Severan dynasty period (AD 193–235).

(e.g. *Via militaris* along Morava, *Via Egnatia*). The principal road which crossed Kosovo in the northeast-southwest direction led from Naissus (Niš) in Morava valley to Lissus on the Adriatic coast in northern Albania. *Tabula peuntingeriana* reports several stations along this road in Kosovo (Vindenis – XIX – Viclano – XXV – Theranda). Of these stations, the best researched is *statio Vindenis* located in Glavnik/*Gllamnik* near Podujevo/*Podujevë* in eastern Kosovo. The site extends over 15-20 hectares, where mosaics and burials in stone sarcophagi were discovered, indicating relatively wealthier inhabitants (Berisha 2012, 62). From Vindenis, the road continued towards today's Prishtina where the remains of *statio Vicianum* were located (Čerškov 1969, 43–46; Premerstein and Vulić 1903, nr. 40). From there, the road went towards Suva Reka/*Suharekë* in Metochia and along the White Drin to Albania. The second important Roman road crossed Kosovo in the north-south direction, entering Kosovo along with the River Ibar, following rivers Sitnica and Nerodimka, and passing between Šara/*Sharr* mountains and Skopska Crna Gora ending in Scupi. There were two Roman towns – Municipium D.D. (near Sočanica/*Soqanicë* in the north of Kosovo, and Ulpiana (near Prishtina) along this road, the latter was some 10 km south of the major junction of these two Roman roads.

The Romans established two autonomous towns in Kosovo – Municipium Ulpianum (later also Ulpiana), probably during the reign of Hadrian (AD 117–138) and Municipium D.D. (or Dard.) during the Severan dynasty.[577] Both towns were close to the mines, and earlier settlements existed before their official foundation; indeed, the settlement at Ulpiana already existed in the Iron Age. Systematic archaeological research in Ulpiana was initiated in the 1950s, and since then, at various time intervals, research and restoration campaigns has continued until today.[578] Recently, the area of a town was made an archaeological park.

Ulpiana was the largest and wealthiest Roman urban centre in Kosovo. Much of its prosperity was probably based on the extraction of ores in the area and relatively abundant arable land and other natural resources in its *ager*. It was positioned near Gračanica/*Gracanicë*, in the centre of the Kosovo plain, only a few kilometres away from the junction of two major Roman roads which cross Kosovo. The excavations revealed numerous features typical for Roman towns: the orthogonal plan of insulae and streets, aqueduct, town centre with forum and forum temples, town gates, artisans quarters, etc., and also town necropoles. The town walls enclosed an area of 35.5 hectares, with a castrum of 16 hectares in size some 100 meters east of the town (Parović-Pešikan 1981, 61), which was probably constructed in the late Roman period. The town reached its peak in the 3rd and 4th centuries when it belonged to the province of Dardania, formed after the Diocletian divide of the Balkan provinces. The cemeteries revealed a variety of burials and burial monuments (from stone sarcophagi, built tombs, mortuary stelae to simple graves). Together with numerous inscriptions, they importantly complete the image of the life of Ulpiana's inhabitants.

Municipium D.D (or Municipium Dardanorum, Municipium Dardanicum, near Sočanica in northern Kosovo) was established some 50–70 years later. More extensive archaeological excavations of this town were conducted in the early 1960s by the Museum of Kosovo and Metochia, and the results were published in 1970 (Čerškov 1970). The research revealed an earlier prehistoric (Dardanian) settlement that probably exploited ores (silver, gold) abundant in this region. Romans settled this area for a century or so before granting this

577 The exact time of the foundation of Municipium Ulpianum is not fully confirmed; it varies from Hadrian's period (e.g. Mocsy 1974, 138) to the year 169 (Berisha 2012, 70).

578 For the bibliography of research campaigns until 1980, see Parović-Pešikan (1981, 61). For more recent research, see also Hajdari, Kabashi and Lamboley (2011).

growing mining settlement status of *municipium*. The town extended over the area of some 30 hectares. Excavations revealed a general orthogonal plan of the town and several public forms of architecture – forum, *horrea*, urban basilica, temples, baths, metallurgical buildings, together with three necropoles (Čerškov 1970). The epigraphic evidence clearly shows that the town was a principal mining officer's seat (*procurator metallorum*). The majority of buildings and funerary monuments belong to the town's earlier phase (2nd century), demonstrating its relative prosperity. However, towards the end of the 3rd century, when the Empire entered a severe economic crisis, the mining activities in Municipium D.D. decreased. By the end of the 4th century, the town ceased to exist as an urban and administrative centre.

The image of the classical Roman Imperial period in Kosovo (1st-3rd centuries AD) is that of general great prosperity and development provided by the extraction of ores, abundant fertile land and constructed communications. The growth of rural settlements of different types and sizes is especially visible in Metochia, including villas (Donje Nerodimlje/*Nerodime e Poshtme*, Čiflik/*Çiflak*, Nikodim/*Nikadin*), local road stations and villages. Their number must have been much higher than is known today, and the present degree of research has not revealed the entire situation. Also, the data about Roman inscriptions (Epigraphic Database Heidelberg)[579] is very informative about the dimensions and extent of the Roman settlement of Kosovo. A total of 95% of 168 registered inscriptions on more than 40 sites are dated between AD 100 and 300, and they were found in all major settlement zones in Kosovo, especially along the routes of Roman roads.[580] They clearly indicate several smaller settlements in rural areas and their necropoles. This image also supports the Archaeological Map of Kosovo (Harta Arkeologjike e Kosovës I, 2006; II (2012), showing that nearly 40% of all registered archaeological sites in Metochia and central Kosovo are from the Roman period. Their highest concentrations are in northern Metochia and central Kosovo (area of Ulpiana). The best source for Roman and local material culture (i.e. small objects) is, of course, the necropoles. However, so far, only the necropoles of urban settlements have been discovered and studied, such as Ulpiana and Municipium D.D., but not many cases of necropoles of local people in the countryside.

A change occurred at the beginning of the 4th century with the administrative reforms of Emperor Diocletian, who divided Moesia Superior into Moesia Prima (northern part) and Dardania (southern part), to which Kosovo belonged. This new province bordered in the west on the province of Praevalitana. Judging from the prosperity of Ulpiana in the 4th century, it seems that new provincial re-ordering had positive effects for Ulpiana, which together with Naiussus (the provincial capital) and Scupi, remained the only autonomous towns in the province. Ulpiana continued to develop throughout the Late Roman period; it was rebuilt by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian (Ulpiana was also known as Iustiniana Secunda). An important monument from this period is the Christian basilica in Ulpiana, the largest Early Christian church in Kosovo, probably associated with the bishop's seat in Ulpiana in the 4th and 5th centuries (Hoxha 2006, 205).

A significant type of sites from the Late Roman/Early Byzantine period (4th to the beginning of the 7th centuries) are fortresses of different forms scattered around the whole of Kosovo. They are located either at some strategic points along the main communication routes or in areas of a denser Roman settlement. Fortresses most frequently appear as small fortified constructions with single towers (Hoxha 2006, 203), but in some cases also relatively large fortified settlements which frequently including small churches (e.g. Gradina Arilača/*Kalaja e Harilaqit*, Gradina Koriše/*Kalaja e Korishës*, Teneš Dol/*Teneshdol*). The number of discovered early churches

579 Online map (https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/geographie/900057).

580 Approximately half of all inscriptions came from the territories of two towns, Ulpiana and Municipium D.D.

is still relatively low in Kosovo compared to the neighbouring regions due to a low degree of research. This also reflects on a smaller number of cemeteries since many could be expected within or around churches. At present, there are only a few of them known (e.g. Mališevska Banja/*Banja e Malishevës*, and Grabovac/*Graboc*).

The beginning of the Early Medieval period is traditionally linked with the Byzantines' retreat from their border on the Danube at the very beginning of the 7th century. This opened up the central Balkans to peoples from north of the Danube, including different Slavic peoples. Though based on written sources, it is generally considered that by the end of the 7th century the Slavs had already extensively settled in the central Balkans, but the archaeological evidence of Slavs in Kosovo is still very scarce and sporadic in the period before the 8th century (Bačkalov 1989, 382). It is only from the 9th century onwards when Slavic settlement was already stabilised and when archaeological evidence could provide a clearer picture. At that time, the Slavic population was already Christianised, and intensive building of small churches emerged (Bačkalov 1998, 380). Only a few of these have been researched.

A more precise settlement image for the period between the 7th and 10th centuries (colonisation of Slavs) cannot be reconstructed as the only available data is a few rare cemeteries and remains of small churches. Bačkalov (1989, 380) finds the reason for this in the very late start of systematic research of Slavic archaeology, which only began in Kosovo in 1975 with the project *Kosovo in the Early Middle Age*, which aimed to conduct primary surveying of approximately one-third of the territory of Kosovo. Before 1975, the Slavic sites were only occasionally discovered during rescue projects. Bačkalov (1998, 382) concludes that the principal feature of the Slavic settlement was its distribution along major traditional (Roman and prehistoric) roads in Kosovo, and that a considerable number of Slavic sites (known are mostly cemeteries)[581] were in locations occupied in previous periods (prehistoric and Roman).[582] However, it should be noted that a great deal of jewellery, the most frequent type of finds, was strongly influenced by Byzantine production and products.

One medieval site, in particular, should be mentioned here – the mining town with a castle at Novo Brdo/*Novobërdë* in eastern Kosovo.[583] The site consists of a 14th-century castle on an 1,124 meter high summit with a town constructed under the castle. The settlement hosted several thousand people, including the colony of miners from Saxony (Čerškov 1958). The first research at this site was in the 1950s and has continued at various intervals until today.

With the case of Novo Brdo/*Novobërdë*, I am concluding my brief overview of Kosovo's archaeological image. I have intentionally omitted presenting high and late medieval sites and monuments, among them the Serbian Orthodox ecclesiastical architecture and their artistic masterpieces from the 13th to 17th centuries, which have been on the UNESCO World Heritage list since 2004. In the 14th century, Kosovo was a core area of the Serbian kingdom, a seat of the patriarch, and the place where kings and other nobles bestowed a number of their foundations in the forms of monasteries and churches. There is plenty of bibliography on this subject, and as an introduction the classic work of Svetozar Radojčić *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des mittelalters*, 1969) is suggested.

From the 7th century on, the Slavic population gradually settled in the central Balkan region,

581 Such as Matičane/*Matiçan*, Vrbnica/*Vërmicë*, Vlaštica/*Llashticë*.

582 Interestingly, some relatively large necropoles (10th-12th century) were found during the excavations of the prehistoric burial barrows (45 graves in Prčevo Boka/*Boka e Përcevës*, 48 graves in Vlaštica/*Llashticë*).

583 This area was exploited for lead, silver and zinc, at least from the Roman period onwards. (Dušanić, 1977, 72).

Kosovo included. However, except for the period of Bulgarian rule (9th–11th centuries), Kosovo remained under Byzantine rule up until the 12th century. It is then that the Serbian principality of Raška (Rascia, the historical region north of Kosovo) gradually extended over Kosovo and, in the 14th century, reached its highest point in the medieval Serbian kingdom under the Nemanjić dynasty. In this period, Kosovo became the core Serbian land in which the principal religious centre (Patriarchy) was established. Another factor that made Kosovo famous was mining. Amid invasions of the Turks, Kosovo, in the mid-15th century, became officially incorporated into the Ottoman Empire as a part of the large province of Rumelia. As a smaller administrative unit, the Prizren Sanjak (Sandžak) was then formed, and it included parts of present-day Kosovo, northwestern N. Macedonia and northeastern Montenegro. With the establishment of Ottoman rule, Islamisation of the region began. Still, Kosovo, being a Serbian religious centre, was not Islamised to the degree visible in some neighbouring countries, e.g. Bosnia and Herzegovina or N. Macedonia.[584] A century or so later, with more intensive Islamisation of the Albanian population and development of the Ottoman towns, this process became much more substantial. The next major demographic shift occurred in the context of the Austro-Turkish war (1683-1699). After the Turks won back the territories previously conquered by the Austrians in Serbia, Kosovo and N. Macedonia, there was a massive migration of the Serbs (and also Albanians) from Kosovo to Hungarian lands. The area they left was subsequently occupied by a predominantly Albanian population that arrived from the western hills and mountains. By the end of the 19th century, Albanian inhabitants outnumbered the remaining Serbs.

In the second half of the 19th century, during the rapid decline of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey carried out several territorial and administrative reforms. For a while, the broader area of Kosovo was part of the Prizren Vilayet. In 1877, the Kosovo Vilayet was established (with Skopje as the capital, often referred to as the Skopje Vilayet), which included the territory beyond the boundaries of present-day Kosovo. That year, the Prizren League was formed – the first notable political organisation claiming the Albanians' autonomy in the Ottoman state and a unified Albanian territory due to threats from the neighbouring countries. After unsuccessful participation at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the League organised an uprising that the Turkish government suppressed in 1880. Kosovo *de jure* remained in the Ottoman Empire, but *de facto* came under Austria's control, which was granted the permission to occupy this region. In 1912, another Albanian rebellion took place, with the centre of insurgency in Kosovo. This time, the Turkish authorities were forced to grant Albanians greater autonomy. Such a concession triggered a reaction in the neighbouring countries (Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Bulgaria), which started the war against Turkey (the Balkan Wars). After the Turks retreated in 1912, the Kosovo Vilayet was divided between Serbia and Montenegro, while in the south, in Vlora, the Albanian state was declared. In the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918), Kosovo was considered a part of the territory of Serbia and, as such, incorporated in the new, predominantly Slavic state, which put a significant part of the Albanian population in the position of an ethnic and religious minority.

In the period between 1918 and 1941, Kosovo did not have particular administrative status. In the administrative structure of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes composed of 33 provinces (until 1929), the area of present-day Kosovo was split between four provinces: Kosovo (with the centre in Prishtina), Zeta (*Cetinje*), Vranje (*Vranje*) and Raška (*Čačak*). After the reforms in 1929, the western part of Kosovo was attached to

584 Ottoman census from 1535 in Prizren and Vučitrn Sanjaks recorded 39,355 households where only 1059 (2.7%) were Muslim. Towards the end of this century, the situation changed considerably, especially in towns (Vučitrn/Vushtrri, Peć/Pejë, Prizren, Prishtina) where the Muslim population varied from 56% to 90% (Slukan Altić 2006, 34).

the Banate of Zeta, whereas the eastern part was in the Banate of Vardar. The Albanians in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia did not have autonomy or any exclusive political and cultural rights. The governing body was almost completely made up of the Serbs, which led to continuous tensions between the Serb and Albanian communities in Kosovo. Consequently, a considerable number of Albanians left the country and moved primarily to Turkey.

During the Second World War, the Italian fascist regime attempted to create a client country in the Balkans in the form of a Great Albanian state and, thus, integrated most of eastern Montenegro's occupied territories, western N. Macedonia and Kosovo into the marionette state of Albania. The dissatisfaction of Albanians with their political and cultural status in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia also reflected in their decision to unite with Albania, a position adopted by their National Liberation Committee in early 1944. However, the union was blocked by the then leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which granted Kosovo the status of an autonomous province within the Republic of Serbia and secured more political rights to the Albanian community. Kosovo's autonomy gradually increased from the early 1970s to the level in many ways similar to that of the other Yugoslav republics.

In the general atmosphere of growing nationalism and disintegrating tendencies in the former Yugoslavia in the 1980s, the Albanian population's discontent was again on the rise due to their status as a national minority. The idea of unification with Albania began to appear again and was met by the strong opposition of the Yugoslav and Serbian authorities of the time. The deterioration of the political climate was, to no small extent, fuelled by the more rigid and nationalistic Serbian politics during the rule of Slobodan Milošević. In 1989, the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia abolished much of Kosovo's autonomy. After the break-up of Yugoslavia in 1991, Kosovo remained within Serbia. From the mid-1990s, conflicts between Kosovo Albanians and the Serbian administration increased and soon evolved into open armed conflict. After many failed attempts of the international community to overcome the situation, NATO used military intervention in 1999 to force Serbia to withdraw its troops and administration from Kosovo. Subsequently, the UN took administrative control of Kosovo and gave it the status of a protectorate. Following a series of negotiations about the future political status, the Parliament of Kosovo declared independence in 2008.[585]

Few of the Balkans' current countries had such a turbulent and violent history of the 20th century as Kosovo did, one in which conflicts often resulted in large demographic shifts, especially in the immigration and emigration of Albanian and Serbian populations. This has had a tremendous influence on the cultural development of the country and its cultural physiognomy.

Kosovo's social conditions and archaeology prior to the Second World War

Until the end of the Second World War, Kosovo's political and economic circumstances were extremely unfavourable for advancing scientific activity, including archaeology, which began to develop systematically only at the beginning of the 1950s. Before this time, there were practically no proper material and social pre-conditions for the development of archaeology in Kosovo.[586]

585 After each of the episodes of major political turmoil over the last several centuries in Kosovo, a significant demographic change took place, beginning with the migration of the Serbs following the Ottoman conquest and the arrival of the Albanian population, and the colonisation of the Serbs after both of world wars and emigration of the Albanians to Albania and Turkey, and mass emigration of the Serbs in the 1990s at the time when Kosovo was nearing the proclamation of independence.

586 For more details on the history of archaeological research in Kosovo, see Ni. Tasić (1998).

With the decline of the Turkish state and the increasing number of conflicts between the Turkish authorities and the national and ethnic communities, the political situation in this part of the Balkans became extremely unstable. Moreover, Kosovo was a markedly underdeveloped region economically, characterised mostly by a conservative rural population still strongly adhering to traditional forms of life and culture. Hence, the potential for earlier modernisation and industrialisation of the country was very modest. Besides the railway lines built in 1873 and 1874, connecting Kraljevo and Skopje via Kosovska Mitrovica, there were virtually no larger modern industrial facilities in Kosovo before the 20th century. The short period of Austrian military control between 1878 and 1912 left behind very few traces, mostly in architecture.

The railway route Kraljevo-Mitrovica-Skopje had a positive impact on economic development; in this context emerged mills, soap-making workshops and first woodworking workshops powered by water, steam or oil. The first banks in Kosovo were founded only when the country became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and these financed the construction of roads and rail network and the mineral exploration industry. The first more substantial electrification began in the late 1920s (Puško 1979, 237-238). In 1927 and 1930, the British company 'British Selection Trust' opened Trepča and Stari Trg's mines. In the following years, the railroad tracks were laid from Prishtina and Kosovo Polje to Kraljevo (Serbia) in the north and Peć/*Peje* to the west. Urban development was still modest over this period (between the two world wars),[587] so there did not yet exist any significant cultural institutions, museums, galleries, theatres, etc., in Kosovo at this time.

Before the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) there were very few educational institutions in Kosovo. In general, Kosovo's Islamic population could be schooled in towns – in religious schools, *mektebs* and *medreses*. The first secular schools were opened as late as the late 19th century (Kostovicova 2004, 34-35). There was also a possibility of receiving education in Skopje, the vilayet (provincial) capital, where there were a lyceum and a school of education, founded after the secular educational reform in the Ottoman state. During the Austrian occupation of northern Albania, some small Jesuit and Franciscan schools were founded, while the Ottoman authorities also allowed Serbian schools to establish (Kostovicova 2004, 34). After incorporating Kosovo into Serbia in 1912 and later, in the Yugoslav Kingdom, most Albanian and Turkish schools were closed, and the first Serbian gymnasiums in Peć and Prishtina (1913) were founded. For a long time, they remained the major educational institutions in the country.

There is very little, if any, reliable information about local archaeological or antiquarian activities in Kosovo before the 20th century. As was the case in all other countries studied in this book, the earliest collections were treasuries kept in Christian churches and monasteries (also in the dervish monasteries) and some nobles' courts. In this context the first 'museum' in Prishtina was mentioned, that of Jashar Pasha Gjinolli (also Djinolli or Đinić), a ruler in Prishtina and Skopje between 1820 and 1840, known for his cruel rule but also for building mosques, supporting artists and keeping a large collection of precious objects in his court in Prishtina (Filipović M. 1953).

As for the whole Balkans, most of the information pertinent to understanding the conditions of emergence of archaeological activities came from military sources, diplomats and foreign travellers before the 20th century in Kosovo. Military maps, produced since the Požarevac Peace Treaty (1718) between Austrians, Ottomans and Venetians, began to represent the Balkan area (Kosovo included) in more detail (see maps in Slukan Altić

587 According to the Statistical Yearbook for 1934 and 1935, there were three major urban settlements in Kosovo. The largest was Prizren/*Prizreni*, with about 19,000 inhabitants, followed by Prishtina, with 16,000 and Peć/*Pejë*, with 13,000 citizens.

2006, 55–75), and they provided a solid base for travellers and researchers. The foreign scholar best-acquainted with the Balkans' conditions in the first half of the 19th century was Ami Boué. The numerous journeys that he published in 1840 in a four-volume synthesis *La Turquie d'Europe* (Boue 1840) were, by far, the most complete description of the Balkans (natural history, economy, ethnography, history, archaeology), the Kosovo region included. Among archaeological places that he mentioned from Kosovo were mostly medieval ruins, old forts and old ecclesiastic objects (Zvečan/*Zveçan*, Novo Brdo/*Novoberdë*, Kosovska Mitrovica/*Mitrovicë* and Vučitrn/*Vushtrri*).

The earliest record of archaeological finds (epigraphic monument) seems to be that of Alexander Fedorovich Hilferding, the Russian consul in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who in 1859 in Saint Peterburg published his observations gathered on his travels in Kosovo (Hilferding 1859). He recorded two Roman inscriptions from Lipljan/*Lipjan* and Gračanica/*Gracanicë* (Hilferding 1869, 234, 237).[588] Some archaeological notes on Kosovo were left by Felix Kanitz (1868; 1882; 1904–1914) based on his travel campaigns. Arthur Evans also made archaeological excursions to Kosovo. His observations were supported by a study of historical and epigraphic sources from this region (Evans 1999). It is interesting to note that Evans (1885), based on epigraphic evidence, was the first to assume a yet unknown Roman *municipium* in this area, which was indeed discovered in the 1950s as Municipium D.D. Another influential foreign scholar who extensively studied southern Serbia and Kosovo was Ivan Stepanovich Yastrebov, the Russian consul in Prizren and Skadar, a correspondent member of the Serbian Royal Academy (since 1875) who published a study *Old Serbia and Albania* in 1904 (Yastrebov 1904) in which he wrote extensively about history, geography, ethnography and ecclesiastic architecture in areas where he served as a diplomat.

During their 'occupation' of Sanjak and Kosovo (1878–1912), the Austrians also became interested in the antiquities of these two regions, especially those from the Roman period. Some epigraphic monuments from Ulpiana, reported on by earlier travellers and scholars, were already known to the broader scholarly community. Interest in Roman archaeology in Kosovo can also be seen in historical studies on Roman Balkan provinces (Macedonia, Dalmatia, Moesia, Dardania, Praevalitana) boosted mainly by the CIL project (*Corpus inscriptionum latinorum*) of Theodor Mommsen and Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.[589] In the archaeological literature, the first archaeological excavation of a prehistoric site in Kosovo seems to be the Austrian campaign from 1918 at a barrow at Neprebište/*Nepërbisht* in the commune of Suva Reka/*Suharekë* (Bunguri 2006, 44). There are also the very few records of local historians or even amateur archaeologists undertaking archaeological activities in the field or being otherwise associated with archaeology.

In my bibliographical research, I have encountered Avram Popović, a local teacher, who researched mostly medieval remains (e.g. Popović A. 1906), and the Franciscan priest Shtjefën Gjecovi carried some small excavations in 1929 (Elsie 2011, 30). It is interesting to note that Gjecovi obtained his religious education at the Franciscan schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Fojnica, Banja Luka and Kreševo), where the teaching of archaeology was frequently part of the schooling of priests (see

588 Alexandr Fedorovich Hilferding, Bosna, Herzegovina and Staraja Serbija. St. Petersburg 1859.

589 In this sense, most frequently were reported epigraphic remains from Ulpiana: e.g. Konstantin Jireček, Inschrift aus Lipljan. *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, Wien 1877, 66–67; Patsch (1898c); Karl Patsch, Der Landtag von Moesia Superior. Festschrift für Otto Bendorf.Wien 1898, 287–288; A. Domaszewski, Die Grenze von Moesia Superior und der illyrische Grenzzol. Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilunged aus Oesterreich-Ungarn 13, 1890, 126–154; Anton Premerstein and Nikola Vulić, Antike Denkmäler aus Serbien, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 3, Beiblatt, 1900, 103–178; Anton Premerstein, Nikola Vulić, Antike Denkmäler in Serbien und Mazedonien, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 6., Heft 1, 1903, Wien.

the chapter on Bosnia and Herzegovina). Gjecovi became a renowned researcher of local ethnography, history, and the traditional customary law. He published the study *Kanun of Lekë Dukadjini,* for which he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Leipzig (Elsie 2011, 319).

With the formation of the new Yugoslav Kingdom, Kosovo remained a 'Serbian' territory from 1912 on. In the following decades, all archaeological activities were mainly conducted by Serbian scholars and institutions from Belgrade. However, these activities were still very sporadic. The major problem remained the lack of any local or regional institutions that could research and protect the archaeological heritage. Much higher on the Serbian institutions' agenda was the architectural and art history heritage of medieval ecclesiastic objects and sites. Among archaeological sites from Kosovo, the most studied between the two world wars was Ulpiana, especially its epigraphy. In this field, the most active was Nikola Vulić, a professor of ancient history at the University of Belgrade, who (together with Anton Premerstein) researched the epigraphy and history of Ulpiana and Kosovo since the late 19th century BC (e.g. Vulić 1931, 1933, 1934). Prehistoric archaeology in Kosovo was still largely not practised at this time (Galović 1956, 207). Occasionally, some incidental finds were collected by the National Museum in Belgrade (e.g. the Iron Age hoard from Janjevo/*Janjevë* found in 1934). Moreover, foreign scholars interested in Kosovo's prehistory were very rare. One such case was evidenced by a visit by Wladimir Fewkes, a fellow of the American School of Prehistoric Research, the excavator of Starčevo, who in early 1930 inspected some places in Kosovo with prehistoric barrows (Fewkes 1933).

Introduction and development of modern archaeology in Kosovo (1945–2000)

It was only after 1945 that a period of large-scale economic and general social growth began, resulting from intensive industrialisation in Kosovo. Again, the crucial role in this process was played by the mines that, in the 1960s and 1970s, developed into some of the largest industrial establishments in Yugoslavia, employing more than 20,000 workers. Such industrial growth was accompanied by accelerated modernisation of towns and a rapid increase in urban population. Through massive investments in industry and modernisation, the Yugoslav authorities in Kosovo aimed to promote the benefits of the new, socialist order and the success of the 'brotherhood-and-unity' policy; through the steady increase in the autonomy of the province, they attempted to reduce the decades-long tension between the Albanian and Serbian populations, and developmental lag of this region.[590] Of particular importance was the establishment of a series of cultural and scientific institutions: in 1946, the National Theatre of Kosovo was founded in Prizren; 1949, the Museum of Kosovo; in 1953, the Albanological Institute; in 1958, the Higher Pedagogical School; and in 1960, two faculties (the Faculty of Law and Economics and the Faculty of Philosophy) as schools of the University of Belgrade. In 1969, the University of Prishtina was established, and in 1975, the Association for Science and Art of Kosovo, which was three years later transformed into the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo. In less than three decades, most of the institutional infrastructure was founded and provided more solid ground for the development of archaeology.

The key institution that facilitated the systematic development of archaeology locally was

590 The number of students can serve as a highly illustrative example of the remarkable changes in Kosovo's socio-economic development. In the academic year 1958/59, 149 students studied at colleges and high schools in Kosovo. Within less than 20 years, the number of students in Kosovo soared to almost 36,000, which was, up to then, the highest percentage of students with regard to the population above the age of 15 (Kostovicova 2004, 42). One of the main reasons behind such an increase is in the establishment of the University of Prishtina, which, in 1969 introduced programmes in the Albanian language.

the Museum of Kosovo (*Muzeu i Kosovës*) in Prishtina, founded in 1949.[591] With more than a 70-year tradition, the museum is still today the most important archaeological institution in the country. The museum is located in one of the few buildings constructed in 1889 in the so-called Austrian style, which hosted the former Austrian military administration. The turning point was when two professional archaeologists joined the museum – first Emil Čerškov (1929-1969), who founded the archaeological department of the museum in the early 1950s, and, later, Jovan Glišić, both of whom graduated from the University of Belgrade. Immediately upon starting at the museum, Čerškov organised the first systematic archaeological investigations in Kosovo. In the 1950s, he explored some of the important sites in the country: Novo Brdo/*Novobërda* (1951), Ulpiana (1953), Predionica/*Tjerrtore* (1955) and Gladnica/*Glladnicë* (1956). In 1956, Čerškov established the principal museum publication, the Bulletin of the Museum of Kosovo and Metochia (*Glasnik Muzeja Kosova i Metohije/Buletini i Muzeumit te Kosovë-Metohis*), which regularly published reports on archaeological research in Kosovo. In its first decades, the Museum of Kosovo collaborated intensively with the then leading archaeological institutions from Belgrade, principally the Institute of Archaeology and the University of Belgrade, where many specialists came to Kosovo and conducted several field investigations, thus furthering the progress of the discipline.[592] The museum's research activities were initially focused on the Neolithic and Roman sites that proved to be highly significant for the wider region.[593] Among the Neolithic sites excavated at the time were Rudnik/*Runnik* (1966-1968), Žitkovac/*Zhitkoc* (1958), the nearby Valač/*Vallac* (1955, 1957) and Karagač/*Karagaç* (1955, 1960), and in Reštane/*Reshtan* (1966-1967). Indeed, the research at two Neolithic sites (Predionica/*Tjerrtore* and Fafos) in the 1950s significantly impacted Kosovo's archaeology in a broader Yugoslav context. In 1954, on behalf of the Museum of Kosovo, Emil Čerškov initiated the largest ever field research and museum project in Kosovo's archaeology at the site of Ulpiana. With minor gaps, Ulpiana has been continuously investigated ever since. In a notable boost for Roman archaeology in the 1960s, he also presented a series of his projects, particularly his excavations of the newly discovered town of Municipium D.D. The cemeteries of this town and Ulpiana still today represent the best resources for studying small Roman objects in Kosovo.

The other museum that started with archaeological research was the Museum in Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovicë, founded in 1952. Soon after it became operational, the museum initiated archaeological excavations at the Neolithic sites of Valač and Žitkovac in cooperation with the Belgrade archaeological institutions. According to the Yugoslav standards and legislation, Kosovo also needed its own (provincial) public service for heritage protection, established in Prishtina in 1954 as the Provincial Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. For many years, this was the only such institution in the province. However, due to the increased pressure of development in the 1980s, this institute opened local branches in Prizren and Prishtina.

In the decades that followed the 'pioneering decade' (1955–1965), there was steady progress in developing archaeology in Kosovo. However,

591 Its first name was Museum of Kosovo and Metochia (Muzej Kosova i Metohije/Muzeumi i Kosovë-Metohis), since 1963 Museum of Kosovo (Muzej Kosova/Muzeumi i Kosovë). This has the status of a national museum in today's state of Kosovo.

592 For example, Ni. Tasić, B. Jovanović, J. Todorović, J. Glišić, D. Srejović. Milutin and Draga Garašanin were the first who published a gazetteer of sites from Kosovo's territory (Garašanin M. and Garašanin D. (1951)).

593 It should be stressed that Kosovo's research agenda was to a great degree determined by the agenda of leading Serbian institutions and scholars, not only based on regional archaeological topics and priorities. Enhanced interest in the Neolithic and Roman periods was typical for whole Serbian archaeology in the first decades after the Second World War. Kosovo was considered part of Serbia, and its archaeological past one of the regional expressions of this.

the truth is that those relatively impressive achievements in several domains of archaeology in Kosovo until 1965 were made possible with greater engagement of the institutions and scholars from Serbia, mostly from Belgrade, but this also had somehow neglected the needs for more intensive local development. For instance, in 1971 there were only four domestic archaeologists based in two institutions (two in the Museum of Kosovo and two in the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments), making local (provincial) archaeology rather limited. Archaeology in Kosovo needed deeper roots in order not to be so dependent on Serbian institutions. In this sense, it is worth noting that it was only after the mid-1960s that the first archaeology students of Albanian nationality graduated and started taking up professional positions created in the 1970s at the Museum of Kosovo, the Albanian Institute, the Faculty of Philosophy and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments.[594] By 1988 the number of archaeological institutions had doubled (to six), and the number of archaeologists employed in them increased to 14 – figures that may sound insignificant, but indicate a remarkable improvement compared to the 1960s. In the 1980s, more than half of the jobs in professional archaeology were occupied by Kosovo Albanians, which is a good indication that archaeology was becoming a relevant, 'domestic' discipline, also within the Albanian community in Kosovo.[595]

In the 1970s, museum and archaeological conservation services strengthened. Further, academic archaeology started to develop at the Faculty of Philosophy and the Albanian Institute in Prishtina, where the first local (Albanian) experts for archaeology and ancient history were employed. It should be emphasised here that, until very recently, archaeology studies have been only very partially included in the curriculum of the University of Prishtina. Thus, all professional archaeologists who worked in Kosovo graduated from the University of Belgrade, seldom from other universities (e.g. Zagreb).

The period from the mid-1970s onwards, when the constitutional changes in Yugoslavia granted the republics and provinces greater autonomy, was particularly advantageous for forming several national institutions in Kosovo. Such favourable circumstances and a growing scientific infrastructure were also reflected in the notable increase in the scale and quality of archaeological research and protection of heritage. Besides the traditionally popular research on the Neolithic and Roman periods, which was of great benefit for the broader archaeological discipline in the Balkans, more and more sites from previously less studied periods were excavated. For example, it was in 1975 when systematic research of the early Medieval period and Slavs was launched with a special project (Bačkalov 1989, 380). That the extent to which some of the periods were archaeologically uncharted was considerable, as is evident from the reminiscence of M. Korkuti, one of the most prominent prehistorians of the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana. At the time when he was a visiting professor at the University of Prishtina (1973-1976), he recalls that, in the entire Kosovo Plain, a single site from the Bronze and Iron Ages was explored – the site of Gornje Gadimlje/*Gadimja* (Korkuti 2006, 10). Korkuti exaggerated, however. Yes, there were not many prehistoric sites thoroughly researched in the Kosovo Plain. Still, enough of them were still studied to have a relatively representative image of the Bronze and Iron Ages (e.g. syntheses of M. Garašanin and R. Vasić in the fourth and fifth volumes of *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja)*.[596]

594 For example, Zef Mirdita, Kemal Luci, Exhlale Dobruna-Salihu, Edi Shukriu, Naser Ferri, Fatmir Peja belong to the first generation of the local scholars, who in the 1970s and 1980s took over the leading positions in archaeological institutions in Kosovo.

595 Here is important to note the contrast with neighbouring N. Macedonia. Despite a large number of ethnic Albanians (around 20% of the total population in the 1980s), there were practically no Albanian archaeologists.

596 For example, Dragoslav Srejović (1950–1960) published an important Bronze and Iron Ages cemetery from Donja Brnjica/*Bërnicë e Poshtme*.

Intensification of the research on the periods of later prehistory was set as a priority.[597] Indeed, one of the reasons for this was the mounting importance of the 'Illyrian' (i.e. 'Dardanian' period) for studying the ethnogenesis of the Albanians. Hence the research received great support both in Albania and Yugoslavia, primarily in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with Kosovo seen as the key area between the two central 'Illyrian' regions. During this period, extensive excavations continued at Ulpiana and Municipium D.D., alongside which some other Roman sites were discovered. Up to the end of the 1980s, investigations of the Late Antiquity and Middle Ages were rare but became more frequent after 2000. Overall, in the period between 1970 and 2000, Kosovo archaeology's bibliography has more than doubled.[598]

It was logical to expect that international cooperation also developed through time. The site with the greatest' attraction' was Ulpiana, with more than a century-long research tradition. However, foreign scholars' visits to Kosovo between 1945 and 1990 were somewhat limited and not long-lasting. However, in the 1970s, with decades-long tensions between Yugoslavia and Albania decreased, a more ambitious collaboration with Albanian institutions and scholars emerged. In mid-1970, Muzafer Korkuti, prehistorian and Director of the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana, was invited to the University of Prishtina as a visiting professor between 1973 and 1976 (Korkuti 2006, 9). On this occasion, the first joint project was agreed, focused on the excavations of the burial mounds, more precisely on the mound in Lištica/*Llashtica*. It was expected to provide answers to the question of the boundaries of the prehistoric Dardanian territory. The principal research question was whether the Dardanians or some other non-Illyrian population lived in Metochia and Kosovo Plain (Korkuti 2006, 12). Within the project, co-directed by J. Glišić of the Museum of Kosovo and M. Korkuti of the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana, fieldwork began in 1980, but only one field campaign took place. The following year, the project terminated because the political situation worsened after the Albanian demonstrations in Prishtina.

The invitation of Korkuti and plans for joint projects were probably not fully along the line of what Serbian politics and archaeology on Kosovo envisaged, but, then again, it was probably along the line of 'Yugoslav archaeology' and increased federalization and autonomy of the Yugoslav republics and provinces.[599] In this context, the Institute of Albanology and the University of Prishtina were increasingly developing the 'Albanian' perspective in historical sciences, archaeology included, especially for the archaeology of Illyrians and Dardanians.

Nevertheless, during the 'Yugoslav' period, there were no major international projects in Kosovo. For most of this period, Kosovo archaeology was considered a regional branch of Serbian archaeology, which helped establish the first archaeological institutions in Kosovo. From the beginning of the 1970s, when the province gained more political and cultural autonomy and Kosovo Albanians' participation in archaeological institutions increased, the general agenda

597 Among other prehistoric sites that attracted close attention of the wider archaeological community was the hillfort of Hisar near Suva Reka/*Suhareka* dating from the Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age; the necropolis in Iglarevo/*Gllarevë* with rich finds of Mycenaean origin; Donja Brnjica/*Bërnicë e Poshtme* – eponymous site of the archaeological culture from the Middle and Late Bronze Age; the Iron Age mound necropolis in Vlaštica/*Llashticë*; the princely graves from Pećka Banja/*Banja e Pejës*. During this period, extensive excavations continued at Ulpiana and Municipium D.D., alongside which some other Roman sites were discovered. Until the end of the 1980s, investigations of the sites from the Late Roman period and Middle Ages were rare, but became more common after 2000.

598 My brief estimates are based on the bibliography in both volumes of *Harta Arkeologjike e Kosovës I, II* (2006, 2012). More informative is the actual trend than exact figures.

599 Great respect and influence in Albanian archaeology were held by Alojz Benac from Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, a leading scholar of 'Illyriology', and among the most politically influential archaeologists in Yugoslavia, who was the first to invite Korkuti to a study trip to Yugoslavia in 1972 (Korkuti 2006, 9).

started to be transformed. It gradually received the shape of a national archaeological school or infrastructural disciplinary framework that was, in the organisational and conceptual view, similar to other national (republican) archaeologies in Yugoslavia. This process was characterized by the step-by-step introduction of the central national institutions, the emergence of national priorities in archaeological research, the increasing autonomy in implementing the programme of action and cooperation with other institutions. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, although genuinely remarkable steps were made in the development of archaeology in Kosovo, archaeological practice in the 1980s was still behind the other Yugoslav republics (except for Montenegro) in terms of its material and infrastructural basis.[600]

The political situation in the 1980s, above all the growing gap between Serbia and 'Albanian' Kosovo, was also greatly felt in archaeology. Similar to the tendencies in other Yugoslav republics, more and more attempts were made to question and review historical knowledge. Together with the older generation of leading communists, who for decades invested significant efforts into the ideological platform of 'brotherhood-and-unity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia', the Yugoslav (federal) government found it increasingly challenging to oppose the demands for greater democratization of the society on the one hand, and on the other, the national and nationalistic demands. At the beginning of creating the new Yugoslavia after the Second World War, archaeology was expected to supply historical models for the brotherhood-and-unity ideology. But, contrary to such expectations, archaeology in the 1980s, not only in Kosovo but also in other republics, started to produce new narratives in line with more nationalistic views and ideologies. In this context, the views of Serbian and Kosovo scholars (now predominantly of the Albanian ethnic background) started to diverge.

The so-called Illyrian question, i.e. the thesis of Illyrian or Dardanian origin of the Albanians, was brought to the centre of the political discourse. This theory for quite some time was very energetically promoted by the official archaeology in Albania, basically after the Second World war. The thesis was widely used as an argument in the context of Serbian-Albanian relations and grew from the academic discussion to a political issue *par excellance*,[601] which has not yet been 'resolved'. In the meantime, the thesis reached the status of historical myth among the Albanians (and in Kosovo). The Illyrian question and its instrumentalization were nothing new in this region. Over the last two centuries, they have appeared in various forms and narrations among almost all of the nations of former Yugoslavia: from the Illyrian movement in Croatia (and partly in Slovenia of the time) and the national revival in the mid-19th century to the Illyrians taken as a 'historical' model for the union of the South Slavic nations; Illyrian wars and rebellions against the Romans seen as a metaphor of resistance to great foreign powers; the pan-Illyrian concept of a broad alliance of culturally similar peoples of south-eastern Europe from the Bronze Age onwards representing fundamental substrate for the ethnogenesis of future communities that inhabited this region (i.e. the Slavs); the Illyrians acting as a model for the South Slavic (Yugoslav) version of pan-Slavism; the Illyrians claimed ancestors

600 Compared to Slovenia, Kosovo had five times fewer archaeologists relative to the number of inhabitants. The comparison with Serbia shows a slightly better picture, but the difference is still considerable (three times fewer professional archaeologists in Kosovo relative to the number of inhabitants).

601 Many newspaper articles, commentaries, and similar texts on this topic were published in the Yugoslav press. A large number of monographs, often non-scientific, were also released. In 1982, a discussion took place at the 9th Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia. The Serbian academic community fully participated in the discussion as well. Thus, among other things, a special scientific meeting was held in 1986 under the title 'Illyrians and Albanians' and organised by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Illyrians and Albanians* 1988).

of the Bosnian Bogomils and present-day Bosniaks; and, ultimately, the Illyrians declared as ancestors of the Albanians.[602]

This discussion was mostly generated by and took place in an increasingly tense political climate. In such a discussion in archaeology, the Illyrian-Albanian thesis's principal advocates were archaeologists and historians from Albania. Among the Kosovo scholars, perhaps the keenest advocates were historians and linguists (i.e. Ali Hadri, Idriz Ajeti). In the referential archaeological scientific bibliography of the 1980s, no texts decisively supported the idea, while the mass media situation was completely different. In numerous debates, archaeology was often referred to as a discipline that should answer this question. Still, the problem was that the archaeological observations were most often interpreted highly uncritically by laypeople on both the Serbian and Albanian sides.

An additional and even more aggravating factor for historical sciences was the 'collision' of two historical myths. One stated the Illyrian origin of the Albanians, and the other was the Serbian myth about Kosovo being the heart of the medieval Serbian kingdom in the 14th century and a direct precursor of modern Serbia. In a highly politically charged atmosphere, the two myths were also used to legitimize the *'ius primi possidenti'* attitude: who was the first in Kosovo, and hence 'who owns the past?'. It became evident that it was very difficult to reconcile Kosovo's two main ethnic groups' cultural differences and life experiences. The cultural heritage studies often served as an arena, literally and metaphorically, of nationalist conflicts. In the conditions of shifting weights in the balance of power and political dominance during the last century and a half, every major political event (the Congress of Berlin, the Balkan Wars, First and Second World Wars, and the recent wars in Yugoslavia) tended to cause radical changes in political rule, leading to a marked demographic disturbance that would leave deep scars. Contemporary archaeology in Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia and Albania could not escape such issues. Still, it could not provide satisfactory answers, according to modern standards, that all sides would accept. The issue is highly politically charged, and resolution or better to say, the conditions for constructive archaeological and historical dialogue, must be sought, in the first place, in the political context.

On the other hand, archaeology, as it was practised in a broader southeastern European context, needed critical and conceptual reflection and reassessment. This process has begun in the last two decades in all 'post-Yugoslav' archaeologies and Albanian archaeology, which exercised a strong influence on archaeology in Kosovo since the 1990s. At the same time, this was when critical voices started to appear against 'official' theories about Albanians' origins (e.g. Veseli 2006, Agoli 2019).

Towards a national disciplinary framework: Kosovo archaeology after split with Serbia and independence

After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Kosovo remained part of Serbia (within the newly formed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), but, already from 1988 onwards, its autonomy was significantly curbed. The 1990s in Kosovo were marked by escalating conflicts with Serbia and an increasingly aggravating economic situation. During this period, a large number of 'Albanian' institutions were suspended (e.g. local administration, schools and many other public services), causing

602 A more detailed analysis of this problem extends beyond the scope of the present study, but there exists considerable relevant literature. Readers are first recommended to examine the work of Danijel Džino (2014) that presents the genesis of the Illyrian question and the constructions of the Illyrians in different historical and academic contexts very concisely. The creation of this myth and its institutionalisation among the Albanians are well-described in the study by Enver Hoxhaj (2005), while a critical review of the place of the myth in Albanian archaeology is given by Sabina Veseli (Veseli 2006).

further deterioration of the political situation and reducing the chances of securing cohabitation in Kosovo of the Albanian majority, the Serbs and other ethnic minorities. This period ended with the NATO military intervention in 1999, after which Kosovo was placed under a temporary protectorate of the United Nations. From this moment on, Kosovo gradually acquired an independent state's status, officially declared in 2008.

It goes without saying that, in such circumstances, there was no noteworthy scientific or professional development in any of the disciplines. Of importance is that all the institutions existing in the 1980s survived through this period and, after 1999, continued with their activities. One major shift, however, is worth mentioning. Already before, but especially after 1999, a large number of Serbs abandoned large parts of Kosovo and moved, mostly to Serbia,[603] mainly due to political reasons and disagreement with the independence of Kosovo, but, also needs to be said, because of the pressure coming from more radical Albanian structures. One of the results was that many job positions, particularly in public services, were left vacant and were then filled by local Albanians. Kosovo grew to become nationally much more homogenous than ever before. This also happened in archaeological institutions.[604]

The exception is the territory of the communes of Northern Mitrovica, Zubin Potok/*Zubin Potoku*, Zvečan/*Zveçan* and Leposavić/*Leposaviq* in the north of Kosovo, where local Serbs present majority. According to the Brussels Agreement from 2013, they were given certain autonomy in self-government.[605] This agreement, signed between Serbia and Kosovo on the 19th of April, also adopted the plan to establish Serb Municipalities' Community with its centre in Northern Mitrovica. This Community, which includes some Serbian enclaves in other parts of Kosovo, is still not officially ratified by the Kosovo authorities. Strongly supported by Serbia, the Community is developing its autonomous institutions, heritage protection and education domains.

Despite the generally still unfavourable economic and political environment in Kosovo, the period after 2000 was the time to restore many of Kosovo society's activities in its pursuit of full independence and statehood. All the institutions that operated before the 1990s continued their work (Museum of Kosovo, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Municipal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Prishtina, Regional Museum in Prizren (now under the name of Archaeological Museum),[606] Municipal (Ethnographic) Museum in Đakovica/*Gjakovë*, University of Prishtina), and also some new ones were established, such as local museum Uroševac/*Ferizaj* in 2011.

The most important is the Archaeological Institute of Kosovo (2003), which, together with the Museum of Kosovo, represents the country's leading national archaeological institutions. The Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments also underwent changes – new regional branches were installed in Đakovica/*Gjakovë*, Peć/*Pejë* and Gnjilane/*Gjilan* as well as in the southern ('Albanian controlled') part of Kosovska Mitrovica/*Mitrovicë*. Several other institutions were founded that potentially offered jobs to archaeologists, such as the Pedagogical

603 In the north part of Kosovska Mitrovica/*Mitrovicë* and Leposavić/*Leposaviq*, now with the majority Serbian population, the Serbs re-established or relocated many of their national institutions, including the university, archives and library.

604 Based on data collected in the journal Arheo (1989) it is safe to say that at the beginning of the 1990s in Kosovo, 13 archaeologists worked in seven archaeological institutions, six of them of non-Albanian background (Serbian, Macedonian). Ten years later, only Kosovo Albanians remained in these jobs.

605 The Brussels Agreement, signed between Serbia and Kosovo n 2013, confirmed the establishment of the Community of Serb Municipalities with its centre in Northern Mitrovica.

606 The museum in Prizren was already established in 1975, but only included archaeology after its renovation in 2015.

Faculty in Prishtina, while some expanded their scope to include archaeology (e.g. the Institute of Albanology). The most recent novelty was the introduction of the archaeological curriculum at the University of Prishtina in 2012. The archaeology curriculum is taught at the Department of

Fig. 194 Archaeological institutions in Kosovo.

Anthropology, while some archaeological subjects are also included in the history curricula.[607] Nowadays, Kosovo has about twenty professional archaeologists, a good indicator of a relatively fast reconstruction and stable conditions.

In northern Kosovo, in the communes making the Community of Serb Municipalities, there is also some information on the archaeological institutions and activities in the last two decades. In 1999, Serbia attempted to 'relocate' the seat of the Museum of Kosovo from Prishtina to Belgrade by establishing a parallel institution named the *Museum of Kosovo and Metochia in Prishtina* which included some Serbian personnel who had left the Museum of Kosovo.

There is very little information in the Serbian media noting the relocated museum's activities (e.g. its publications).

But this was more a symbolic move with no real material consequences.[608] Similarly, Serbia, in the same year, also relocated the seats of the Provincial Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments from Prishtina to Leposavić, and renamed it the *Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Prishtina with seat in Leposavić*, and moved the Prishtina Municipal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments to Gračanica/*Gračani* Of the latter, I could not get any information about its activities, but just some official data such as an address, names of responsible officers and some circumstantial evidence, but nothing about its activities. On the other hand, the (relocated) Provincial Institute seems to be quite active in the 'Serbian' municipalities in restoring historic and ecclesiastic architecture (e.g., Novo Brdo fortress).[609] At present, it is not known if local archaeologists are working in this institution, but the institute is supported by experts coming from Serbia, archaeologists included. Much of the restoration work on 'Serbian' monuments has recently been coordinated through the Office for Kosovo and Metochia of Serbia's Government.

Going back to the general development of archaeology in Kosovo, in the research domain, the most important archaeological project after 2000 was the making of a modern archaeological map, the principal task of the newly established Archaeological Institute of Kosovo. So far, two volumes of the map have been published (*Harta arkeologjike e Kosovës I* in 2006 and *II* in 2012). The first volume was a joint project of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Kosovo and the Academy of Sciences of Albania, with a significant contribution from the Museum of Kosovo; the Archaeological Institute of Kosovo published the second volume. Together, the maps cover approximately half of the country's territory; the first volume includes ten municipalities in the western part, with 209 archaeological sites registered. The second encompasses eight municipalities in the central part of Kosovo, with 200 sites. In both volumes, short syntheses of the individual archaeological periods in the surveyed areas are published and valuable information on

607 After 2000, the (Albanian) students from Kosovo, those who would study archaeology, did not enrol anymore to the University of Belgrade. Before establishing the curriculum in archaeology in Prishtina, they graduated mostly at the University of Tirana, Albania; some MAs and PhDs were also obtained in other countries.

608 In this context, it should be noted that the objects from the exhibition *Archaeological Treasures of Kosovo and Metohija from Neolithic to Early Iron Age* which were displayed in Belgrade in 1998, were not returned to Kosovo and are still kept in the National Museum in Belgrade. More on this issue see in Kelmendi (2015),

609 After 2000, a substantial number of cases of destruction of the Serbian ecclesiastic objects and heritage in Kosovo was reported to the UNESCO (https://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/?action=list&id_site=724). More detailed information can be obtained from the *Preliminary technical assessment report on the religious buildings/ensembles and cultural sites damaged in March 2004 in Kosovo* issued by The technical assessment mission carried out from 10 to 16 May 2004, which was jointly organised by the Council of Europe's Directorate of Culture and Cultural and Natural Heritage and the European Commission's Directorate-General for Education and Culture at the request of the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and Provisional Institutions of Kosovo following the violent events in Kosovo in March 2004. (https://rm.coe.int/090000168092ade2).

the history of archaeological research. The archaeological map was designed according to the traditional model and method of work already instated in Yugoslavia in the 1960s.[610]

The opening of the borders between Kosovo and Albania intensified the collaboration between archaeological institutions. Here, the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana played a crucial role. Its role was already mentioned in making the first volume of the Kosovo archaeological map, and it only extended in the following years. Today, it maintains close collaboration with archaeologists in Kosovo; moreover, in many respects, its role is similar to the one played by the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade until the 1990s. Both institutes significantly contributed to the development of research perspectives in Kosovo archaeology, which did not and still does not have a sufficiently developed academic sector in archaeology. The cooperation with Albanian archaeology was also intensifying in the domain of education. Until the establishment of the university curriculum at Prishtina, it was the University of Tirana that was usually the first port of call for future students of archaeology from Kosovo and future students of other disciplines for which there are no study programmes at the University of Prishtina. Some students from Kosovo completed their advanced studies in archaeology in Austria and Germany. Germany (more specifically, the German Archaeological Institute) is a country that, along with Albania, was among the first to get involved more extensively in the collaborative projects in Kosovo in the period after 2000. Of those, the project at Ulpiana, which started in 2007, was among the largest. Several field schools were organised within this project for archaeology students from several European countries (Germany, Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, Albania, Greece, Poland, Czech Republic). Smaller investigations, mainly geophysical, were carried out in cooperation with German archaeologists at Vindenis and Glamik.

More recently, investigations of the Late Roman period and the Middle Ages were also carried out at a greater scale. These initiatives importantly complete the picture of archaeological research in Kosovo. Some important sites, such as the locations of Byzantine military architecture and early medieval necropolises (Vrela/*Vrellë*, Mališevska Banja/*Banja e Malishevës*, Gradina Arilača/*Kalaja e Harilaqit*, Gradina Koriše/*Kalaja e Korishës*, Grabovac/*Graboc*, Matičane/*Matiqan,* etc.) significantly complement the knowledge about the period that was previously termed *terra incognita* in Kosovo archaeology (Berisha 2012, 77).

Concluding thoughts on Kosovo archaeology

Once the basis for modern Archaeology in Kosovo was established, archaeology acted as a provincial branch of Serbian archaeology, operated on the ground by a small number of local professionals, for the next two or three decades, highly dependent on assistance from Serbian institutions. One could also say that many of the activities were part of Serbian archaeology's broader research agenda and the personal research agendas of some scholars (e.g. the particular focus on the Neolithic). The involvement of local Albanian scholars increased since the 1970s in all domains of the Kosovo province's scientific and cultural life, archaeology included. Coupled with growing tendencies among the Kosovo Albanians for more political autonomy in Yugoslavia, this process in archaeology gradually led to a reshaping of the once regional framework of archaeology into a national one, which was completed after gaining independence. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991 and the subsequent political developments in Kosovo, the Serbs almost completely withdrew from the region, and what remained were few institutions (e.g. the 'displaced' institutes for

610 *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije* (1975), *Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine* (1988), *Arheološka karta na Republika Makedonija* (1993, 1996, 2002).

the protection of cultural heritage in 'Serbian' enclaves) funded from Serbia and mostly active in restoration works.

Despite its relatively short history, turbulent periods, and recent structural changes, archaeology in Kosovo today is becoming a national framework or discipline. The process is very similar to the development of other national archaeologies in the former Yugoslavia, which formed their infrastructure and identity at times when their nations were gaining autonomy or independence: Serbia in the last decades of the 19th century, Slovenia and Croatia after the First World War, North Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Second World War, and Kosovo and Montenegro in the last two decades. Once again, it was demonstrated how the status of specific disciplines, especially the humanities, at least in this part of Europe, is tightly associated with establishing the national (and state) institutional infrastructure. In Kosovo, up until the Second World War, there was no proper domestic tradition of archaeological activities except for the sporadic activities of individual scholars and institutions from Serbia, which annexed Kosovo some three decades before. It took substantial economic and social modernisation to make the firm conceptual and infrastructural basis for the archaeological discipline to become part of a provincial and then a national framework. At present, archaeology in Kosovo, although still a small system in terms of the number of professionals and their capacities, is entering the international scene with a rather stable and complete infrastructural basis, a tradition that effectively respects the period of being a 'Serbian' regional archaeology, and with increased competencies obtained by a younger generation of scholars.

However, the future progress of archaeology in Kosovo still depends not just on resolving the political status of this state but also on creating a mutually accepted mode of cohabitation with Serbs (both the Kosovo Serbs and with Serbia in general) and with other neighbouring countries and nations. At present, the antagonisms between the Kosovo Albanians' official politics and Serbs and Serbia are so high that any settlement is not foreseeable in the near future. There are also several open issues in the domain of the cultural and historical heritage of various nations and ethnic groups that nowadays live or that once lived in Kosovo's territory. There are still mutually challenging interpretations of the past, archaeological interpretations included.

But then again, any settlement would be a multi-layered and multi-dimensional process that is not acting only at the level of governments and high politics, which are frequently locked in their 'worlds'. Indeed, in both Kosovo and Serbia, and in the neighbouring countries, several successful smaller-scale initiatives and activities in the last two decades have attempted to find ways for dialogue and promotion of cohabitation through common heritage. It is not surprising that such initiatives mostly come from non-governmental organisations. The initiatives vary from activities such as summer schools in archaeology in Ulpiana, attended by students from Kosovo, Serbia, and other countries, to international initiatives organised by the Sweden-based foundation Cultural Heritage Without the Borders,[611] and Balkan Museum Network. This network was established in Stockholm in 2006 and counts at present more than 60 institutional members (museums) from all Balkan countries, among them a considerable number of museums from Serbia, Kosovo, Albania and N. Macedonia. Looking at this network's results, the future of cooperation is much less bleak than judging from political negotiations only. To this end, participation in finding solutions to these problems represents the next major challenge for archaeology in Kosovo.

611 This foundation is active not only in Kosovo, but also has offices in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Tirana, Albania (see more at http://chwb.org/kosovo/).

Images

Fig. 195 Ivan Stepanovich Yastrebov (1829–1893), Russian consul in Prizren and Skadar, correspondent member of the Serbian Royal Academy (from 1875), author of Old Serbia and Albania (1904).

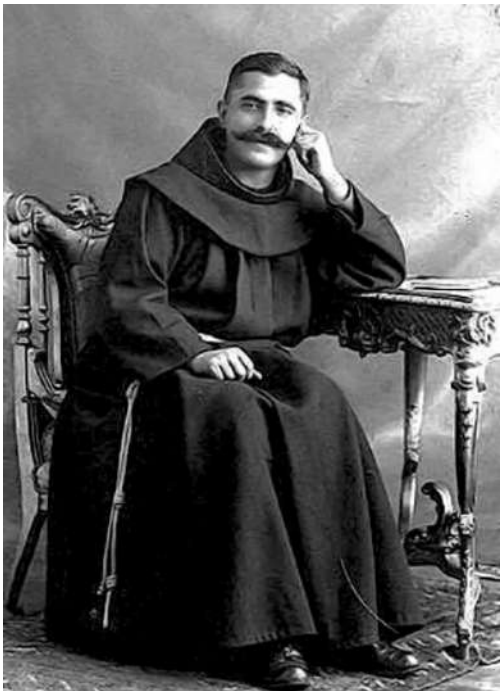


Fig. 196 Shtjefën Gjecovi (1873–1929), Franciscan priest, pioneer of folklore studies in Kosovo; in 1929 he carried out the first local archaeological excavations.

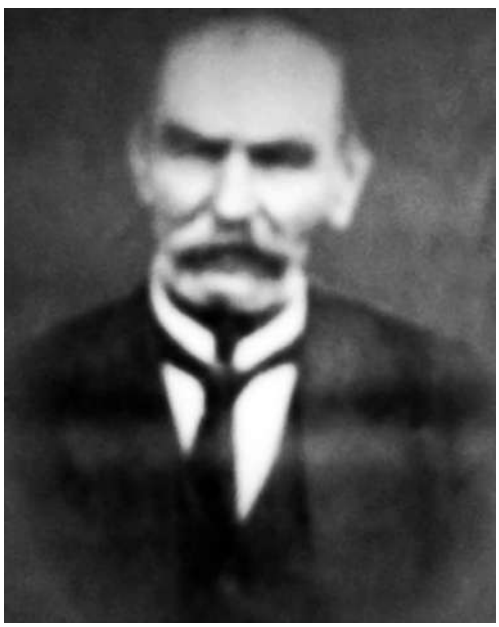


Fig. 197 Avram Popović (1867–1934), Director of Gymnasium in Kosovska Mitrovica, local historian and collector of antiquities from Kosovo.

Fig. 198 Building of Ottoman Military Headquarter constructed in 1880s by Austrians, after the Second World war transformed into Museum of Kosovo. Photo from postacard from Prishtina (ca. 1900).

Fig. 199 National Museum of Kosovo today.

Fig. 200 From left: Emil Čerškov (1929–1969) and Jovan Glišić, first professional archaeoogists in Museum of Kosovo. Photo at Novobrdo/ Novobërdë (1955). Courtesy of Toni Čerškov.

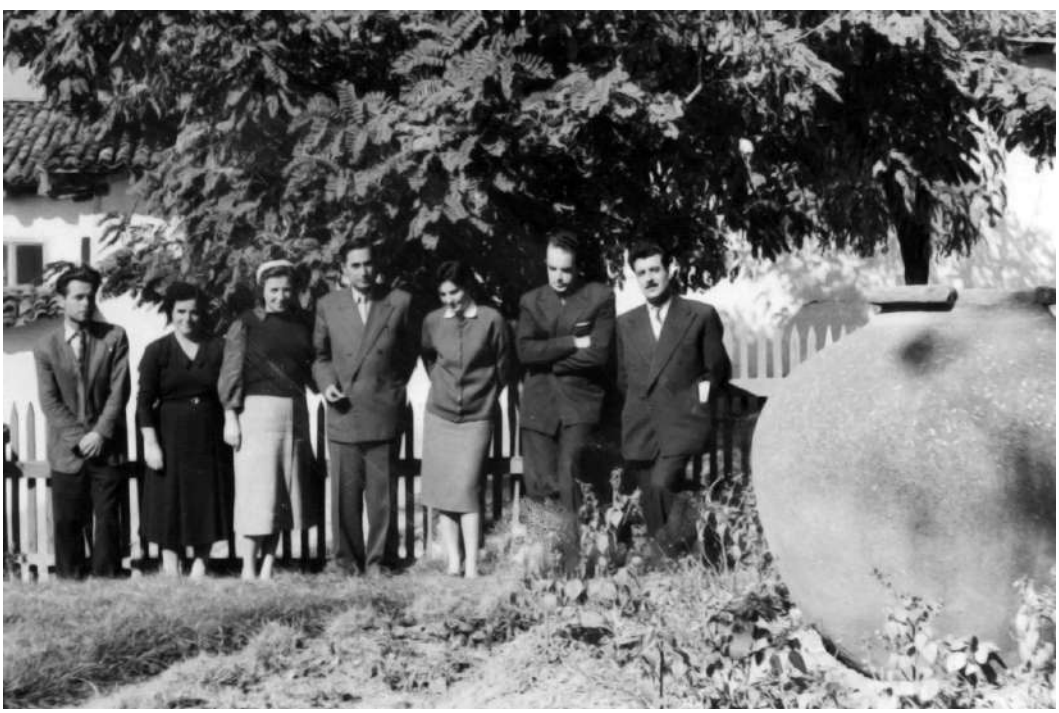


Fig. 201 Staff of the Museum of Kosovo (1956). Jovan Glišić (center), Emil Čerškov (second from the right). Courtesy of Toni Čerškov. Kosovo. Courtesy of Toni Čerškov.

Fig. 202 Exavations at Sočanica (Municipum DD) 1960–1963. From left: Enil Cerškov, Ryta Kozlowska (Poland), Gordana Marjanović, Stanko Jeraj. Photo: Čerškov (1970, T XII 2).

Fig. 203 Exavations of large barrow at Romaja (early 1970s), photo from Đurić, Glišić and Todorović (1974, Fig. 4).

Fig. 204 Yugoslav-Albanian exavations of a barrow at Vlaštica/Llasticë in 1980. From left: Selim Islami (Tirana), Kemal Luci (Prishtina), Aristotel Koka (Tirana), Zef Mirdita (Prishtina), Muzafer Korkuti (Tirana). Photo from Korkuti (2006, 6).

Fig. 205 Novo Brdo/Novobërdë, Saxonian church after restoration in 1955. Photo from Zdravković (1956-1957, 341).

Fig. 206 Kemal Luci (with moustaches), curator at the Museum of Kosovo at the conference on the Illyrian fortified settlements in Mostar (1973). On the left are Borivoj Čović (Provincial Museum in Sarajevo), Nikola Tasić (Balkanological Institute, Belgrade) and Ismet Hasanbegović (driver), right: Edina Alirejsović (Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Vukosava Atanacković Salčić (1931–2014) (Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Mostar). Courtesy of Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine.

Fig. 207 Archaeologists from Kosovo in Nezakcij near Pula (1983): Sitting from the left: Naser Ferri, Fatmir Peja, Engjel Sedaj, Edi Shukriu, Exhlale Dobruna Salihu. Courtesy of Naser Ferri.

Fig. 208 Zef Mirdita (1936–2016), ancient historian, researcher at the Institute of History, Zagreb, professor at the University of Prishtina; Naser Ferri, researcher at the Albanological Institute, later professor of arhaeology, ethnology and ancient history at the University of Prishtina. Courtesy of Naser Ferri.

Fig. 209 Organization for Security and Co-operatuin in Europe (OSCE), Mission in Kosovo archaeological youth camp in Ulpiana in 2013. OSCE and Archaeological Institute from Prishtina organized several archaeological inter-ethnic camps since 2004 to help raise the awareness about the existence, diversity and the value of cultural and religious heritage sites in Kosovo (https://www.osce.org/kosovo/82109).

IX. IN PURSUIT OF A SYNTHESIS: YUGOSLAV ARCHAEOLOGY (1918–1991)

Background

This chapter aims to reflect the 'Yugoslav component', examining its contents and added value. Was Yugoslav archaeology an entity *per se*, and, if so, what kind of? In simple terms, what was 'Yugoslav' archaeology and how should we think of it? There is also another straightforward and logical reason to consider this issue. As time passes, the likelihood increases that many things related to 'Yugoslav' archaeology will simply be replaced by national disciplinary histories, forgotten or misunderstood.

Common to all the national archaeologies presented in this book was their substantial transformation with the onset of the 'Second' Yugoslavia,[612] with some of them actually only established after 1945. This transformative process, especially in terms of institutional and conceptual developments, was fully synchronised with the processes of a general modernisation of a common state, itself renewed after 1945 on a radically different (i.e. socialist) basis. However, detailed presentation and analysis of social, political and cultural changes introduced with the 'new' Yugoslavia are beyond this book's scope. Moreover, the very complexity of the processes and socio-political and cultural structures created during the 'Socialist' Yugoslavia are so intertwined that they cannot be easily explained within a single theoretical framework.

A united state usually acts 'centripetally' and in a unifying manner (e.g. equal or very similar legislation, organisation, major research priorities, allocation of funds to support less developed areas, the development of 'common' identity against the outer world, etc.).[613] The centripetal and unifying forces may differ depending on the level of internal autonomy of its constituent parts. Still, they are always present at various levels and act at various magnitudes, not equally acting inside or outside the country. Finally, there is always a long-term tendency, that of pragmatism; the more stable the system, the more features of pragmatism it exhibits.

Concerning the former Yugoslavia, we can find the apparent effects of 'common' archaeology at both levels, in the infrastructural and conceptual synchronisation between national archaeological schools. Common legislation acts as a potent tool in unifying a certain domain. All the individual republican laws on heritage protection originated from the federal law or had to be readjusted. Similar trends are visible in education in archaeology, publication, organisation of the institutional networks and infrastructure in archaeology in general. What needs to be added here is the relocation of various resources by some central authority or joint coordinating bodies to balance the developmental differences between various parts of the 'common' system.

In the domain of conceptual development, common features can be seen in the synchronisation of regional chronologies, research priorities, approaches and models of interpretations, similar background theories, and the emergence of

612 The terms 'First' and 'Second' Yugoslavia are local colloquial terms denoting the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1941) and Federal People's/Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1991). One can see a similar division of state history in France's five republics. Though the major reason for these two terms is in making popular chronology simpler, one might find some ideological reasons to enhance distinction rather than continuity, which was a rather common stance during the 'Second' Yugoslavia.

613 For most of Yugoslavia's existence, its archaeology (discipline and heritage) was most frequently perceived by foreign observers as the 'Yugoslav' one; not many were aware of the individual national archaeologies and their traditions.

'thought collectives' that transcends national archaeological frameworks. The effects of actions of common features in the infrastructural and conceptual domains can certainly be seen as an 'added value' or, better to say, as the 'Yugoslav' component in national archaeologies and as an entity in its own way. Similarly, one could also speak of the 'Austrian' component in the Slovene archaeology tradition or the 'Venetian/Italian' component in Croatian Dalmatia's archaeology.

Another aspect that needs to be considered concerning the 'Yugoslav' archaeology, or any archaeology in the federal states for that matter, are shared experiences which in their own way connect the infrastructural and conceptual 'commonalities'. Such experiences, especially if positive, may strengthen a particular group's belonging or adherence to the group's values and increased solidarity and loyalty. The acting of 'belonging' and 'solidarity' can be seen, for example, in the increasing perception that other republics' or nations' archaeological heritage was also 'our' heritage as Yugoslavs. This perception grew even stronger if archaeologists had more personal involvement or experience with archaeology outside their home region or republic.

In addition to this, archaeology in Yugoslavia after 1945 attempted to become unified and 'socialist' as with all other domains in a radically reformed country. As I will present in the text below, the leading Yugoslav archaeologists' plans in the first post-war decade were very ambitious. Still, they had to deal with a rather paradoxical situation. There were strong initiatives for boosting republican (national or regional) archaeological frameworks. However, by steering them in parallel towards unified archaeology, their autonomy tended to be kept under control. On top of this, the new regime had strong expectations that archaeology would become 'socialist', and thus re-write the past. Yugoslav archaeology also needed urgent re-positioning in the international arena. It had to synchronise and exchange disciplinary concepts and knowledge developed on the European or even global scales. It had to find its way to reconnect with the 'Central European' archaeology, which was still strongly dominated by conceptual tools of the 'German School' and find its own physiognomy, following the socialist way as much as possible. And finally, it had to bridge considerable developmental differences within the country and deal with the varied inheritances from the pre-Yugoslav experiences. In other words, Yugoslav archaeology needed to have multiple faces at the same time – unified and multi-national, stemming from earlier traditions and socialist, European and regional ('Balkan', 'Mediterranean', 'Pannonian' and 'Alpine'), both traditional and modern as well as strong at home and competitive on the international scale.

All these, and many other perspectives from which one can approach the understanding of archaeology in Yugoslavia, require observations of historical processes and structures that operated on different wavelengths at different times. And it is here where adequately contextualised empirical data could guide us better in understanding the historical development of archaeology rather than 'top-to-bottom' assumptions.[614] Moreover, this could also help us avoiding instant histories *sensu* Lampe (1999, xvii). In the previous chapters, I have presented short historical backgrounds for each 'post-Yugoslav' country in a somewhat 'isolated' perspective, from a 'national' point of view. However, to provide an adequate historical context, a simple summing

614 By 'top-to-bottom' assumptions, I refer to approaches where processes and structure on larger scales directly influence the processes in lower scales of history. Such an approach is reductionist and could easily clash with empirical evidence. One such typical 'top-to-bottom' assumption, which dominated in the 'Western' archaeology, was that the archaeology in Socialist Yugoslavia was Marxist, just because the state regime propagated Marxist theory and ideology (e.g. Kaiser 1995, 109–113). Empirical data indicates entirely the opposite, however, as there were practically no traces of Marxism in archaeology in Yugoslavia (on this see more in Babić and Tomović 1994: 117–118; Slapšak and Novaković 1996, 287; Novaković 2002, 340–343; 2002, 314; for the former German Democratic Republic see Coblenz (2002, 334–336).

up of these national backgrounds is not enough; they also need to be reconsidered within Yugoslavia's shared history. To put it simply, all of today's national archaeologies, even though some of them were formed prior to establishing the Yugoslav state in 1918, bear strong imprints of their joint existence.

Yugoslavia was an outcome of the First World War, following a decision of the Entente powers that did not want further fragmentation of the Balkans and wanted to prevent German, Austrian, and Ottoman influence in this area. On the other hand, it was also the result of South Slavs' genuine endeavours for their autonomy, and central to this was the concept of the South Slavs (or "Yugoslavs").

This includes a broad set of cultural, social and political ideas, attitudes and concepts, views on the past and future perspectives in different historical periods and circumstances. Structurally, it could be considered similar to the idea of Germaneness (*Deutschtum*) as proposed by the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder.[615] Central to his *Deutschtum* was the concept of a national spirit (or soul; *Geist*) as a socio-cultural entity that every nation possesses and makes up the spiritual basis of that nation. For Herder, the best way to approach the *Volksgeist* was to look at the nation's culture. The idea of the connectedness of the South Slavic peoples could be, at various levels and in various forms, already traced from the Renaissance period when some scholars used the term Illyrians (i.e. peoples of Illyricum) as a synonym for South Slavs in the Balkans (e.g. Piccolomini, Pribojević, Orbini). They frequently did not distinguish between the South Slavs or considered them in regional terms, as inhabitants of a particular province or region, given provincial names. Numerous local scholars shared the idea of common 'Illyrian' ancestry (and historical continuity) almost up to the mid-19th century (see more in Blažević 2008) and diversely presented it in the geographical, historical, linguistic and also political texts of their times.

The emergence of the Yugoslav idea(s) of cultural and/or political unity in a more elaborate political and cultural sense emerged with the establishment of the Illyrian Provinces (1806–1813), a marionette state (protectorate) created by Napoleon to block Austria's access to the Adriatic. With a large majority Slavic population (mostly Slovenes and Croats), the Illyrian Provinces extended from the Alps all along the eastern Adriatic coast down to today's Albania. Though the Illyrian Provinces presented a very short historical episode and were ruled by the French military administration, the very fact of having a 'Slavic' state echoed for decades, as the Illyrian Provinces demonstrated that a united South Slavic 'state' was possible. In Croatia in the 1830s emerged the *Illyrian movement* with the agenda of uniting South Slavs, first those who lived in the Austrian Empire (Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in Vojvodina and Croatia) and later also the Slavs in the neighbouring countries (Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina).[616] One of the movement's initial tasks was establishing the standard ('Illyrian') language of South Slavs who used different, poorly standardised, local languages and dialects. Increased cultural closeness and linguistic unity were also coupled with the idea of the common (ancient) past of the 'Illyrians', as depicted in the works of Renaissance and Enlightenment scholars. The aim was simple

615 Herder was also among the first who also proposed the idea of *Slawenthum* and the unity of Slavs, half a century before Jan Kollar came out with his Pan-Slavism (Roksandić 2017, 29–30).

616 The final goal was to establish the Kingdom of Great Illyria with its capital in Zagreb, which would unite Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (Ivetic 2012, 99). It is also important to note that the idea of South Slav unity to a much lesser extent included Bulgarians. Bulgarians were envisaged in general pan-Slavic projects as part of the South Slavic cultural milieu but rarely included in political programmes. There were very weak cultural contacts between the Slavs in the Austrian Empire and Bulgarians, and Bulgaria increasingly developed independentist politics, resulting in recognition of the Bulgarian Kingdom in 1878. To increased distancing of Bulgarians from the South Slavic idea also contributed to tense relationships with Serbia.

and typical for the nation-building processes of the time – to demonstrate the shared past and historical experiences, and prove historical continuity to claim territorial rights. These attempts also aimed to overcome another great barrier – the religious divides between Orthodox and Catholic South Slavs. It was not only that the governments in Vienna and Budapest opposed the Illyrian idea, but also the individual national movements amongst South Slavs, which pursued national autonomy without political union with other Slavs. However, in 1848, in the year of national uprisings in Austria and elsewhere, a time known as the Springtime of Nations, the Croatian provincial parliament proposed the territorial and political union of Slovenes, Croats and Vojvodina Serbs within the Austrian Empire.[617] Though Vienna and Budapest completely ignored this proposal, it marks one of the first 'Yugoslav' political moves on this scale.

The Yugoslav idea was more successful in the domain of culture. In 1850, in Vienna, the leading Croatian, Serbian and Slovene linguists and writers agreed on the common Serbo-Croatian language's foundations. In the same year, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski founded the Yugoslav Society for History and Antiquities (*Društvo za jugoslovensku povjestnicu i starine*) in Zagreb, a predecessor of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium*), which was founded in 1866 by Josip Juraj Strossmayer, the Bishop in Đakovo, Croatia, the most potent ideologist of the 'Yugoslavism' of the second half of the 19th century. In 1870, in Ljubljana, Slovenia, the 'Yugoslav Congress' was held with some 100 participants (mostly from Slovenia and Croatia) discussing various political plans and projections, but no viable programme was adopted.

In the Ottoman-ruled territories, at around 1850, the situation was much different because Serbia and Montenegro had already obtained a considerable degree of autonomy. They pursued more independent rather than unionist politics. Serbia also considered some territories (e.g. Bosnia and Herzegovina, parts of southern Dalmatia) as their historical national territories. The recognition of the independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria at the Berlin Congress in 1878 additionally boosted the idea of the autonomy of other Slavic nations in the Balkans. Cultural and political contacts between Serbia and the Austrian-Hungarian Slavs substantially increased in the following decades, and also the idea of Serbia as the potential 'Piedmont' of South Slavs emerged.

After 1900, the 'Yugoslav' idea took on a social(ist) component. Social democrat parties from Slovenia,[618] Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and some influential intellectuals from Serbia, much less burdened by nationalism, started to envisage Yugoslavia as a more 'righteous' country than the existing empires, with better living conditions for workers and peasants, and larger social and national solidarity. However, contrary to the strong federalist stance among many proponents of the Yugoslav idea, the social democrats saw the solution in a much more integrated state. To this end, they organised the congress in Ljubljana in 1908. The 'Yugoslav' independent stance grew stronger, also due to Serbia's success in the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), while the idea of 'Yugoslav' autonomy within the Dual Monarchy was increasingly losing ground. This was also because other Slavic nations in the northern rim of the Austro-Hungarian state (Czechs, Slovaks, Poles) had already developed strong independence movements.

The First World War presented a radical rupture. South Slavic nations found themselves on opposing sides – South Slavs in the Dual Monarchy

617 On a larger scale, another political idea started to gain momentum after 1848 in the Austrian Empire – the Austroslavism which advocated the Empire's federalisation with stronger and united Slavic provinces. This idea was developed in Bohemia and attracted interest among Slovaks, Poles, and the Slavs in the Balkans. In different variants, it remained in circulation until the end of the First World War.

618 The official name of the social democrat party in Slovenia, established in 1896, was the Yugoslav Social Democrat Party (in Slovene: *Jugoslovanska socialnodemokratična stranka*).

(Croats, Slovenes and Serbs from Croatia, Vojvodina, and Bosnia and Herzegovina) against Serbia and Montenegro, which were the only Entente allies in the Balkans.[619] In the aftermath of the Central Axis defeat, the South Slavs' political status in the Austrian Empire became increasingly threatened. Moreover, in London's secret treaty (1915), the leading Entente powers promised Italy extensive 'Austro-Hungarian' territories (Southern Tyrol, Gorizia and Trieste regions, southwestern Carniola, Istria, Kvarner and most of Dalmatia) for joining the Entente. The Croatian and Slovene politicians, who emigrated from Austria-Hungary, formed the Yugoslav Committee in 1915 to preserve the Austro-Hungarian Slavs' national autonomy by forming a united South-Slavic state. The Yugoslav Committee negotiated a joint state with Serbia, and in 1917 both parties signed the Corfu Declaration, according to which the new integrated state of Yugoslavia would become a parliamentary monarchy with the Serbian king as the common monarch. It took quite a lot of political negotiations before the major forces of Entente accepted the plan for the new state. Borders with Italy and Austria were finally settled only in 1920, with a substantial population of Slovenes and Croats left outside Yugoslavia.[620] The final proclamation of the new state (the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) was made on the 1st December 1918,[621] and in 1929 was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

It seemed that the Yugoslav idea finally triumphed after almost a century of claims concerning the united state of South Slavs. Slavic nations in Yugoslavia thus found themselves in a common Slavic state for the first time, with very high expectations for their national existence (Roksandić 2017, 36). However, the reality soon demonstrated the gap between 'Yugoslav expectations' and the newly established Yugoslavia. Not all nations were officially recognised. For example, Macedonians were considered Southern Serbs, the Muslim population was considered 'Muslimised' Serbs and Croats, and Montenegrins were increasingly considered a regional variant of Serbs. Albanians were considered as a national minority but with almost no national rights.

Furthermore, the nations which entered the Yugoslav Kingdom were on very different levels of their nation-building. Moreover, the relationships between the 'big three' were tense. The Slovenes and Croats argued for much greater federalisation of the state within their respective 'national' territories, while the Serbs still did not abandon their expansionist agenda. Many of the 'Yugoslav expectations' were based on a future federal organisation. In reality, the state became highly centralised with a strong tendency toward Yugoslav integralism, which grew significantly after 1929 when King Alexander abolished the parliament and proclaimed a dictatorship. There was also a significant gap in economic conditions. Slovenia and Croatia had already achieved a certain level of industrialisation and modernisation, while the 'Serbian' parts (including N. Macedonia, Montenegro, Kosovo) and Bosnia and Herzegovina remained profoundly agrarian and rural. The differences between the more developed 'west' and much poorer agrarian 'east' were felt in basically all domains in the Yugoslav Kingdom.[622] Indeed, the state remained very unstable right up to the beginning of the Second World War, when it collapsed for the first time.

619 Bulgaria also joined the Central Axis, intending to annex N. Macedonia, lost to Serbia in the Second Balkan War (1913).

620 After the Treaty of Rapallo (1920), approximately one-quarter of today's Slovenia (its western parts) belonged to Italy, as did Istria, half of the Kvarner islands, the city of Zadar and island of Lastovo (all in today's Croatia). In that same year, following the referendum in southern Carinthia, the border with Austria was also settled, leaving a substantial number of Slovenes outside Yugoslavia.

621 Two short episodes happened before the official establishment of the kingdom. On the 29th of October 1918, The Slovenes, Croats and Serbs separated from Austro-Hungary. They formed an interim 'State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs' which a month later joined Serbia, while in Montenegro, the National Assembly in Montenegro (24th–29th of November) abolished the Montenegrin Kingdom and voted for the union with Serbia.

622 Per capita income in Yugoslavia at the end of 1930s, was 30% below the world average (Curtis 1992, 124).

However, we should not overestimate the dimensions of crisis and instability of the Yugoslav Kingdom, or limit it to this country only. Similar economic and political crises and unresolved ethnic questions existed at that time in much of Europe. Except for Austria, all other neighbouring countries were similarly underdeveloped and faced great problems securing their political stability. Moreover, on a larger, European scale, the situation was far from stable – Fascism and Nazism were right around the corner and struck a chord in many countries. Despite its underdevelopment and internal instability, Yugoslavia provided a somewhat stronger basis for national emancipation, especially for Slovenes and Croats, and was definitely more robust than that in Austria-Hungary, and in particular gave better protection against the very expansionist Fascist Italy. One of the results of the ongoing political crisis in Yugoslavia was that it strengthened Slovenes, Croats and Serbs' national politics, who continued to build their national infrastructure in culture, education, and to some degree in the economy. With regard to the original Yugoslav idea, after achieving one of its primary goals – the independent state of the South Slavs – it soon lost its power and appeal. Competing national programmes and rising nationalism created new barriers for its previous 'federalist' concepts, and a new type of 'Yugoslav idea' – integralist Yugoslavism (with an integrated 'Yugoslav' nation) – was promoted as the state ideology.

The *casus belli* for the Germans' (and their allies) aggression on Yugoslavia was its 'betrayal' of the Tripartite Pact. Germany, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania invaded Yugoslavia and divided its territory at the beginning of April 1941.[623] In Croatia, Germans and Italians created a marionette fascist state – the Independent State of Croatia - which included most of today's Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, now reduced to its central parts, became a German military protectorate. N. Macedonia was divided between Bulgaria and Italian controlled Albania, and the latter also took Kosovo. Slovenia was divided between Italy and Germany. After a couple of weeks of resistance, the Yugoslav army capitulated, and the royal government fled to the UK.

The critical factor in Yugoslavia's liberation was played by the National Liberation Movement (NLM) (*NOP – Narodnooslobodilački pokret*) led by the Communist Party and its leader Josip Broz Tito. This movement was *de facto* the only all-Yugoslav non-nationalist movement. Simultaneously, the nationalist and anti-Communist local governments in Serbia, Slovenia and Croatia sided with Germans and Italians, and openly fought against the NLM. NLM grew very rapidly and increasingly won most people's sympathies in Yugoslavia because it proved remarkably successful against the Germans and their allies and because most of the nationalist 'Quisling' formations exercised brutal terror over people from other ethnic groups. In addition to this, the political programme of NLM also included substantial social reforms and promises for a more righteous society, which was especially appealing to the poorer classes. In November 1943, NLM held its Second Meeting of the Antifascist Council for National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ – *Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije*) in Jajce, Bosnia and Herzegovina, where representatives from of all national NLM groups agreed on the basic structure of the 'new' federal Yugoslavia. In the final years of the war, NLM grew into the most potent military and political power in Yugoslavia, successfully establishing its rule from top to bottom, from central 'government' to small local governing units all across Yugoslavia. It also became recognised by the Western Allies, with its Antifascist Council as the official governing organ of Yugoslavia and an ally against the Axis powers. However, the toll of the war was extreme. There were around 1 million victims in a country of 15 million people, and the country's economic infrastructure was heavily damaged.

623 Two days after Yugoslavia signed the agreement with the Tripartite Pact (25th of March 1941), a group of high-ranking army officers made a coup d'etat and abolished the alliance with the Germans and Italians. On the 6th of April 1941, Germans and their allies started the military invasion of Yugoslavia.

After the war followed the radical re-construction of the state regime, now ruled by the Communist Party. This involved the abolition of the monarchy and classical political parties in favour of the 'people's democracy and the federalisation of the Yugoslav state into six 'national' republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia; later two autonomous provinces were established within Serbia: Vojvodina and Kosovo). In addition to this, most of the territories annexed to Italy after 1918 (Slovene Littoral, Istria, Kvarner Gulf, the town of Zadar) were regained.

In the first post-war years, Yugoslavia relied heavily on the Soviet Union. It attempted to transform the country according to the Soviet model: with the nationalisation of all principal industrial infrastructure, larger estates,[624] housing etc., the introduction of 'planned' economy, state farms, undisputed rule of the Communist party, and the étatist mode of ruling society. However, in 1948 a rupture occurred with the Communist Bloc when the Yugoslav Communist Party disagreed with the Soviet Union's political dominance, which then triggered substantial social and political changes in Yugoslavia. In the next couple of decades the country gradually opened up to the West, introducing a more liberal private property system, accepting elements of the market economy, and further increasing the republics' and provinces' autonomy. The reforms in 1965 ultimately transformed Yugoslavia into a 'market socialist' country (Curtis 1992, 129)[625] with a great private property ratio.[626] The state authorities (and the Communist Party) did not abandon society's control. Instead, they continued controlling it in more indirect ways by producing general recommendations and guidelines and appointing directors of enterprises and major 'strategic' social services. Though Yugoslavia experienced several ups and downs in the economic sense, it grew substantially after the 1950s, and in the following decade its economic growth rate was among the highest in Europe.

Regardless of many problems it faced and numerous goals that the self-management system did not fully achieve, it had very positive effects on ordinary people's well-being and social emancipation when coupled with economic growth. Such growth drastically changed the social environment, particularly the process of urbanisation that ran in parallel with industrialisation, accompanied by mass migrations of the rural population into new urban centres.[627] The expansion was also conducive to improving public and health services, education, culture and science. Poverty was significantly reduced, and all essential social services, like education, health services and social security, were freely accessible. However, it is also true that much of the progress of post-war Yugoslavia was

624 Over 1 million hectares of land were confiscated from private owners and institutions and redistributed to the peasants (max. 25 ha per household) and state farms (Curtius 1992, 125).

625 An important innovation was the 'system of self-management', initially introduced in the early 1950s as a 'Yugoslav' response to the Soviet Union's rigid etatism and centralised planned economy. The basic idea of self-management was decentralised decision-making in all major domains, particularly in the economy. Decision-making was transferred to groups of people working in or running industrial and other enterprises. The self-management system was closely connected with another important systemic introduction – the concept of 'social' property. To avoid complex legal explanations, I illustrate this concept with one very simplified example. In the capitalist system, an enterprise has its private owner(s); in the Soviet system, the owner was, technically, the state. In contrast, in the Yugoslav system, the same enterprise was considered 'social property' (literally the whole of society's property). However, the people who worked in these enterprises or managed them were given the right to manage these establishments relatively autonomously, and the management was legally responsible for it. In this way, the enterprises had much more freedom over their production and surpluses, and local communities were given much greater autonomy, state farms were abandoned, and the land left to small farmers.

626 In 1984 private farmers owned 83% of all tilled land, 84% of livestock, and 72% of net national agricultural output (Curtis 1992, 132).

627 In 1957, the urban and rural populations' net incomes were almost identical (index 100), whilst in 1970, the ratio was 304 vs 93 in favour of those who lived in urban settlements (Estrin 1982, 80).

possible due to large investments from the West, which strategically supported a state that had escaped the Soviet umbrella and seemed to be capable of maintaining considerable stability in the Balkans.

In 1974, Yugoslavia adopted a new constitution that significantly federalised the country. Still, at the same time, the country was sliding into an economic crisis, and later, after Tito's death in 1980, a political one too. Tito had effectively ruled Yugoslavia (and the Communist Party) since 1945 as the undisputed leader, with significant symbolic capital from the national liberation period. Much of this power he retained by careful balancing between the national politics of the individual republics, as he was the *de facto* guarantor of the inter-national stability and 'brotherhood-and-unity' of the Yugoslav peoples. After his death, there was no one strong enough to maintain this balance, and tensions among the republics increased. In the late 1980s, in conditions of severe economic crisis, claims for Yugoslavia's substantial transformation started to emerge, ranging from full liberalisation and democratisation of the economy and politics, to confederate restructuration of the state and nationalist and separatist claims.

The final blow was made by the Serbian leader Slobodan Milošević, who took control of Montenegro, Kosovo and Vojvodina and abolished the political balance in the country.[628] This only reinforced the independentist politics of the other nations. The Slovenes and Croats, in national referenda in June 1991, voted for the independence of their republics in September 1991, N. Macedonia followed the same steps, as did Bosnia and Herzegovina in March 1992. What followed was a civil war (or wars) with different outcomes. After only a couple of weeks of sporadic clashes in Slovenia, the then still Federal Army agreed to retreat. In Croatia, which had also elected the nationalist government of Franjo Tuđman, who threatened to abolish the local Serbs' autonomy, the latter, orchestrated by Milošević, formed the 'Serbian Autonomous Regions', rebelled against Croatia, and claimed union with Serbia. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the local Serbs also formed their autonomous regions and attempted to occupy other parts of this country. Montenegro remained an ally of Serbia in the newly established state of the 'Federal Republic of Yugoslavia'. Kosovo was still under the strong control of Serbia, and the war there was yet to come. The situation was further complicated in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where Croatia pursued expansionist goals, aiming to annex parts of this country settled by Croats, and went to war against Bosniaks.[629]

The 1991–1995 civil war(s) had profound consequences. Some 120,000 to 140,000 people were killed, with around 100,000 in Bosnia and Herzegovina alone, and over 4 million were displaced (around 2 million in Bosnia and Herzegovina), if I only mention the human casualties.[630] Due to ethnic cleansing and forced emigration, the ethnic structure of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo was substantially changed, once very mixed territories became predominantly mono-ethnic. The actual map of the post-Yugoslav countries was ultimately formed after the NATO's war against Serbia in 1999, when Kosovo achieved *de facto* independence, and in 2006 when Montenegro stepped out of the union with Serbia and proclaimed its independence.

The new states recovered very differently. Slovenia, the most 'Western' and developed of the Yugoslav republics, and the least affected by the war, recovered very quickly, and in 2004 became a full member of the EU. Today, Slovenia is economically the most developed country of all

628 By depositing leading politicians in Vojvodina, Kosovo and Montenegro and installing their pro-Serbian politicians, Milošević got half of the Yugoslav Presidium votes.

629 To this end, he had several secret meetings with Milošević about how to partition Bosnia and Herzegovina.

630 Even when looking at the destroyed objects of cultural heritage, the figures are astonishing – some 3,500 to 4,000 objects (mostly different religious objects).

the former socialist countries in Europe, and it ranked higher than Portugal and Greece. Croatia followed similar steps and became an EU member in 2013. However, its recovery was slower and it is currently the third least developed EU country economically. Other new countries experienced a much greater slowdown in their economic development. Their GDPs per capita are from three to four times lower than that of Slovenia, and put them in the lowest quartile amongst all European countries.[631]

After seven decades of the common state, the Yugoslav idea's original concept seems to have come to an end. The fact is that Yugoslavia was an extremely heterogeneous country in the ethnic, religious and cultural senses. As long as all national groups could find a political balance and enjoyed the 'protection' provided by the larger state, they were all ready to delegate some of their national sovereignty to a common state. In the First Yugoslavia, this balance was never achieved. In contrast, it seemed possible in the Second Yugoslavia with the mechanisms of the more balanced 'brotherhood-and-unity' of the Yugoslav nations for a while.[632] However, Tito's death increased the economic crisis and movements for a more democratic and liberal society. But soon the calls for democratisation were increasingly replaced by mutually exclusive nationalist claims.

The war in Yugoslavia was a war between nationalist regimes and not nations, as became even more evident with the growing dissatisfaction with the new nationalist governments in the post-Yugoslav states. To stay in power and strengthen their national institutions around them, these governments supported very revisionist views of the past, especially on Yugoslavia's history. It is not by chance that in this *milieu* were nurtured numerous pseudo-historical and pseudo-archaeological 'theories' of the ancient autochthonous origins of the Slovenes, Croats or Serbs, Albanians and Macedonians. Common to all of them is an attempt to 'prove' the non-Slavic origin of their respective nations, bury the memory of a common history and state, and its positive achievements. However, the fact remains that the South Slavic nations still share numerous commonalities: similar or equal languages, literary and artistic horizons, experiences in the history of joint political and cultural projects. And it is with this in mind that the new 'Yugoslav' idea is taking roots, not as 'yugostalgia' but as a new regional framework for cooperation, first in the domains which transcend the national borders, such as culture, science, environmental issues, etc., with economic cooperation among the post-Yugoslav states having transcended these boundaries years ago.[633]

How to consider Yugoslav archaeology?

Elsewhere I remarked that 'Yugoslav' archaeology could not be considered a 'distinct' national archaeological school but rather a well-organised network of national archaeologies that retained many of their own specificities (Novaković 2008). This view was also shared by Yugoslav archaeologists, at least from the 1970s on.[634] In fact, in Eu-

631 Source: Google Public Data based on World Bank. GDP per capita is calculated in current US dollars.

632 For example, in 1971, the Slavic-Speaking Muslims were recognised as 'constitutional nation' under the name 'Muslims'. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Muslims (as a national group) were the majority; today, they are officially termed Bosniaks. The Muslim nation did not include ethnic Albanian and Macedonian Muslims.

633 For example, in Serbia the value of trade with other post-Yugoslav states combined amounts for 22.56%, in Croatia 25.74%, Bosnia and Herzegovina 35%, Montenegro 37.14%, Slovenia 13.94%, and N. Macedonia 11.35%. The total value of trade between these countries amounts to 19,841 billion US dollars. (source: The observatory of economic complexity https://oec.world/en/profile/country/hrv).

634 At the 12th Congress of the Association of Yugoslav Archaeological Societies held in Novi Sad in 1984, a special panel was organised to discuss two main questions: 'Is there Yugoslav archaeology?' and 'What is Yugoslav archaeology?'. The panel concluded that Yugoslav archaeology did not exist. Regardless of numerous commonalities, long-standing cooperation and

rope it is not uncommon that many domains remain national in multi-national states, including archaeology. A very similar case can be seen, for example, in the former Czechoslovakia, where Czechs and Slovaks preserved their national archaeological schools and their chief national infrastructure (national museums, universities and institutes) in the joint country. In Spain, the attempts to construct a common 'Spanish' history was a complicated and painful process, challenged by national stances of the Catalans, Basques and Galicians and where archaeology(-ies) developed in parallel with their national movements (see more in Díaz-Andreu 1995). The 'integralist' attempts of Franco's fascist regime just froze the development of 'national' pasts, archaeology included, for a certain period of time. Similarly, national archaeologies are present in the United Kingdom, where Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland each have their own national cultural heritage protection services and national museums. Belgium is another case of two 'national' archaeological frameworks in the joint state, Walloon and Flemish.

Indeed, The opposite situation – unified archaeology in a multinational state – seems non-existent in Europe. The closest case would be that of archaeology in the Soviet Union. But this is a special case. The archaeology in Tsarist Russia had a very short tradition, limited to two or three universities and museum centres and high elite circles. Indeed, the spread of archaeology in the Soviet period happened under Soviet conditions of a highly centralised state and planned economy. The Soviet regime, making the state anew, also created archaeology anew, unified and adapted to the ruling ideology. However, archaeology's continual growth in other (non-Russian) Soviet republics and provinces gradually took its 'toll'. The Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which had a history of independence between the two world wars, including their national traditions of historical disciplines, relatively easily revived their national frameworks after departing from the Soviet Union. In other former Soviet republics, this process may have taken some more time, but ultimately, all post-Soviet states established their own national archaeologies.

In this respect, Yugoslav archaeology could be considered similar to the British, Spanish or Czechoslovakian examples, where national archaeological schools and frameworks were preserved and strengthened over time in a united country. Simultaneously, parallel processes were attempting to unify national/regional archaeologies into a single state framework. However, unifying and/or separating national archaeologies in multinational states varied in different countries. These processes also affected national archaeologies differently in Yugoslavia.

Slovenes, Croats and Serbs were the majority populations in their republics, which during the process of federalisation of a common state became their national proxy states. Moreover, all three nations had a relatively long tradition of archaeology. Later, Macedonians joined them once they had developed their own national archaeology after being granted a republic in Yugoslavia. The same trends have been visible in Montenegro and Kosovo since their separation from Serbia. On the other hand, Bosnia and Herzegovina did not develop a proper national archaeology because it was always multi-national. The archaeology in this country was introduced at the end of the 19th century from the outside as a 'colonial' and 'Westernising' project of the Austrian Monarchy. A single institution established during the Austrian era (i.e. Provincial Museum in Sarajevo) almost completely monopolised archaeology for some 70 years, giving a great deal of identity to archaeology in this country. With regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina, one could talk of the 'republican' rather than 'national' archaeology. The multi-national structure, great demographic changes associated with the intensive post-war industrialisation and urbanisation, the

shared history, the panel considered 'Yugoslav' archaeology was a unique compilation of national archaeologies at best. Archaeology was perceived as a 'national' discipline, the same as, for example, history. For comments on this discussion, see Rapanić (1986).

high degree of mixed marriages and, undoubtedly, the politics that did not permit dominance of a single nation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, did not work in favour of one 'national' archaeology, but looked for more common ground, those of a 'Yugoslav' discipline. In a certain respect, the history of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina thus mirrors all the major dilemmas and paradoxes of Yugoslav archaeology.

So how to approach the subject of Yugoslav archaeology? One simple answer would be to look for activities that transcended the national or republican borders and look for joint programmes, strategies and projects envisaged in a common Yugoslav framework. Though I will follow this path, this could still not provide a complete answer. There are also some other aspects which need careful consideration and reflection, from genuine attempts to create the archaeology of the 'brotherhood-and-unity' of the Yugoslav nations to opportunist and pragmatic attitudes of major proponents of Yugoslav archaeology, and, last but not least, the dynamics and heterogeneity of the Yugoslav stance itself. All these created in their own way the Yugoslav archaeology as a 'historical entity' which variously interacted with its components, i.e. national archaeologies.

Putting pieces together: Yugoslav archaeology between 1918 and 1941

There is no doubt that political changes after 1918 significantly transformed the structure, institutional landscape and practice of archaeology compared to the period before the First World War. Since another substantial break occurred after 1945, I have retained a simple periodisation of two phases or periods: the first period corresponds to the Yugoslav Kingdom (1918–1941) and the second to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which I will sometimes refer to as Socialist Yugoslavia for short (1945–1991).

Despite increased collaboration between the 'Yugoslav' nations before the First World War, especially in culture, archaeology did not become 'Yugoslav' once the common state was founded in 1918, neither in institutional nor in conceptual terms. It took more than just the occasional collaboration of scholars before 1914 to create common grounds in archaeology. Exceeding the former state, provincial or regional frameworks also required the acquaintance with archaeology from other parts of what would become Yugoslavia. In conditions of almost complete lack of common institutional background and experience, the pathway to 'Yugoslav' archaeology was paved by some rare scholars who had personal experience of or were directly involved in other regions' archaeology.

One such case was Simon Rutar, the pioneering scholar in Slovene historiography and archaeology. For some time (between 1879 and 1889), he worked as a gymnasium professor in Austrian Dalmatia (Kotor and Split) and became the assistant curator and assistant conservator in the Archaeological Museum in Split. He then moved to Ljubljana to become the Conservator of the Province of Carniola (1889-1903). A similar case is that of Mihovil Abramič, a Croat from Istria, who in 1910 was employed in the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Director of the Archaeological Museum in Aquileia (1913–1919) and subsequently as a curator at the Archaeological Museum in Split (after 1920). In his early career, Abramić, despite his engagement in Split, worked very much in Slovenia, especially in Ptuj, where he collaborated with the local museum and intensively researched the remains of the Roman town of Poetovio and its cemeteries. He proved instrumental in establishing the Roman antiquities' municipal collection and wrote a guide to it (1925). There was also the case of Ćiro Truhelka, who, after the retirement from an outstanding career in the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, continued as a professor of archaeology at the newly established Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje in the 1920s. And last but not least, there was Balduin Saria, an ethnic German from Slovenia, who transferred in the early 1920s from Vienna to the National Museum in

Belgrade, where he worked intensively on Stobi in N. Macedonia (then part of Serbia) to then continue his career as a professor of archaeology at the University of Ljubljana (1926–1942).

In all these examples, and some others not mentioned here, there was potential for creating stronger networks. Still, the lack of institutionalised cooperation was common in all these cases, especially after 1918. What was evidently missing was more intensive cooperation with archaeologists from Serbia and their engagement in the 'Austro-Hungarian' areas of Yugoslavia (except for Vojvodina, which Serbs intensively colonised after 1918). However, the truth is that archaeology in Serbia was very much a new field, with less developed infrastructure in archaeology compared to Slovenia or Croatia. The potential hub for establishing new (i.e. Yugoslav) perspectives in archaeology could have been the Provincial Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, with its three-decades-long excellent reputation on the regional and broader international scene. But the new administrative division of Yugoslavia made it impossible, as Bosnia and Herzegovina ceased to exist as a united province. The museum went into crisis, forced to very significantly reduce its capacities.

Although Yugoslavia was a highly centralised country, the opportunity for top-to-bottom initiatives was missed. In Belgrade the governments were very unstable, short-lived, and science and culture were not high on their agendas. The unified state could have been conducive to creating some fundamentals, such as common legislation and regulation related to culture, science and education, and cultural heritage protection, but was too weak for such tasks to be carried out. The state ultimately lacked adequate organisations capable of implementing an efficient institutional structure, similar to those – for example – which proved efficient in the Austrian-Hungarian state. In addition to this, in economic, financial, industrial and many other developmental aspects, the new Yugoslav Kingdom was very much behind the former Austro-Hungary. It was thus not easy to re-arrange priorities and organisational practices. For instance, Slovene, Croatian or Bosnian-Herzegovinian archaeologies that had, for decades, acted as regional sub-systems of a more extensive (Austrian) system failed to be more closely integrated into a new system (Yugoslav) together with Serbian archaeology.

For quite obvious reasons, the discontinuity was much greater in the former Austro-Hungarian lands of Slovenia and Croatia, their institutions having been well incorporated into the Austrian system.[635] Though of lesser magnitude, dislocations were also felt in the personal networks cut by the new national borders. Various activities, once internal, had to become trans-border ones. Consequently, there was an inevitable atrophy of professional ties. Scholars from the former Austro-Hungarian lands who used to be members of much larger professional networks found themselves in a much smaller professional community.

The best illustration of the state's weakness was that no effective law on heritage protection was adopted in the Yugoslav Kingdom, despite several attempts. The whole domain of heritage protection was based on the laws either adopted in Austro-Hungary, or laws that did not directly deal with cultural heritage,[636] or some provisional legislative basis.[637] There was also

635 In the report from the Assembly of the Museum Society of Slovenia in 1919 (*Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* 1, 1919, 37 is recorded: "*Now, the most decisive issue is a new orientation. Concerning the circumstances of our time, we should not lag but, as serious men, but we should not rush as well and succumb our society to highly convincing yet ephemeral slogans. As 'Carniolans' we cannot exist anymore because there is no Carniola. We have to work hard to raise ourselves and our homeland to such a level of culture to match other nations*".

636 Such as the Act on Forests (1929) and Act on Building Construction (1931).

637 For example, the proposals of the following acts: *Predlog zakona o muzejima i čuvanju starina i spomenika* from 1930; *Predlog zakona o muzejima i čuvanju starina i spomenika* from 1932; *Predlog zakona o muzejima* from 1934. For more on the heritage protection legislation between 1918 and 1941, see Krstić (2006).

no common institutional organisation, nor indeed a central institute. Each province or banate needed to establish its own institutions, but not all of them did. Slovenia and Croatia continued the model of the 'Austrian' Conservator Offices (in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Split), but similar institutions did not exist in the 'Serbian' parts of Yugoslavia (i.e. today Serbia, Montenegro, N. Macedonia, Kosovo) and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1923 an important step was made by establishing the Commission for Protection and Maintenance of Architectural Monuments at the Ministry for Religions and Education, but again, with no significant effects (Ljubinković 1951, 9). It is also fair to say that the blame for failing to establish effective legislation should not only be directed at the 'disinterested' and unstable governments, as there was also intense lobbying against the proposals for such laws by the Serbian Orthodox Church, which did not want to cede its full autonomy concerning its property and estates (Ljubinković 1951, 9). Moreover, Moreover, powerful lobbies in the construction industry were openly opposed to the adoption of the acts concerning heritage protection. were openly opposed to the adoption of the acts concerning heritage protection.

Yugoslav archaeologists, fully aware of the new conditions, attempted to strengthen their professional and scholarly organisation and establish a 'Yugoslav' archaeological society already in the early 1920s. The first formal initiative was put forward at the meeting at Dobrna near Celje, Slovenia, in 1921. A wealthy industrialist and passionate numismatist, Leon Ružička, invited a group of archaeologists from the then Yugoslavia and Austria to his villa to discuss future collaboration.[638] We do not know the exact number of participants, but among them were some of the most prominent archaeologists and scholars from all the major institutions in Yugoslavia (Ljubljana, Split, Zagreb, Belgrade and Sarajevo).[639] At Dobrna, they also agreed to organise an archaeologists' meeting in Belgrade in the same year and another one two years later in Split, and proposed the establishment of a Yugoslav association of all museum, antiquarian and archaeological societies.

Following the agreement from Dobrna, Nikola Vulič and Vladimir Petković organised the First Yugoslav Archaeological Congress in Belgrade between the 8th and 11th of October 1922. Unfortunately, there is very little information about this event. The major sources are brief notes by Ćiril Metod Iveković, a Croatian architect and professor at the University of Zagreb (Iveković 1922),[640] Frane Bulić (1922) and Izidor Cankar (1922), and a few references in the memoirs of some of the participants (Molè 1970), and a brief mention in the press.

Among the participants, Iveković lists the presidents of the Congress – Ćiro Truhelka from Sarajevo, Josip Mantuani from Ljubljana and Lujo Marun from Knin – as well as the record-keepers Ljubo Karaman from Split and Vojeslav Molè from Ljubljana. Iveković's text also mentions

638 All information about this meeting is quoted from Lorber (2019, 918; 2020).

639 Frane Bulić and Mihovil Abramić (both from Archaeological Museum of Split), Nikola Vulić (University of Belgrade), Vladimir Petković and Balduin Saria (both National Museum, Belgrade), Viktor Hoffiler (University of Zagreb), Vejsil Čurčić (Provincial Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo), Josip Mantuani (National Museum, Ljubljana), Niko Zupanič (Ethnographic Museum, Belgrade), Franc Stelè (Conservation Office of Slovenia, Ljubljana), Leopold Leon Ružička, Viktor Skrabar, Herbert Martin, Franc Ferk (all Museum Society, Ptuj), Anton Jeršinovic (Museum Society, Celje). Among foreign participants were Matija Murko (Charles University, Prague), Countess Praskovya Uvarova (former President of the Moscow Archaeological Society; after 1918 migrated to Yugoslavia), Emil Reisch (Archaeological Institute, Vienna), Rudolf Egger (University of Vienna) (Lorber 2020).

640 In a key part of his report on the Yugoslav Archaeological Congress, Iveković strongly criticised one of the proposals in the drafted legislation, which referred to the role of an architect who would be affiliated to the main conservation office and would have great authority in deciding on the restoration works and construction activity in the immediate surrounding of the monuments.

Viktor Hoffiller from Zagreb, Frano Bulić from Split, and Nikola Vulić and Vladimir Petković from Belgrade. From the memoirs of Vojeslav Molè, one learns about a few other scholars who came to the Congress: Mihovil Abramić from Split; philologists and linguists Petar Skok from Zagreb, Milan Budimir and Henrik Barić from Belgrade; historians Viktor Novak and Vladimir Ćorović from Belgrade; and Vladimir Travner, a lawyer and historian, and a member of the Museum Society of Ptuj (Molè 1970, 306–309). Lorber (2020) added to this list Niko Županič, Sima Trojanović, Radoslav Grujić (all from Belgrade), France Stelè and Josip Mantuani (both from Ljubljana), Franc Kovačič (Maribor) and Viktor Skrabar (Ptuj). In a paragraph on the Yugoslav archaeologists' meeting, Molè also mentions Miloje Vasić, but it is not clear from the text whether Vasić actually attended the Congress.[641]

Congress's main topic was drafting the law on museums and protecting and preserving educational and artificial monuments (Iveković 1922, 197). The Congress lasted four days, and along with the discussion on the draft of the new legislation there were also lectures on some of the country's important archaeological monuments (e.g. the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Diocletian's Palace, Bribir). On the second and third days the participants visited the early 15th-century fortified monastery of Manasija near Despotovac, where they held a memorial mass for Josip Juraj Strossmayer.

As we have already seen, the legislative proposal on heritage protection did not succeed, and other tasks proposed at Dobrna and Belgrade seem not to have been fully accomplished either. We have no information indicating that the Second Congress, planned for 1924 in Split,[642] was organised at all (it seems not). Another occasion that gathered archaeologists from Yugoslavia and some neighbouring countries was the 30th anniversary of the Museum Society in Ptuj (1st–4th of September 1923). Here, a proposal for the joint archaeological map of Yugoslavia was put forward (Žižek 1992, 149).

Concerning the next few years, we have no information on any proper 'Yugoslav' initiatives, and it seems that the momentum had been lost. There is one very brief mention of another meeting of archaeologists in Belgrade in 1930 by Ljubinković (1951, 9), but, unfortunately, I could not find any more information on this. We can however say that this meeting was not a congressional one, and archaeologists probably gathered for some other formal reason, such as the Ptuj meeting in 1923. In 1927, Miloje Vasić presented a proposal for the Archaeological Institute of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Vasić 1927), but this was more a personal suggestion, a sort of wishful thinking, and lacked any operable and viable ideas. It also seems that it was not discussed very seriously among the Yugoslav archaeologists.

Nevertheless, Vasić's proposal is interesting because it documents how one of the leading archaeologists in Serbia saw the current situation in archaeology in Yugoslavia – fragmented and uncoordinated, under-funded, and as a group of 'national' archaeologies more than anything else. Vasić argued for a strong central archaeological institute that would unite the best scholars from the whole country and have the power to coordinate all archaeological activities and act as a consulting body for the Ministry of Education. Vasić was fully aware that his 'centralist' proposal would not have many chances in the circumstances of 'tribal patriotism' in Yugoslavia.[643] Still, he argued that the scholars united in the central archaeological institute would understand the archaeological needs much better than

641 Neither of the two texts provides a complete list of the participants. Molè (1970, 306) writes that Congress was attended by "many people, known and unknown, specialists and amateurs".

642 Izidor Cankar (1922) speaks of Skopje (?) as the place of the Second Congress.

643 'Tribes' was a frequent synonym for three principal nations in Yugoslavia. The integralist notion of the 'Yugoslav nation' spoke of *trojedin* ('united – or one-threefold nation') or one nation made of three tribes (i.e. Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).

the civil servants in the Ministry of Education, and that such an institute would raise the quality of archaeology throughout Yugoslavia.

The situation gradually improved in the 1930s. The transition from the 1920s to 1930s was marked by the departure and retirement of many scholars who had already achieved high status in the 'Austrian' period' (e.g. Frane Bulić, Josip Brunšmid, Dragutin Gorjanović Kramberger, Josip Mantuani, Ćiro Truhelka). They were replaced by scholars who had graduated or received their PhDs in the years around the First World War, and whose careers fully developed in Yugoslavia (e.g. Balduin Saria, Ljubo Karaman, Viktor Hoffiler, Mihovil Abramić, Vladimir Petković, M. Vasić, N. Vulić), and who, being directors of museums, professors at the universities etc., were also able to gradually intensify institutional cooperation. One of the mechanisms which contributed to this was the appointment of university professors in different parts of the country. Thus, for example, archaeologists and historians Grga Novak from Croatia, Ćiro Truhelka from Bosnia and Herzegovina and France Mesesnel from Slovenia worked for some time at the then Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje (a branch of the University of Belgrade).[644] I have already noted that Balduin Saria and Mihovil Abramić worked in museums in different parts of Yugoslavia. Josip Korošec, a Slovene and prewar student of Miloje Vasić, began his first professional engagement at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo in the late 1930s.[645] In the same years, another Slovene, Josip Klemenc, worked in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. France Stelè was also intensively engaged in developing the Yugoslav legislation and heritage protection service around this time. It is also worth noting that studied students from Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and N. Macedonia studied at the University of Belgrade,[646] under M. Vasić, while in Zagreb and Ljubljana, the students in the 1930s mostly came from their home 'countries'. However, I assume that the University of Belgrade's attraction was also because Vasić was the only professor of prehistoric archaeology in the whole country. And indeed, almost all major prehistorians in the 1950s and 1960s in Yugoslavia came from among his students.

Concerning the institutional landscape of archaeology in Yugoslavia between 1918 and 1948, one thing should be stressed – no all-Yugoslav archaeological institution had been established in this period, very few joint publications published, no joint inter-institutional exhibition prepared, and nor did any archaeological centre of importance develop that would attract scientists from different parts of the country. The only notable exception was two projects of the academies of sciences and arts – *The Archaeological Map of Yugoslavia* and *Tabula Imperii Romani*, both parts of wider long-standing international initiatives.[647]

In absolute figures, there were some 20 new institutions established in Yugoslavia in the period between 1918 and 1941. The number is not that low, but the effects of the newly established institutions, mostly smaller municipal museums, were very modest. These museums, mainly established in the 1930s, were in Slovenia (Ljubljana, Škofja Loka), Croatia (Šibenik, Požega, Varaždin, Slavonski Brod, Dubrovnik), and Serbia (Pančevo, Niš, Novi Sad, Šabac). Still, except for the museum in Niš, none of them were active in archaeology, and nor did they employ archaeologists. The same goes for Bosnia and

644 During the First Yugoslavia, there were only three universities in the whole country, in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana.

645 His wife, Paola Korošec, a graduate in art history from the University of Belgrade, was also appointed as a curator of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo in 1940.

646 The most renowned were Josip Korošec, Mirjana Čorović (Ljubinković), Pavle Velenrajter, Krunoslav Misilo, Mihajlo Petrović (Petruševski), Dinko Foretić, Dušanka Vučković (Todorović), Alojz Benac, Franjo Barišić, Branko Gavela, Esad Pašalić, Duje Rendić-Miočević, Josip Depolo, Fanula Papazoglu, Vladimir Milojčić, Milutin Garašanin and Draga Aranđelović (Garašanin) (Milosavljević 2020).

647 Both projects were part of the wider European initiative of the Union Académieque Internationale.

Herzegovina, where the only museum institution was the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo until 1930, when the Museum of the Vrbas Banate was established in Banja Luka with ethnography as its major topic. In the 1920s and 1930s, Montenegro got its first museums, a State Museum in Cetinje, and two smaller museums in Perast and Kotor. North Macedonia also got its first museum in these years, but the context of its establishment is quite different from all the museums mentioned above. After the annexation of the Macedonian territories in 1912 and the First World War, Serbia started an intensive 'Serbianisation' of the annexed 'Southern Serbia'. In 1919 it established the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje as a branch of the University of Belgrade and the Museum of Southern Serbia in 1924. Both institutions had their own archaeological programmes.[648] In Kosovo, no museum or museum-like institutions were established before the Second World War. However, despite still modest effects on archaeology, the very establishment of new museums and other institutions pointed to a gradual improvement of the infrastructure in culture and science in Yugoslavia.

The biggest 'infrastructural' asset for archaeology in Yugoslavia was the establishment of the University of Ljubljana (1919) and the introduction of the archaeological curriculum (1923). Here Balduin Saria got a chance to develop into a scholar, which in many respects dictated the pace of Yugoslav archaeology in the 1930s. He revived what could be considered the only significant all-Yugoslav project before the Second World War – the Archaeological Map of Yugoslavia. He successfully lobbied for this long-term project at the academies of sciences and arts in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia, and other relevant scholarly societies. He proved instrumental in the establishment of the Inter-Academic Committee for the Archaeological Map of Yugoslavia for which he designed the conceptual outline based on the German Archäoloigische Landesaufahme concept (particularly on the so-called Trier Map),[649] and published its first two volumes, on Ptuj and Rogatec in Slovenia (Saria 1936; Saria and Klemenc 1939). Nikola Vulić from the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts contributed another two volumes – for Kavadarci and Bitola, in today's N. Macedonia (Vulić 1937, 1938), while Josip Klemenc published the volume on the Zagreb area in Croatia (Klemec 1938). These publications were published in German, which shows the intention to reach a broader scientific audience and achieve a wider promotion of Yugoslav archaeology. Saria was also intensively engaged on another cartographic project – *Tabula Imperii Romani*.[650] In 1937 in Ptuj, he organised a meeting of experts in Roman archaeology from Yugoslavia and neighbouring countries to discuss the production of maps for the provinces in this part of the Roman Empire.

It was likely that Saria was the most active in the period between the two world wars in terms of efforts in developing 'Yugoslav' archaeology. The fact that Saria, being an ethnic German born in Slovenia, educated at Vienna University, with a career in Austria, Serbia and Slovenia, and with a high international reputation, was probably 'distanced' enough from the individual 'national' archaeological circles in the then Yugoslavia, made him almost a perfect candidate for this. Indeed, there are numerous cases of Saria's collaboration with other archaeologists. His most influential work was on the Roman epigraphy in Yugoslavia, co-authored by V. Hoffiller from Zagreb (Hoffiller and Saria 1939). He regularly published in scientific journals from other Yugoslav institutions,

648 Between 1926 and 1930, Ćiro Truhelka taught archaeology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje and had no field projects. In contrast, the Museum of South Serbia was intensively engaged in research of Stobi and other archaeological research projects directed by the scholars from Belgrade.

649 *Archäologische Karte der Rheinprovinz 1, Blat Trier – Mettendorf*. Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, Bonn 1932.

650 *Tabula Imperii Romani* was an international project of the Union Académique Internationale (established in Brussels in 1919) which started in 1921. The project's principal aim was to publish maps of the Roman Empire at around AD 200 (at 1: 1,000,000 scale), for more on this project see Adams (1954).

for example, in *Starinar* (Belgrade), *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* (Skopje), *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis* (Belgrade), and in Croatian periodicals, and also in prominent international publications (e.g. *Enciclopedia dell'arte Antica* and *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*). But highly paradoxically, Saria, despite his endeavours in raising the level of cooperation in Yugoslavia, was not politically pro-Yugoslav oriented. There is a great irony that with the beginning of the Second World War in Yugoslavia Saria openly sided with Germans and was engaged in the Ahnenerbe's activities in Slovenia, for which he was given a curatorship in the Provincial Museum in Graz, Austria, in 1943. Looking back at his 'Yugoslav' career and achievements and his genuine attempts towards 'Yugoslav' archaeology, two words come to mind – pragmatism and opportunism. When the political situation changed in 1918 he became 'Yugoslav', then in 1941 he chose *Deutschtum*.

Though I have marked the 1930s as a decade of gradual improvements in several archaeological domains, the improvements remained rather modest. Not much that archaeologists put forward in the early 1920s was implemented. The number of scientific meetings was very low, as was the exchange of scholars. The examination of archival materials documenting archaeology studies at the University of Ljubljana (Novaković 2004) did not find a single record of a guest-lecturer from other Yugoslav universities nor of the lecturers from Ljubljana undertaking such visits to the universities outside Slovenia.

The situation seems to be better when speaking of international cooperation. Then again, much of the cooperation was not so much the outcome of the institutionalised activities on the Yugoslav side, but due to personal networks and engagements. International cooperation was most developed with the Austrian and German partners and colleagues with whom Yugoslav archaeologists collaborated before 1918. Many of the Yugoslav archaeologists of the older generation either worked in the 'Austrian institutions' or were members of important scholarly societies in Austria and attempted to maintain this collaboration after 1918. In this context, it should also be noted that most of the professional archaeologists in Yugoslavia graduated from the University of Vienna (Novaković 2012). Another vital 'channel' for collaboration were the scholars who, before 1918, for various periods of time had worked in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, but continued their careers outside Yugoslavia (e.g. Anton Premerstein, Carl Patsch, Rudolf Egger). Last but not least, there were also some extraordinary sites which attracted foreign scholars (e.g. Einar Dyggve (Denmark) in Salona, Croatia, Vladimir Fewkes (USA) in Starčevo, Serbia, Rudolf Egger (Austria) in Ptuj, Slovenia, Rudolf Schmidt (Germany) in Sarvaš and Vučedol, Croatia, Johann von Reiswitz and Wilhelm Unverzagt (Germany) in Ohrid, N. Macedonia, and Bogdan Filov (Bulgaria) in Trebenište, N. Macedonia). The Yugoslav sites were also regularly on the programme of several 'Excursions of the Danubian Archaeologists', organised by the German Archaeological Institute in the 1930s.

However, despite efforts in the 1930s, Yugoslav archaeology remained very fragmented. This fragmentation was also visible in conceptual terms. We are not far from the truth if we say that almost every archaeologist had his own vision of archaeology, especially in prehistoric archaeology. On the other hand, the archaeology of Roman and Greek Antiquity had a much longer tradition and strong ties with ancient history, classical philology and art history, which in Europe towards the end of the 19th century did develop more robust and widely accepted conceptual tools, methods of research and interpretations. This was not the case with prehistoric archaeology, which included different national, regional, institutional and even personal approaches. If looking at the map of archaeologists in Europe before the 1930s we could see numerous influential scholars, but very rarely proper institutional schools or intellectual collectives sharing the same ideas or approaches.

Elsewhere (Novaković 2012), I have considered the development of earlier archaeology in Yugoslavia using the centre-periphery model. The centres which directly influenced Yugoslavia's archaeology were major Austrian and German universities and large museums. Still, even amongst those centres, there were large differences in approach to archaeology. In the same paper, I have shown how most archaeologists or, better to say, professionals in archaeology (since not all of them graduated in archaeology), were educated outside Yugoslavia, in Vienna, Graz, Munich and Prague, to list the most common places. But, this does not necessarily imply that they shared the same idea of archaeology. In reality, they attained their PhDs with different Austrian, German and Czech professors whose ideas differed greatly, even among professors from the same university. And what the 'Yugoslav' scholars brought home were not so much the 'German', Austrian' or 'Czech' approaches to archaeology, but the personal approaches of their professors. The result was a conceptual 'mosaic' of approaches in prehistoric (and early historic) archaeology, but with no clear standard image when putting the pieces together. Such a 'blurred' mosaic was also the consequence of not having or lacking better conceptual tools at the time, and primarily the lack of decent chronological and typological systems.

Towards a 'new' Yugoslav archaeology (1945–1972)

Apart from general considerations of the Second World War's effects on archaeology in Yugoslavia, two more specific issues also need to be briefly addressed here - German and Italian archaeological activities in occupied Yugoslavia. In fact, the experiences with German and Italian archaeological activities were so dramatic that the resolution adopted at the First Congress of the Yugoslav Archaeologists from 1950 required a '*sharp critique of all assumptions and theories of origin and development of our (i.e. Yugoslav) nations*' (Korošec 1950, 214) as a reaction to German and Italian racist and expansionist archaeology. Needless to say that these 'experiences' had a significant effect in the first years of the post-war renewal of Yugoslav archaeology.

Germans were archaeologically active, mostly in Slovenia and Serbia. They planned to 'Germanise' the past, prove the cultural superiority of Germanic peoples or their presumed ancestors, claim historical continuity and ultimately contribute to German rule of the occupied territories. The German-occupied part of Slovenia (Upper Carniola and Lower Styria) was planned to be annexed to the Third Reich as these areas were considered a part of German *Lebensraum,* Styria in particular. The Germans soon started the programme of *'making this country German again'* by forced deportation of a large number of Slovenes to Germany and Serbia and settling Germans from the Italian-occupied parts of Slovenia.[651] This process of 'Germanisation' (*Entgermanisierung*) was the first step to the annexation of these territories to the Third Reich in the next few years.

Archaeology was there to assist the grand plan, to 'prove' that northern and eastern Slovenia was 'German' in the past. The most zealous proved to be Karl Dinklage, German historian and archaeologists from Dresden, member of the Nazi Party and its SA units, who, in 1942, moved from Klagenfurt to the Institute for Carinthian Provincial Research. Dinklage, already in 1941, started publishing works on the 'Early Germans' south of the Alps. His concept was very much shaped in the Kossinean style – *wherever there are 'German' finds, there must be a German land*. He did not just re-interpret the archaeological data, but in 1943 also conducted two excavation campaigns at Bled, where he found remains of the post-Roman/Early medieval cemeteries – 'German' of course (Dinklage 1943; more details about Dinklage's activities see in Wedekind (2019). The area of Bled, with its picturesque Alpine lake

651 Franz Steindl, the leader of the Styrian Homeland Association (*Steierischer Heimatbund*), the chief Nazi organisation in Lower Styria, reported that Hitler himself ordered him to *"Machen Sie mir dieses Land wieder Deutsch!* ('Make me this country German again!').

with an islet, was of exceptional interest to Nazi leaders. Not only that Bled was a small safe haven and holiday resort for top Nazi leaders, but also because the Office for Religious and Ideological Matters (of the Nazi Party) wanted to put forward some of the Nazi's wildest and occult phantasies – to remove the Church of Assumption on the Bled lake islet and build a temple to the Old Germanic god of Wotan, architecturally similar to the castle of Wewelsburg in Westphalia, the site of the SS Academy and SS pseudoreligious centre (Gaspari 2008).[652]

Another scholar working for the German cause was Balduin Saria, an ethnic German from Ptuj. During his career at the University of Ljubljana (1926–1942), he was closely connected with the local German national community and its cultural and political societies in Slovenia.[653] In 1942, he moved from the Italian occupied Ljubljana to Graz, Austria (then part of the Third Reich) to the Graz Provincial Museum and Graz University. Saria's engagement was somewhat different than that of Dinklage. As one of the German community leaders in Ljubljana, he collaborated with the Cultural Commission (*Kulturkomission*), a special sub-department of the Ahnenerbe, the SS organisation for promoting 'German' research, heritage and racial theories. The task of the Cultural Commissions was to investigate, analyse and archive the "*entire material and intellectual, cultural goods of ethnic Germans in South Tyrol, Italy, and Kočevje area*[654] (Gottschee) in Slovenia (Dow 2018, 145), to make a complete relocation of the Gotchee Germans from the Italian-occupied territory to 'German' Styria. The complete relocation meant people, their moveable property, all kinds of archives, the property of local German societies and libraries. Before the actual relocation, a group of scholars was sent to study and record the German dialects, ethnography, folklore, traditional architecture, art, and other historically valuable goods to 're-establish' or re-create the Gotchee German community at the Styrian border of the expanded Third Reich.[655] The Director of the Cultural Commission for Gotchee was Hans Schwalm, Secretary of the Foundation for Folk and Cultural Landscape Research from Leipzig (Dow 2018, 147).

Knowing Slovenia and its museums and archives very well, Saria provided substantial assistance to the Commission in tracking important documents and artworks, cataloguing, copying and shipping them to the Reich. Saria also continued his work with Ahnenerbe after his transfer to Graz. He was collecting long lists of cultural, historical and artistic objects from Lower Styria, to be eventually transferred to Graz or elsewhere in the Reich. He also claimed the 'German' cultural properties from Italy, more precisely, the objects kept in the National Museum in Ljubljana (the former Provincial Museum of Carniola) collected from Styria before the Second World War.[656] In addition to this, he published texts in more popular

652 The story of the Wotan's temple in Bled was discovered and partly reconstructed from the reports of the Security and Intelligence Service of the Slovene Partisans, Department for the People's Protection (the Yugoslav state intelligence service) and some local pieces of oral information which report sketches for the statue of Wotan and architectural design (Gaspari 2008, 50–52).

653 For some time, he was also a leader of Nazi-oriented Ljubljana branch of the Svebian-German Cultural Association (*Ortsgruppe Laibach des Schwäbisch-Deutschen Kulturbundes*) (Wedekind 2019, footnote 23).

654 Kočevje area (German Gotchee), some 80 km south of Ljubljana, is a densely forested region colonised in the high medieval period by a population from different parts of German-speaking lands (Swabians, Bavarians, Carinthians, and Tyroleans). Due to their rather compact settlement (177 settlements, Slovene settlers included), relative isolation and independence, the Kočevje Germans preserved their cultural identity into the 20th century. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1918, a proposal for an independent Gottschee Republic under American protection was discussed (Dow 2018, 145).

655 A New Homeland Museum (*Heimatsmuseum*) of Gotschee was planned after the Gotscheers would settle in the new region, and documentary films about the resettlement of Gotscheers were also made (Dow 2018, 155, 161).

656 Among these 'German' properties were some of the most extraordinary pieces in the Museum's collection, like the Iron Age situla from Vače, Celtic coins from Dobrna, remains of the horse statue from Trojane (Wedekind 2019, 74, footnote 3).

publications about Germanic Styria from prehistoric times onwards (e.g. his texts on the earliest Germanic inscription from Negova).[657]

Ultimately, the German plans failed, but records of Slovene cultural heritage and archives were looted, and Saria was definitely lost for Slovene (and Yugoslav) archaeology. Moreover, due to his activities during the war, Saria was temporarily removed from his positions at the University of Graz and Provincial Museum, and later continued his career in the Institute for Southeastern Europe in Graz.

Rajko Ložar, one of the few professional archaeologists in Slovenia (together with Saria) in the 1930s, also left the country in 1945. Ložar did not collaborate with the Germans or Italians, but openly opposed the incoming Communist regime of the National Liberation Movement. There was also a short episode involving Vojeslav Molè, the first archaeology professor at the University of Ljubljana (1923–1925). He continued his career at the University of Krakow, Poland. In 1941, after avoiding the Krakow professors' imprisonment by the Gestapo, he moved back to Slovenia. There, he replaced Saria at the University of Ljubljana before the Germans ultimately closed it. Molè also moved from Slovenia to Poland in 1945 to renew his career in the latter. Another Slovene scholar who would be instrumental in the renewal of archaeology after the war was France Mesesnel, an art historian by vocation, Director of the Museum of Southern Serbia in Skopje and professor at the Faculty of Philosophy at Skopje. During the war, he lived in Ljubljana. For his support of the National Liberation Movement he was imprisoned and executed by the Slovene quislings just a few days before the end of the war.

The consequences of the Second World War for Slovene archaeology were, by all measures, vey negative. The most significant damage concerned the archaeologists who were active before the war, as none continued their careers after 1945 in Slovenia. The institutions remained, but with no people. On the other hand, as a clear reaction to German expansionist archaeology, the new archaeological agenda's priority was to push the 'Early Germans' back to the 'north', out of today's Slovenia. It is thus not by chance that major archaeological projects in Slovenia in the late 1940s involved the excavation and publication of the Slavic cemeteries. J. Kastelic excavated at Bled in 1948–1950 (Kastelic 1960), while J. Korošec worked in Ptuj between 1946 and 1947 (J. Korošec 1950). Moreover, the first archaeological monograph published in Slovenia after 1945 was Korošec's study on Slavic cemeteries in northern Slovenia (1947).[658]

In Serbia, the German 'archaeological' agenda was somewhat different from that in Slovenia, as Serbia was not considered as German *Lebensraum* to be annexed but rather as a part of a future 'basin' of strategic resources in the Danube and Balkan controlled by the Reich (Kreso 1979, 16). Germans intended to implement in Serbia their control over all 'resources', cultural, scientific and heritage ones included, to adequately 'Germanise' the future political entity and client of Germany. To this end, the Germans sent a Special Unit (*Sonderkommando*) to requisition cultural property (Kreso 1979, 54). In June 1941, the Office for Protection of Monuments and Art Objects (*Kunst und Denkmalschutz*) was established in Belgrade.[659] Head of the Office was Johann von Reiswitz,[660] a specialist in Balkan history

657 Such as Balduin Saria, Die ›Negauer Helme‹: Das älteste germanische Sprachdenkmal – Ein Fundstück unseres Heimatbodens. In: *Marburger Zeitung*, 81, 124 (Dienstag, 3. Juni 1941), 5–6; Der Harigast-Helm und seine Inschrift. In: *Marburger Zeitung*, 82/83, 365/1 (Donnerstag, 31. Dezember 1942/Freitag, 1. Januar 1943), 4; *Der Harigasthelm: das älteste germanische Sprachdenkmal*, in: *Untersteirischer Kalender*, 3, 1944, 75–77).

658 On the beginning of Slavic archaeology in Slovenia after the Second World War, see in Guštin (2019).

659 The Germans established similar offices in most occupied territories in Europe (France, Belgium, Denmark, and Greece, as well as in the Soviet Union).

660 J. Reiswitz made his first research visit to Yugoslavia, and specifically to N. Macedonia, in 1931, when he participated in excavations by the German Archaeological Institute at Gradište Sv. Erasmo, a supposed site of elite burials, in the Trebenište cemetery (Bandović 2014, 629).

and author of historical studies on Serbia (e.g. Reiswitz 1936). The principal task of this office was the comprehensive cataloguing of prehistoric sites and historical monuments and engaging loyal local experts (Bandović 2014, 630). Why did the Germans do this? 'State-organised' looting of the artistic and other cultural treasures was the obvious one, and many episodes speak of this (e.g. Janković 2018, 60). However, in line with the German New World Order, Serbia (or whatever would remain of it after Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania also occupied the land) was intended to become a loyal client state, administered, as much as possible, by local Germans (*Volksdeutschers*), Germanised Serbs and other loyal Serbs.[661] For this reason, it was also essential to increase the capacities and infrastructure of such a future client state.

The occupation provided favourable circumstances for research that would support the German cause. One of the first German archaeologists who collaborated with the Reiswitz's Office was Friedrich Holste, who travelled extensively in Yugoslavia and Serbia in 1941. He argued that 'occupation enabled the unique opportunity to research some of the most crucial questions (*Kernfragen*) of the European prehistory,' e.g., 'Indogerman' (*Indogermanenische*) migrations, Aegean and Dorian migrations, the study of the 'road of peoples' (*Völkerstrasse*) – the Morava-Vardar route. To this end, he also made a general plan of research (Bandović 2019, 129). A similar proposal also came from Adam Oršić, a civil servant in the occupation administration, and quite an influential agent in Serbian archaeology during the German occupation. In his proposal for prehistoric research, he claimed that the occupation provided conditions that were more favourable than had been seen for decades (Janković 2018, 84). The crucial archaeological issue was determining the interactions between the Danube and Aegean cultures (Janković 2018, 75). Both Holste and Oršić aimed to demonstrate the validity of German racial theories about *Indogermanen* in prehistory, their movements from northern Europe to the Aegean, and, above all, their cultural dominance.

The notorious Ahnenerbe organisation was soon attracted by these *Kernfragen* and other opportunities for demonstrating German civilisational and racial superiority in the past. In 1942, Wolfram Sievers, the Managing Director of Ahnenerbe, succeeded in obtaining the exclusive concession for archaeological excavations in Serbia (Bandović 2019, 132). Ahnenerbe was particularly interested in excavating Kalemegdan (a massive fortress in Belgrade at the confluence of Sava and Danube), 'securing' an extensive collection from Vinča, registering archaeological finds from the National Museum, cataloguing all prehistoric collections in Serbia, as well as the collection of the Museum in Vršac, and, last but not least, the establishment of the Central Institute for the Protection of Monuments (Janković 2018, 69). Another very active Ahnenerbe archaeologist in Serbia was Kurt Willvonseder, an Austrian professor and conservator in the heritage protection service. He succeeded Friedrich Holste after his death at the Soviet front in 1942. Willvonseder was particularly interested in objects from the Museum in Vršac, a town with a large local German community.

The German officials in Belgrade found a partner in Miodrag Grbić from the Municipal Museum. Grbić was a very talented scholar who received his PhD in prehistoric archaeology from the University of Prague, worked in National Museum in Belgrade, and was a strong opponent of M. Vasić's interpretation of the chronology of the

661 There was a plan to resettle the local Germans in Serbia, Vojvodina and neighbouring regions along the Danube and to make a sort of a 'German' client state with its capital in Belgrade, which would be renamed to Prinz Eugen Stadt (City of Prinz Eugen), after the commander of the European alliance which liberated Hungary and the Danube area from Ottomans in the war from 1683 to 1699. After stabilising the border between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottomans at the beginning of the 18th century, the Austrians organised several campaigns of colonisation of Vojvodina, which continued well into the 19th century. Germans were the third largest population in this region (after Serbs and Hungarians).

Vinča site, proposing a more plausible chronology of the Neolithic period in Serbia. In 1931 and 1932, he worked with Johann von Reiswitz and Vilhelm Unverzagt at the excavations and soon, on their initiative, became a member of the German Archaeological Institute (Bandović 2019, 118). He also met some other German or Austrian archaeologists in the 1930s (e.g. Kurt Willvonseder, Friedrich Holste) who were later engaged in Serbia during the Second World War (Bandović 2019, 138). Overall, Grbić collaborated deeply with his German colleagues and expressed great sympathies for German archaeology, including turning a blind eye to some extreme pro-German theories. The Germans thus found in Grbić a perfect assistant for their archaeological plans in Serbia, especially after his move from the Museum of Duke Paul (*Muzej kneza Pavla*)[662] to a high position in the Ministry of Education of the Serbian Government.

The largest German archaeological project was the excavation at Kalemegdan fort in Belgrade conducted in 1942 and 1943 and directed by Wilhelm Unverzagt[663] with staff assistance from the German Archaeological Institute and Miodrag Grbić. They engaged some students of archaeology from the University of Belgrade (e.g. Milutin Garašananin, Draga Garašanin, Vladimir Milojčić). The excavations were quite extensive, with some 250 to 300 workers (Bandović 2019, 136). Quotes from Unverzagt's reports are very illustrative of the ideas and intent of the German – *the earliest Neolithic settlers were Pre-Indogermanic farmers with probable negroid racial characteristics, with their main settlement on Vinča; the Vinča population was later, at the end of the Neolithic period, 'expelled' by Indogerman Nordic Group...* (Bandović 2019, 140).[664]

The Germans had very ambitious plans for the archaeological, historical and artistic heritage from Serbia, which also speaks to the fact that in May 1942 they established the Central Institute for the Protection of Antiquities (*Zentralinstitut zum Schutz der Altertümer)* as an office within the Serbian Ministry of Education, with Miodrag Grbić as its acting Director (Bandović 2019, 138). Moreover, Reiswitz also monitored the new law's preparation for the protection of cultural monuments, modelled after similar laws in the Third Reich (Bandović 2014, 630). That Reiswitz was satisfied with Grbić's cooperation can also be seen in the fact Grbić and some other 'loyal' scholars were permitted to organise the so-called 'museum course' (1942–1944) for students of archaeology, history, ethnology, architecture, art history, as a sort of substitute for the suspended teaching at the University of Belgrade (see more in Bandović 2014). However, contrary to many scholars who collaborated with the Germans and Italians in Yugoslavia during the war, Grbić stayed. He was initially banned from working in archaeology, but he was allowed to continue his career in the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade after a year or two. As in Slovenia, also in Serbia, where the German 'archaeological' and 'cultural' activities did not accomplish their goals. However, a great deal of looting and robbery took place in Serbia, starting from the sequestration of the Jewish population's property, and move on to raiding the archives, collections from museums and other cultural goods.

No less expansionist was Italian archaeology in the service of nationalism and Fascism. However, a certain distinction should be made between the territories annexed to Italy in 1918 and those occupied between 1941 and 1943. Decades before the First World War, when Austrians ruled the Trieste and Gorica regions, Slovene Littoral and Istria, a strong Italian irredentist movement developed in these areas. Italian *irredenta* fought for independence from Austria and union with Italy. However, in this ethnically diverse region, irredentism also nurtured very hostile and even racist attitudes towards the Slavic population (Slovenes

662 The Museum of Duke Paul was formed by joining the former National Museum with the Museum of Contemporary Art in 1935.

663 He also worked with Reiswitz in 1931 on Gradište Sv. Erasmo.

664 The second report from 1944, which Unverzagt published after the Second World War, in 1958.

and Croats); Italians were seen as 'bearers' of civilisation, Slavs were 'savages'.[665] Soon after the annexation in 1918, Italians launched a forced Italianisation programme that included not only the prohibition of schools and cultural organisations of Slovenes or Croats, but also forced the Slavic population to change their personal names into an Italian form.[666] The Fascist regime wanted to rewrite the annexed areas' history and increasingly stressed their historical belonging to Italy since Roman times. The same arguments were repeated when in 1941 Italy occupied western Slovenia and parts of Dalmatia, Croatia – the Adriatic was to become an 'inner' Italian sea in Mussolini's grand project of *Mare nostrum*.

In the archaeology and heritage domains, Italians, between the two world wars, retained some institutions from the previous period, mostly museums, and established some new ones. Italians invested relatively large efforts in organising a heritage service. In 1918, they established the Office for Fine Arts (*Ufficio belle arti*) with the seat in Trieste. In 1923, the office was transformed into the Superintendency for Antiquities and Artworks (*Sopraintendenza alle opere d'antichità ed arte*). The Superindendancy was the main administrative body for protecting heritage and the only body allowed to conduct excavations (Bitelli 1999, 61). Italians also re-organised the legal framework for local historical and archaeological societies and established several new institutions (e.g. Royal Museum of Istria, in 1930 in Pula, Croatia; Institute of Speleology in 1928 in Postojna, Slovenia). However, common to all these projects was that they were Italian, whereas Slovenes and Croats were completely excluded or extremely marginalised – they were even prohibited from having their societies and organisations.

Most of the efforts were dedicated to Roman archaeology to demonstrate the Romanness (*romanità*) of the newly annexed territories. The most illustrative case was the research of Colonel Italo Gariboldi aimed at the detailed mapping of the Late Roman limes – Claustra Alpium Iuliarum, which served to legitimise Italy's new eastern border (Bitelli 1999, 34–38). The exhibition on this was part of celebrating the 2000th anniversary of Augustus's birth (*Bimillenario*) in Rome in 1938.

At the beginning of the occupation (which lasted from 1941 to 1943), the Italians established a Commissariat for occupied Slovene territory, which controlled all public institutions. The National Museum in Ljubljana was able to continue some of its work, but for most of its activities, it had to obtain permission from the Italian authorities. It is interesting to note that Italians did not replace the local staff with Italian personnel, but sometimes added Italian officials, as was the case with the University of Ljubljana. Overall, cultural and research activities decreased, either for logistical reasons, lack of funding, or events otherwise associated with the war. Interestingly enough, the National Museum in Ljubljana was still able to conduct some smaller rescue excavations in 1941 (e.g. in Novo mesto).

There was also another type of war experience, the destruction of towns (and monuments) due to Allied bombing. Pula and Zadar, both Roman towns, rich in antiquities and monuments, suffered significant damage in this regard. Concerning this, one rather curious case needs to be noted here, the activities of the Museum in Pula[667] and its Director Mario Mirabella Roberti (1935–947), later a professor at the University of Trieste. Mirabella Roberti invested great efforts in repairing the damage inflicted on ancient monuments in Pula. He conducted these works

665 For example, Giuseppe Caprin, one of the most noted writers from Trieste, in 1895 wrote: *Slavs are impossible to civilise, and they represent one of the rare examples of intellectual sterility and sad and disgusting moral poverty* (after Kacin Wohinz 1997, 260).

666 See Parovel (1985) and Tasso (2011) for more on 'Italianising' Slovenes and Croats' personal names.

667 Through the unification of the State Antiquities Collection, the Municipal Museum in Pula (founded in 1902) and the Provincial Museum in Poreč, the Royal Museum of Istria (*Regio museo dell'Istria*) was officially established in 1925. Later, in 1947, it changed its name to the Archaeological Museum of Istria.

all through 1947 (for details on the restoration works, see Mirabella Roberti 1946, 1947a, 1947b), after which he left Pula when Yugoslavia took full control of the region.

At present, we are not aware of any Italian archaeological activities in Dalmatia or other occupied territories. There must have been some, probably associated with some famous sites, e.g. Salona, Zadar, etc., but not on the scale of the German archaeological activities. However, looting, especially of art, was a frequent practice in Italian-occupied territories (e.g. Babelić 2019).

In the Slovene Littoral and Istria it was not so much the war but the two decades of the brutal Italian Fascist regime and forced 'Italianisation' which triggered immediate reactions after the war. New narratives soon challenged the aggressive Italian rewriting of history. The incorporation of the Slovene Littoral and Istria into Yugoslavia also meant incorporating the Italian institutions that before 1945 had carried out archaeological research in Poreč, Rovinj, Koper and Postojna.[668] Croatian and Slovene scholars replaced the Italian staff. However, some of the local Italian historical and archaeological institutions or societies established before the Fascist era are still active today. They represent an important element of the cultural activity of the Italian minority in Slovenia and Croatia.[669]

Highly negative events were also experienced in North Macedonia. Bulgarians occupied and annexed its central and eastern part, while Italy extended the Albanian protectorate over its western part. We have no information on the Italian and Albanian activities concerning the cultural heritage and archaeology in the occupied territories; much more is known about the forced 'Bulgarisation', which also included the establishment of the 'Bulgarian' National Museum in Skopje[670] and intensive propaganda about Bulgarian historical rights over the occupied territories.[671]

In other parts of Yugoslavia, especially in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (both were united in the fascist marionette state of the Independent State of Croatia), there were no particular planned activities of Germans and Italians concerning cultural heritage and archaeology. All major institutions continued their work (at the University in Zagreb and most museums). However, most of them were cleansed of non-Croatians or staff otherwise not loyal to the fascist government.[672] Concerning archaeology, there is one interesting episode. In 1942, as a diplomatic move, Italy donated to the Independent State of Croatia one very famous piece of architecture – "the Baptistery of Prince Višeslav", a hexagonal stone basin with Latin inscription mentioning Prince Višeslav, from the late 9th or early 10th century.[673]

668 In Postojna, the Italian Speleological Institute (*Istituto italiano di Speleologia*) was established in 1927 as the main institution for speleological research in Italy's entire territory. For a while, Raffaelle Battaglia, a well-known Italian prehistorian and speleologist, and later a professor at the University of Padua, played an important part in the Institute and in the explorations in Primorska and Istria. After the war, the Institute continued its work as the Institute for Karst Research (*Inštitut za raziskovanje Krasa*) as a research unit of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts.

669 Of the earlier societies, by far the most important was *Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* (founded in 1884 in Poreč; in 1927 it transferred to Pula, was given temporary residence in Venice after the war, and eventually established itself in Trieste in 1967). The society has been publishing its journal – *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patri* – since its foundation. More than 100 volumes have been published to date, making it one of the journals with the longest tradition in the region. Another institution worth mentioning is *Centro di Ricerche storiche – Rovigno* (Centre for Historical Research in Rovinj) established by the Italian minority Union in 1968. Their main publication is the periodical *Atti Centro di Ricerche Storiche di Rovigno*, which contains numerous archaeological papers about the area of Istria.

670 Bulgarians changed the name of the former Museum of Southern Serbia and installed their own staff.

671 See more in the chapter on N. Macedonia.

672 For example, Josip Klemenc and Viktor Hoffiller were forced to retire from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

673 This piece, which in the meantime became one of the symbols of the early Croatian statehood (and archaeology) is still subject to disputes in Croatian archaeology. For different interpretations, see Kajdiž (2018), Jakšić (2006; 2016), and Matijević Sokol (2007).

To sum up, archaeology (and archaeologists) in Yugoslavia were affected differently during the war. Some local archaeologists openly sided with Germans and Italians or local fascist regimes, but there were also those who were against and variously opposed to the occupation, and there were also those in between. In any case, the Second World War meant a radical break. Only a few scholars from that generation of leading archaeologists in the 1930s continued their careers after 1945. Some were retired or departed, others left the country, and some were removed from their pre-war positions. The experiences were bitter in many respects. It was now up to the new generation of archaeologists (graduates from the late 1930s) to take the post-war renewal of archaeology into their hands in a radically transformed country.

New Yugoslav and national archaeologies, new people, new institutions, new legislation

The Second World War and the transformation of Yugoslavia into a socialist state significantly determined further the pathways of archaeology. The period between 1945 and 1952 was crucial in many respects, and in these seven years the basis for a 'new' Yugoslav archaeology was laid.

The first and most important fact is that archaeology was for the first time established as a 'home' discipline, meaning with their own republican or provincial institutions and local scholars, in North Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo. New 'national' museums were the pivotal institutions that, once established, also acted as research institutions and informal education institutions, and strongly accelerated the development of local institutions. Almost in parallel, the new offices for protecting cultural heritage were formed in all Yugoslav republics. In these initial years, the absolute figure of new archaeologists might not have been very high, but they nevertheless made a difference. The establishment of new institutions in Montenegro and Kosovo was greatly assisted by scholars and institutions from Serbia. These two regions belonged together before the Second World War, and were home to large Serbian populations.

In N. Macedonia, which became the national republic of the Macedonian nation, officially recognised in 1945, national institutions' formation, including the archaeological ones, was made more autonomously. Between 1912 and 1941, N. Macedonia belonged to Serbia, and Serbian archaeological institutions were quite active on the newly annexed territories. For example, at Stobi, which was the largest multi-year research project in the First Yugoslavia, the 'new' Macedonian archaeology did not want to consider the traditions from the period between the two world wars as their national ones. Instead, the Yugoslav political context and status of the constitutional republic in post-1945 Yugoslavia provided the conditions for 'proper' Macedonian institutions and tradition.[674]

674 The Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was established in 1946 anew, as was the University of Skopje (today the Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje). We have already seen that in Skopje such a faculty existed since 1920/21, but as part of the University of Belgrade. Until very recently, this difference was clear in different texts about the history of the university and faculties in N. Macedonia (e.g. on the official website of the Faculty of Philosophy, Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje, but upon checking the same website in the last few months this 'history' has been changed to a '(dis) continuity'. The Faculty of Philosophy now argues that its history started in 1920, including so the phase of the 'Belgrade' faculty, but a certain 'disclaimer' is also included, that the period between 1918 and 1941 "*was dark and hard times*" and that the faculty in 1920 was established with the aim of "*denationalisation of the Macedonian people in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.*" With the upcoming 100th anniversary of the first Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, the present faculty needed some historical patina and a longer tradition (see http://www.fzf.ukim.edu.mk/page/posts/view/istorijat_27). One can see similar discontinuity in the case of the National Museum of Macedonia. The first proposal came already in the early 1920s from the Skopje Scholarly Society. The difference between Macedonian and 'Bulgarian' institutions formed during the Bulgarian occupation in the Second World War was also made clear.

With the establishment of archaeological institutions where they did not exist before (e.g. in N. Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo, or at local levels elsewhere in the country) came new people from the local milieus or from outside. However, what was common to them was that they had all studied in Yugoslavia and not outside it, as was the case with most pre-war archaeologists in pre-war Yugoslavia.

But more revealing are the changes that occurred in archaeological 'demography' in major archaeological centres between 1945 and 1950. Very few scholars active in the 1920s and 1930s continued their careers after the Second World War. The most problematic was Slovenia's situation, where Balduin Saria, Vojeslav Molè and Rajko Ložar left the country, and local quislings killed France Messesnel.[675] The only professional archaeologist who stayed was Jože Kastelic, who was just starting his career. In Serbia, Nikola Vulić and Miloje Vasić, the most influential scholars between the two world wars, died, while Miodrag Grbić was temporarily suspended. Of the 'strong' names which remained active, there was only Vladimir Petković. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo (the only institution employing archaeologists before 1945) was left almost without any of the archaeological staff from before, Mihovil Mandić and Jozo Petrović were suspended, Josip and Paola Korošec moved to Slovenia, and the only one who remained was Dimitrije Sergejevski. Only in Croatia were the changes not so abrupt. Mihovil Abramić stayed in a position at the Archaeological Museum in Split, as well as Grga Novak and Viktor Hoffiler, both professors at the University of Zagreb (Hoffiler was also the curator at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb).

All in all, among active archaeologists in Yugoslavia in the 1950s, there were probably less than 30% who had archaeological careers before the war. The new generation took over the role of revitalising and reforming archaeology in their respective republics and creating a 'new' Yugoslav archaeology. This was the generation educated just before or during the war or immediately after it. They took the role of 'new' pioneers in archaeology's infrastructural and conceptual modernisation in Yugoslavia.[676]

All archaeological institutions established before 1945 not only continued their work after the war, but greatly expanded. Some of them did so almost immediately after 1945, as was the case with the universities in Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Belgrade, and the national museums in almost all republics. Moreover, at the local level, no previously existing institution was closed down.

The best indicator of modernisation pertinent to archaeology is the genuine 'boom' in new museums in the first two decades after 1945, when a total of 96 new museums (and museum-like institutions) were established in Yugoslavia. With a few exceptions, all of them were regional or local museums.

However, this process was not of equal magnitude in all Yugoslav republics. Fig. 187 shows clear differences, especially when compared with the population size. Of course, not all republics (later countries) started on an equal basis. Some of them had larger museums from before 1945, accompanied by several local museums (e.g. Slovenia, Croatia), so the 'museum landscape' was already 'packed'. Bosnia and Herzegovina had a tradition of one major museum, the Provincial Museum of Sarajevo. In Serbia, the museums

675 Incidentally, Saria took up a curatorship at the Styrian Provincial Museum in Graz and a professorship at the University of Graz, thus replacing Walter Schmid, a Slovene who had worked there for many decades. But already in 1945, Schmidt was reinstated because Saria was removed due to his pro-German attitude.

676 The most prominent among these 'pioneers' were Josip Korošec, Jože Kastelic, Stane Gabrovec, Srečko Brodar (Slovenia); Duje Rendić-Miočević, Mate Suić, Zdenko Vinski (Croatia); Alojz Benac, Đuro Basler, Ivo Bojanovski (Bosnia and Herzegovina); Milutin and Draga Garašanin, Jovan Todorović, Branko Gavela (Serbia); Dimče Koco, Vasil Lahtov and Blaga Aleksova (N. Macedonia), Jovan Glišić and Emil Cerškov (Kosovo).

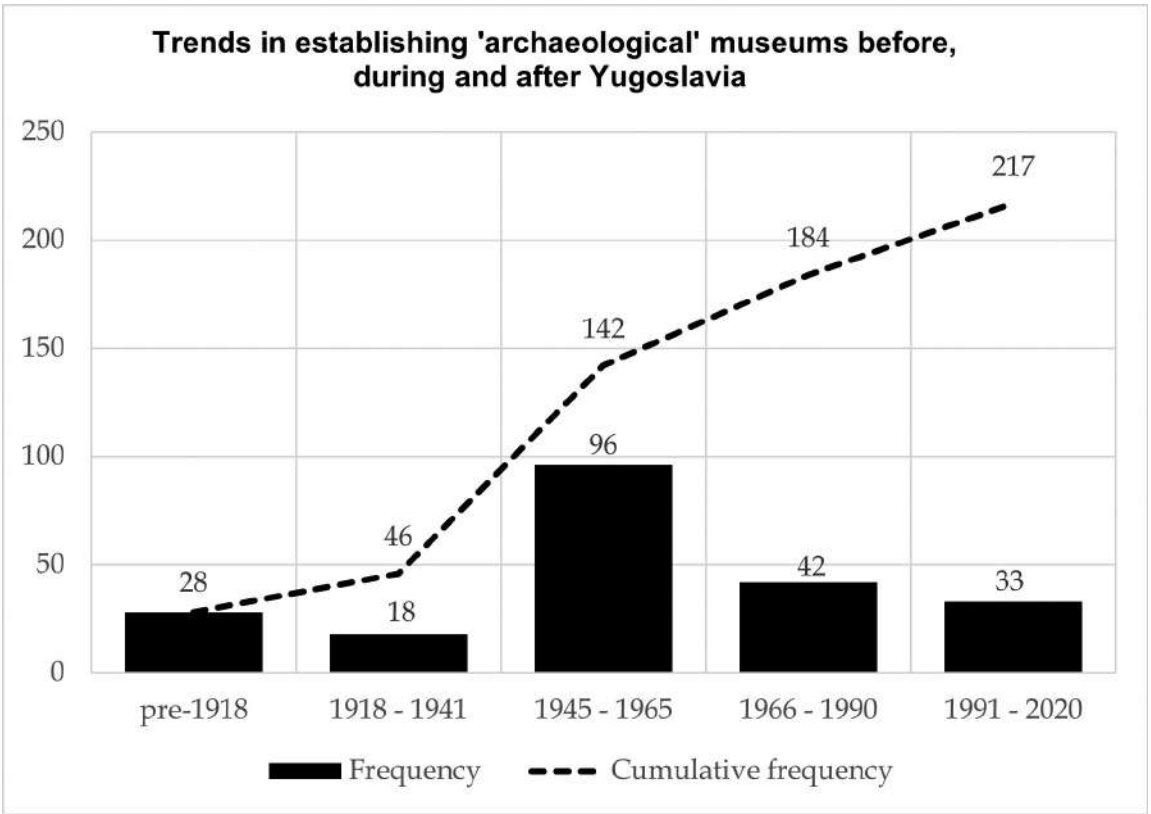


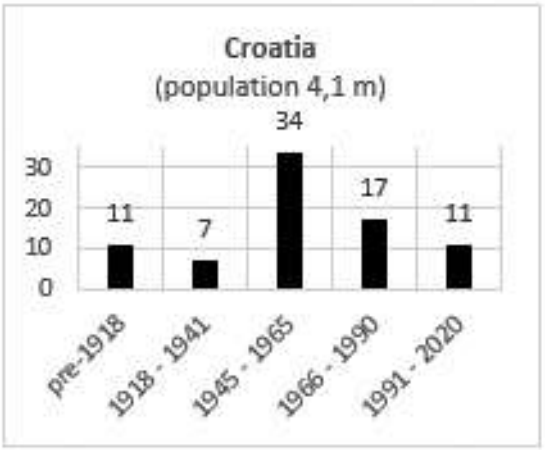
Fig. 210 Trends in establishing museums in the 'Yugoslav' area.

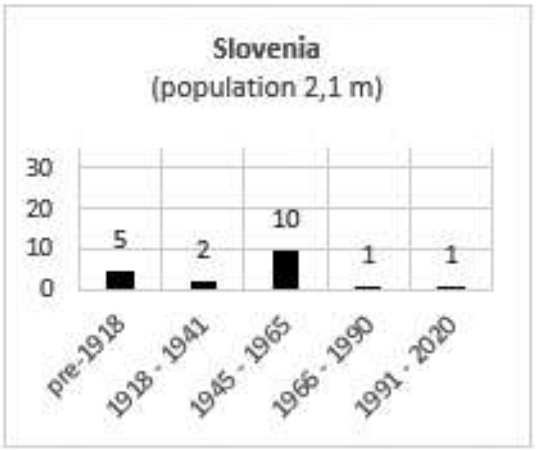
were much more present in Vojvodina, and the real post-war boom was in Serbia proper. The same development was visible in N. Macedonia and Montenegro, while Kosovo definitely lagged behind.

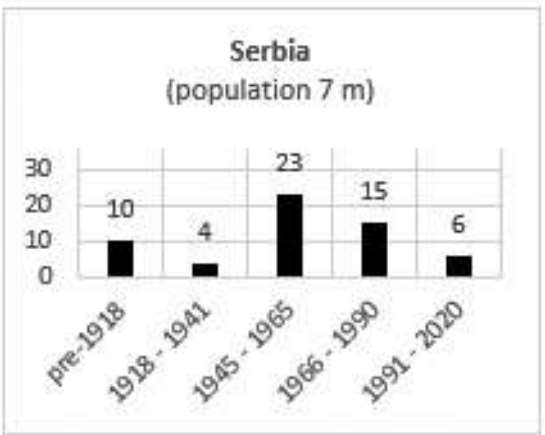
In contrast, despite (or perhaps because of) a relatively developed museum network, the developments in Croatia were more consistent.The differences here also depended on how the individual republics were organised and governed. In general, the republics with more decentralised governments, where regions and municipalities had more powers and resources, had more regional and local museums. However, the truth is that not all of these new institutions initially hired archaeologists, although the infrastructure was in place, and soon archaeological positions were opened. It is hard to estimate all the effects of this infrastructural boom, but one thing is certain, the foundation was laid for archaeology to make a giant leap.

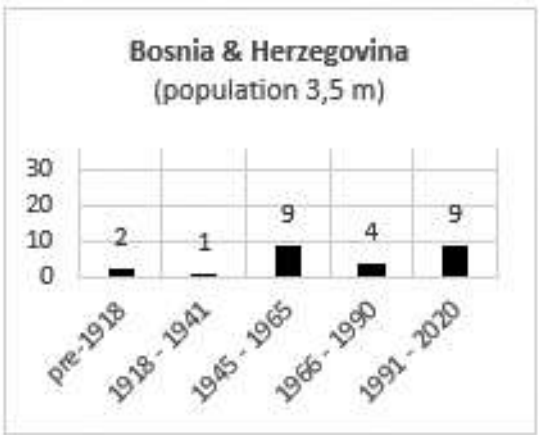
With the new, radically transformed country also came new legislation. It would be too much to comment on all legislative changes which directly and indirectly affected archaeology, so I will mostly limit my observations to the domain of cultural heritage protection. The first legislative moves in this respect were made before the formal end of the Second World War, when some new republican governments, e.g. in Slovenia, established the first commissions to protect cultural heritage, archives, libraries and other cultural goods, and the restitution of the looted objects of heritage.[677] Similar decrees were also issued for the whole country in the same year. The most important legislative move was

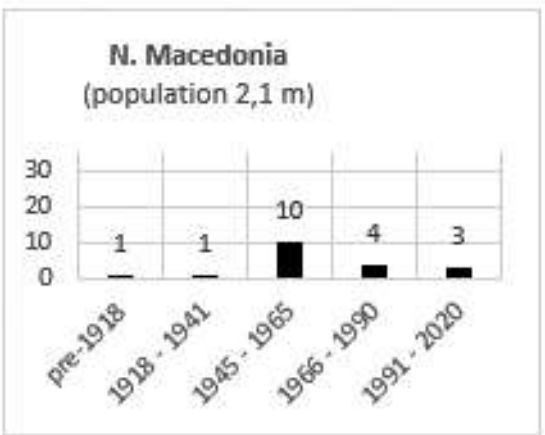
677 See, for example, the Decree of the Slovene National Liberation Council from the 27th January 1945, which appointed France Stelè as temporary Director of Slovenia's heritage protection commission. A similar decree for the whole of Yugoslavia was passed by the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia on the 20th February 1945.

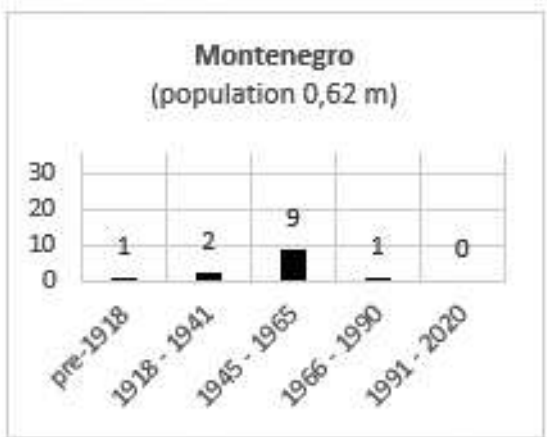












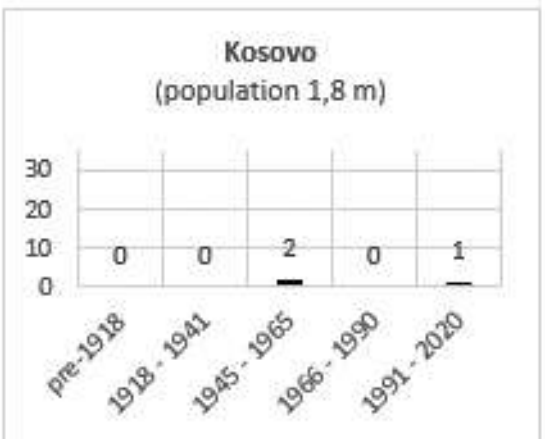


Fig. 211 Trends in establishing museum in individial countries.

a series of acts adopted by the Yugoslav government in 1945 and 1946.[678] Yugoslavia's new constitutional order required that the republican acts followed the federal level acts, and this process lasted until 1949. In short, the new legislation almost completely nationalised cultural heritage objects and established new institutions responsible for their protection.

Essential new institutions were the Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Nature established in each Yugoslav republic. The first such institute was established in Slovenia (1945), followed by Croatia (1946), Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1947), N. Macedonia (1948) and Montenegro (1950) (Komelj 1975, 6-7). A few years later, in 1951 and 1954, Vojvodina and Kosovo's autonomous provinces also established their institutes. In addition to this, and based on the federal Act on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, the Federal Institute for the Protection of Monuments was established in 1945. This was not intended to be engaged in the 'field', but rather to develop and implement the general strategy of heritage protection, prepare federal legislative and other regulatory acts, and coordinate the work of the republican institutes.

The monuments protected by the state were all the objects, architecture and sites registered by the institutes, and the establishment of the state register was a priority. Institutes were also authorised to issue construction permits for the protected areas and places, export cultural objects, and perform research and conservation works on protected monuments. Last but not least, for all archaeological excavations an institute's permit was required. In general, the institutes' legal status and their statutory role did not change much in the following decades. The institutes developed in quite a robust public service way that played an essential role in developing several disciplines, archaeology included.

678 The Act on Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities (23rd of July, 1945) and General Act on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Values (1946).

Legislative changes also affected other archaeological institutions, mainly museums, which became fully authorised on behalf of the state to keep, present and research the so-called 'moveable heritage'. One of their tasks was also the registration of private collections.[679] However, since the heritage protection institutes only had recently started to work, the museums frequently assisted them with staff and logistics.

Putting the ideological issues aside, the legal status of universities and academies did not change substantially. As a matter of fact, their wider social tasks and responsibilities were reinforced in the new socialist society and state. Compared to the pre-socialist period, these institutions became much more systematically integrated into the state's tasks and governing. It would require too much time and space to explain the concepts and practices of the socialist state and society in Yugoslavia to fully comprehend how governing this country was carried out in this era. To put it briefly, Communist rule was based on extensive control of all major societal domains and sectors, which was much more effective by redistributing tasks and responsibilities among a greater number of institutions and bodies. In this way, by integrating them into the governmental and ideological system, their autonomy was effectively diminished and controlled. In short, with greater social responsibilities came greater control. For instance, many scholars took part in different state or para-state commissions and bodies either *ex officio* or by appointment. Institutions were given additional broader social tasks, such as museums were required to engage in youth and workers' education, central research

679 One of the reasons for this registration was the protection of ownership. Namely, there was a massive expropriation of private houses or flats considered 'too large' for one family all around Yugoslavia in the first postwar years, but especially in towns. Such 'large' houses and flats were then divided into smaller units and given (frequently with all the furniture and accessories) to new inhabitants. Another reason for registering the private collections was their forced sale or requisition (Pasini Tržec and Dulibić 2019, 202–205)

institutes were responsible for developing national research strategies and plans, etc.

In this extending of state responsibilities, one especially significant change was introduced – the establishment of different bodies or organisations responsible for developing scientific disciplines. In most cases, this role was given to scholarly societies. These were no longer just voluntary civil organisations of experts, but became organisations with much more executive powers delegated to them by the state. The societies became the only official representatives of their sciences in the dialogue with the government, which also monitored and financed their programmes. Individual scientists or groups could not act outside their societies, and the institutions were also required to follow the general development plans put forward by such state societies. To put it simply, such societies acted as common scholarly societies and, at the same time, as sort of para-state bodies. Archaeology was no exception, and soon, in the late 1940s, the formation of the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia took place.

The major mechanism of making archaeology Yugoslav – the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia

The very bad state of archaeology in Yugoslavia concerning the material conditions and low number of professional jobs triggered a rapid reaction among the new generation of archaeologists. Lacking any previous all-Yugoslav institution which could be potentially revitalised after the war, a new institution was needed. To establish a kind of a permanent institute of archaeology was virtually impossible in the first post-war years. There were no people or resources and no clear programme for such an institute at the federal level. Institutes were actually much easier to establish in the individual republics. It was much more efficient to create a different organisation or institution that would join the individual republics' existing capacities and establish a joint coordinating body with greater executive powers and financed directly from the federal budget. This organisation became the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia which officially represented archaeology in relations with the federal government. In this way, the 'Yugoslav' programme for archaeology could be efficiently developed and implemented.

As early as 1947, the museum curators' meeting was held in Belgrade, also attended by some archaeologists. The need was expressed to organise a meeting of Yugoslav archaeologists to discuss the extremely poor state of the discipline and the unfavourable situation in protecting and restoration of cultural heritage (Ljubinković 1977, 61). The Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade undertook the responsibility of organising this meeting. By the end of 1949, the Preparatory Committee held two meetings and, the following year, on 4th and 5th May,[680] the meeting in Niška Banja took place (see the report in Korošec 1950). The number of participants was very high for the time – about 110 of them. Besides archaeologists, there were also art historians, historians, museum workers, conservation specialists and representatives of various ministries and other government agencies.

The titles of the main papers presented already highlighted the key aim of the meeting – to set up a new, strategic programme of archaeological work in all of its main aspects: an overview of the state of archaeology at the time (J. Kastelic, J. Korošec, S. Brodar, F. Stelè),[681] the aims of

680 J. Korošec and J. Kastelic for Slovenia, V. Hoffiller and C. Fisković for Croatia, M. Grbić, Đ. Bošković and M. Garašanin for Serbia, A. Benac for Bosnia and Herzegovina, D. Vučković Todorović for N. Macedonia, M. Vukomanović for Montenegro.

681 The list of main speakers in J. Korošec (1950) is different from the one given in the meeting programme, published by Mirjana Ljubinković (1977). In the latter, Srećko Brodar was listed as one of the presenters of the report on the state of archaeological work in Yugoslavia, but Korošec (1950) does not mention him. It is very likely that the programme listed the names of all the authors and co-authors of the papers, whilst Korošec (1950) refers only to the presenting authors.

archaeological work (Đ. Bošković) and the conservation service (C. Fisković), the reorganisation of museums (V. Han), the analysis of situation and needs in terms of the plan (S. Radojčić), the plan of archaeological activities (Grbić), and the strategies for archaeological publishing (M. Garašanin).

A resolution of a very general character was adopted. It was more a reflection of the patterns and protocols of the time's political and ideological discourse. The resolution stated that "*archaeological research has advanced significantly in the socialist Tito's Yugoslavia*" and that "*new perspectives for its development have been widely open by the new organisation of the state, but that certain problems occur (ideological, organisational, planning) that need to be resolved*" (Korošec 1950, 213–214).

Much more important and operative were the conclusions adopted (Korošec 1959, 214–215), which were:

1. *Archaeology, as a social-historical discipline, should be entirely focused on investigations of material and spiritual culture based on the scientific knowledge of historical materialism.*
2. *The focus of archaeological work should be shifted to the research on the material culture of constitutional nations, starting from the period of the earliest tribe communities until the emergence of a hierarchical civil society (the internal social structure and the changes in it; the relations between the nations; the relationships with the surrounding and the distant nations; the critical analysis of the current assumptions and theories about the genesis and development of Yugoslav nationalities – all further to strengthen brotherhood-and-unity and the socialist patriotic awareness.*
3. *Creation of the general plan with the following main points:*
   a) *Research on the formation of Yugoslav nations in the territory of Yugoslavia;*
   b) *Study of the ethnic groups encountered by the Slavs upon their arrival in the Balkans; investigations of social relations and the evidence of material and spiritual culture from the earliest history and the slave-owning society of Antiquity;*
   c) *Research on the mutual relationships between the South Slavs and their relations with the neighbouring nations;*
   d) *Analysis of the social relations between Yugoslav peoples;*
   e) *Organisation of the intensive systematic field research in some of the national republics to prepare archaeological maps;*
   f) *Building connections with history, ethnography, sociology, anthropology, palaeozoology, palaeobotany, geography, technical disciplines and art history.*
4. *Due to the lack of a common work plan, it was agreed that:*
   a) *Archaeological consultations will take place every three years, and consultations of archaeologists in some of the republics once a year;*
   b) *That a coordinating board of archaeologists of FLRY will be established, which will strategically combine archaeological activities and implement the conclusions and proposals reached at the consultations, as well as discuss major issues and problems arising in between the consultations;*
   c) *The republics will be suggested to design their archaeology work plans through coordination of the main republic institutions (institute, departments, museums); to use modern techniques in the excavations; and to, within the existing legal regulations, transfer the responsibility for conservation and protection of the excavated structures to the institutions in charge of the protection of cultural monuments.*

Concerning publishing, it was agreed that, from 1951 onwards, an archaeological journal presenting short reports on activities would be published, that the pre-war publications would be renewed as new series (e.g. *Corpus vasorum antiquorum*, the archive of Greek and Roman inscriptions, *Tabula Imperii Romani*, the *Ancient Limes in Yugoslavia*, the *Archaeological Map of Yugoslavia*), and possibilities for new publications assessed. All papers should include extensive

summaries in one of the widely used foreign languages. There was also a strong incentive to purchase more foreign literature, publish guides and university textbooks, and exchange publications with institutions abroad.

The museums were instructed to re-organise their collections following the principle of thematic exhibitions, install adequate material infrastructure for museum stores and conservation of the objects, and produce systematic inventories and object records. In terms of human resources, special attention had to be paid to experts' education in the republics with a small number of archaeologists and hiring more technical staff in general. A more intensive collaboration between universities, museums and institutes was also urged, especially in field techniques training. It is particularly worth mentioning that there was also a request made to arrange study trips abroad and demand for the archaeological discipline's greater popularisation, including establishing a patrons' society of the cultural monuments.

Ignoring the ideological matrix in the meeting's conclusions, what will be discussed in the second part of this chapter is the adoption of a coherent strategy for the development of Yugoslav archaeology at this meeting. The majority of the actions envisaged by the strategy were quite effectively implemented over the following decades.

At the Niška Banja meeting, the Yugoslav archaeologists, for the first time, also elected their governing body, the Coordination Committee of Archaeologists of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. The committee's primary task was to develop a long-term plan for implementing the actions adopted at Niška Banja. The Committee had strong support (including financial) of the Federal Council for Science and Culture, the main state body for governing and administering these two domains. The committee was given relatively strong powers in planning and monitoring archaeological practice and infrastructural development. It appointed commissioners who monitored the development of archaeology in the individual republics, nominated the 'central' republican archaeological institutions to which further tasks were delegated, and distributed funds for some projects. In some cases, the committee also intervened in hiring new archaeologists in local institutions. The committee also launched an ambitious publishing programme (the journal *Archaeologia Iugoslavica*, the Archaeological Bibliography of Yugoslavia, catalogues on finds from the Yugoslav museums and syntheses of major archaeological periods). The committee was especially important in developing international cooperation by distributing grants for attending conferences abroad, study trips and inviting foreign scholars (Lorber and Novaković 2020). On the international level, the committee (and bodies that later replaced it) was the Yugoslav archaeologists' representative body. The individual institutions had very limited powers; they most frequently acted through the committee. In 1952, the Coordination Committee of Archaeologists was transformed into the Archaeological Council. The new body's tasks were more or less the same as that of the Coordination Committee, but with some increased executive powers. One of the council's most important moves was strengthening the institutional structure (and hierarchy) by authorising the republican central institutions (mostly the archaeological research institutes at the academies or national museums) to implement the council's programme.

The establishment of the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia (*Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije*) was formally approved at the second congress of the Yugoslav archaeologists in Pula in 1953. With the establishment of the society, the Archaeological Council was abolished, and its tasks transferred to various society bodies. The major difference was that both the Coordination Committee and its successor, the Archaeological Council, were rather closed bodies with some ten to fifteen members. The truth is that both the Coordinating Committee and Archaeological Council were seen as interim bodies prior to forming the complete society. With the accelerated development

of archaeology and the increasing complexity in coordinating the discipline's growth and practice, a larger and all-inclusive archaeological organisation was needed to engage more archaeologists in coordinating different disciplinary domains. The establishment of the society with its seat in Belgrade was finalised in 1954. The society's principal body was an assembly that adopted the society's statute and elected the society's officials and organs.[682] The new concept of the society was also seen in the establishment of three major sections, Prehistoric, Classical and Medieval, which soon became more independent in their programmes.

The founding of the journal *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* was also agreed upon, and papers were to be published in foreign languages to inform a wider professional audience about archaeological research results in Yugoslavia. The regular society's congresses, which soon evolved into scientific conferences and congresses, were held in Split (1956), Sarajevo (1958), Ohrid (1960), Ljubljana (1963), Herceg Novi (1966) and Bor (1969). The congress in Zadar (1972) presented an important break. At this meeting, the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia was dissolved, and an Association of the Yugoslav Archaeological Societies (*Savez arheoloških društava Jugoslavije – SADJ*) established instead. SADJ continued organising the Yugoslav congresses in Prilep (1976), Mostar (1980), Novi Sad (1984) and Bled (1988).

The first congresses were primarily focused on the matters of organisation and planning of archaeological activities. With the gradual stabilisation of the country's archaeological profession, they began to transform into typical scientific meetings where current research results were discussed.

In Ohrid's congress in 1960, another society's journal (*Arheološki pregled*) was launched. The idea for this journal was already proposed in 1951, but it took a decade to be implemented. The journal was aimed at publishing short reports on the fieldwork across the entire country, and the first issue came out in 1960. At the same congress, it was also agreed that the conference papers would be printed within the new series *Materijali*. In 1963, at the congress in Ljubljana, another joint publication was founded, the monograph series *Dissertationes*, with its first issue out in 1965.

Towards the end of the 1960s, at the time of some major changes in the political structure of the state leading to a greater federalisation, the republics' archaeological societies began to emerge, stemming from the republican sections of the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia; such sections were formed in Slovenia in 1958, and in 1964 in Croatia and Serbia. The Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia and its predecessors, the Coordinating Committee and Archaeological Council, did great work in the renewal of Yugoslav archaeology in the first two decades after the war. They established strong links with the federal government bodies and successfully lobbied for many projects that proved instrumental for the further development of archaeology. The biggest successes were achieved in the publication programme and international cooperation. The society regularly published two journals (*Archaeologia Iugoslavica, Arheološki pregled*), three monograph series (*Inventaria Archaeologica, Dissertationes et monographiae, Posebna izdanja* (Special publications)), proceedings from the congresses and sections' meetings (*Materijali*) and translations of manuals. Altogether, in the period between 1950 and 1972, the society published some 60 volumes of different publications. If we also add to this figure the publications from other archaeological institutions in the country, archaeological publishing accounts for more than 150 different volumes in this period. The figure might not be very high in absolute numbers, but presents an increase of an order of magnitude compared to the period between the two world wars.

682 Other major bodies were the Executive Committee, Supervising Committee and Court of Honour. If necessary, the society could also establish some *ad hoc* commissions to deal with some special issues or tasks.

The society was also very successful in internationalising Yugoslav archaeology. Here, it should be noted that until the mid-1960s Yugoslavia was a relatively closed country with several impediments to free travel. Also, not many institutions could afford the costs of travelling abroad or hosting foreign scholars. Nevertheless, international cooperation was one of the primary tasks of the society from the very beginning. In regulations for obtaining permits to travel abroad, the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia's applications and recommendations were instrumental; indeed, the society was the most frequent channel for archaeologists to attend international conferences.

During the radical political shift in 1948, when Yugoslavia was not subject to the supremacy of the Soviet Union in the Eastern Bloc and became isolated from all other socialist countries, Yugoslavia was forced to turn to the West for economic and political support. This also opened the doors for cooperation in science, archaeology included. The Yugoslav Council for Science and Culture signed several bilateral agreements in the 1950s with Western countries (e.g. Austria, Western Germany, Italy, the UK, USA, etc.), enabling programmes of grants, exchange visits and participation in international events. For implementing these agreements, the council authorised the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia to sign additional agreements with foreign archaeological institutions and coordinate the international activities of archaeologists from Yugoslavia. The Archaeological Society was indeed very active in this field. In the 1950s alone it provided several dozens of grants to Germany, Italy, France and the UK, greater links with eastern countries came somewhat later, after improving relationships with the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, almost all scholars working in central republican institutions (universities, national museums or institutes of archaeology) had a chance to obtain grants for specialisation or participation at international conferences, and most of them seized the opportunity. However, it also needs to be said that the grants were much less accessible for archaeologists working in local institutions. That said, grant programme proved essential for the conceptual renewal of Yugoslav archaeology, as literally all of the leading archaeologists in Yugoslavia in the 1950s and 1960s spent some time abroad, developed a very strong collaborations with their foreign colleagues and brought home new ideas and experiences.[683]

In the 1960s, the society's priority in international activities was given to the cooperation with two international organisations – *Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques* (UISPP) and *Union internationale d'archéologie slave* (UIAS), and Yugoslav archaeologists regularly attended the conferences of these two organisations. The big step forward presented the 1st UIAS Congress in Warsaw in 1965. Yugoslavia sent a quite large delegation, and prepared a special exhibition on Early Slav archaeology in Yugoslavia.[684] Yugoslav archaeologists were not just attending the UISPP congresses but were also members of the UISPP bodies (since the late 1950s). Encouraged by the Warsaw congress's great success, the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia asked the UISPP if it could organise one of its future congresses, and, indeed, the 8th UISPP Congress was organised in Belgrade in 1971.

The organisation of the 8th Congress of UISPP could also be understood as a symbolic end of the formative phase of the post-war Yugoslav archaeology. Although international meetings had been organised before, and Yugoslav archaeologists relatively often attended scientific conferences abroad, these were mostly regional meetings. The UISPP Congress, together with the previously mentioned UIAS Congress in Warsaw,

683 For more details on the 'programmed' internationalisation of Yugoslav archaeology and the role of the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia, see Lorber and Novaković (2020).

684 The importance of this congress for Yugoslavia could also be seen in the fact that copies of finds from Yugoslav museums were made especially for the exhibition. The Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia (its Medieval Section) coordinated the works and shipping of objects.

was the first global appearance of the entire Yugoslav archaeology. Its organisation was so important that essentially all the leading archaeologists in the Yugoslav republics took part in the work of the National Organising Committee (chaired by Grga Novak, President of the Croatian (then Yugoslav) Academy of Sciences and Arts). The congress was also an excellent opportunity to present Yugoslav archaeologists' achievements, with twenty-one papers being given (thirteen from Serbia, two from Slovenia, four from Croatia and two from N. Macedonia). Of particular importance was publishing a special volume dedicated to the archaeology of the host country, i.e. Yugoslavia.[685] Taken together, this was at the time the most comprehensive ever overview of the scientific results of Yugoslav archaeologists in general, and this certainly had far-reaching consequences for the further development of international cooperation.

In other tasks, especially in coordinating the work of archaeological institutions across the country, the Archaeological Society was not so successful as in publication and international cooperation. Simply, the discipline of archaeology grew so much until the late 1960s that it became virtually impossible to harmonise the individual republican sections and institutions' priorities. This was to a certain extent still possible in the 1950s, when the country was governed in a relatively centralised and bureaucratised way, where the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia had an almost undisputed monopoly on the programme of the discipline, and where the number of archaeologists and archaeological institutions was still relatively low. However, over time the Archaeological Society's power diminished or, better to say, dispersed among republican sections and large institutions that increasingly pursued their own priorities. The society also suffered a heavy blow in the early 1960s when federal funding of most Yugoslav scholarly societies decreased substantially and had to be replaced by funding from the individual republics, which increased the power of the republican organisations.

Nevertheless, the Archaeological Society was quite successful in developing the scholarly debate across the country. Its congresses and meetings of the three major sections (Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval) were the principal forums for presenting members' results and achievements to a wider Yugoslav scholarly audience, and proved instrumental for communication and cooperation among Yugoslav archaeologists. From the 1960s on, the sections became the most dynamic units of the society, which took over the discussions on all major topics in Yugoslav archaeology. The sections organised their business and scholarly meetings to develop their general research agenda and discuss all major research topics in Yugoslav archaeology.[686] For a long time, one of their priorities was developing and harmonising archaeological terminology, especially in prehistoric archaeology. Still, despite many efforts of working groups, this project was eventually abandoned.

Leaders in the renewal of the Yugoslav archaeology

To agree on the Archaeological Society's statutes and programmes, the Society's Executive Committee invested great efforts to achieve consensual agreement of archaeologists from all republics. This hard task was only possible due to the great academic and expert authority of the society's leaders in the 1950s and 1960s. The 'inner' circle of this core group of the 'new leaders' was already formed in the late 1940s and included Josip Korošec and Jože Kastelic (Slovenia), Alojz Benac (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Duje Rendić-Miočević (Croatia), and Milutin Garašanin from Serbia, all occupying the leading

685 *Actes du VIIIe Congres International des Sciences préistoriques et protoistoriques*, Belgrade 1973, vol. 1–3.

686 Until the mid-1970s, the Prehistoric section held eleven meetings, the Classical Antiquity section nine, and the Medieval section ten.

positions at the universities or national museums. This group extended to include some other renowned experts, mostly their colleagues from central republican institutions (e.g. Stjepan Gunjača, Grga Novak, Đorđe Mano Zisi, Dušanka Vučković Todorović, Draga Garašanin, Miodrag Grbić, Srečko Brodar and some others). One could hardly say that they all equally shared the 'Yugoslav Socialist' political ideas or fully complied with them. Also, in archaeological terms, one could hardly label them as a typical 'thought collective'. They simply understood that the improvement of the state of archaeology in Yugoslavia was an urgent task.

Judging from the minutes and reports of the first meeting of Yugoslav archaeologists in Niška Banja (1950) and records of the Coordination Committee and Archaeological Council (1950–1952), the most active and energetic were Josip Korošec, Duje Rendić-Miočević, Milutin Garašanin and Alojz Benac. That they all studied archaeology in the 1930s with Miloje Vasić at the University of Belgrade must have some weight here, although they were not all contemporaries. There were two other 'events' which strengthened ties among the 'core group.' First was J. Korošec's excavations at the Ptuj Castle in the late 1940s, which was where a younger generation of archaeologists participated from all Yugoslavia, including Milutin and Draga Garašanin, Stjepan Gunjača, Duje Rendić Miočević, Zdenko and Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini, Jovan Kovačević (Babić and Tomović 1996, 91-93). The second was the harsh critique of M. Vasić's chronology of the Vinča published by J. Korošec, A. Benac, M. and D. Garašanin in 1951.

In the 1950s, this wider core group effectively governed the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia and promoted their vision of the development of the archaeological discipline and its organisation not only at the all-state level, but in their home republics as well. In the circumstances of highly a centralised and bureaucratised state, as was Yugoslavia until the 1960s, the best tool they had was the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia and its status as the official representative body for archaeology. They played an essential role in both conceptual and infrastructural developments. They monitored the state of archaeology in the individual republics, distributed grants and resources, represented Yugoslav archaeology abroad, and defined its priorities and joint projects, such as the Yugoslav archaeological maps, archaeological terminology and bibliography. Looking retrospectively, they succeeded in most of their efforts, especially in creating a more robust system of archaeology in the country, and unifying the discipline around some of its crucial conceptual issues.

A typical initiative for making Yugoslav archaeology stronger was the proposal of the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia's for the Yugoslav Archaeological Institute. This idea had already been put forward in 1956 at the Society's congress in Split (Lorber 2021). The aim was to establish an institution funded from the federal budget, with a stronger and more permanent status than society. It was assumed that by transferring the Society's coordinative and integrating tasks to an institute it would become easier to implement the Yugoslav programme of archaeology. However, already from the beginning there was an open question of the authority of such an institute over republican and local institutions. The proposal for the institute seems to have been successful, at least initially. In 1958, the Federal Government issued a decree about the Yugoslav Archaeological Institute, defining it as the highest archaeological institution in the country composed of five departments (Department of Prehistory, Department of Ancient Archaeology, Department of Byzantine and Slavic archaeology, Department of Medieval Archaeology and Department of Auxiliary Archaeological Sciences), and each department was additionally divided into more specialised sections (Lorber 2021). However, the official establishment of the institute was abruptly stopped. The reasons for this are not clear, but it seems that the federal government removed its support. In the early 1960s the Archaeological Society then renewed

its application for the institute several times, but without success.

However, over time, and especially when federal funding radically diminished, the core group's powers decreased. The disappearing (financial) mechanisms for effectively managing the Society and implementing its programme were replaced by their academic influence. Although the core group definitely did not share the same idea of Yugoslav archaeology, they were able to find a series of common denominators that they all saw as instrumental for stabilising and modernising the archaeological discipline in the new country. Once this process of stabilisation and modernisation was completed, the differences between them became larger. The principal issue was the autonomy of the republican (national) archaeologies.

Numerous economic and social factors facilitated such intensive development of archaeology and an unpreceded growth of its institutional landscape. The increase in industrial production in Yugoslavia between 1952 and 1973 was spectacular – an average of 10% per annum, with a 9% annual increase in the accumulated capital and a 5% annual increase in employment and productivity (Estrin 1982, based on official statistical data). The number of universities increased sharply, and the proportion of the population with a higher education also grew, as did the number of cultural and scientific institutions. The 1960s were also the years of a large opening up of Yugoslavia to foreign investments, restrictions for travelling abroad were lifted, and foreigners could easily enter the country for tourism purposes. The abandonment of the centralised planned economy and its replacement with a 'self-management' system substantially increased the autonomy of enterprises and public institutions. In parallel, the republics' autonomy increased, leading to an even stronger federalisation of the country. The organisation of archaeology in Yugoslavia followed these trends. With the united (federal) archaeological organisation's diminishing power, the republican archaeologies grew in almost all respects. The Archaeological Society simply could not contain these trends.

Association of the Yugoslav Archaeological Societies (1972–1991)

In parallel with the three 'period' sections, another type of section emerged within the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia. These republican (national) sections developed as a result of a general growth in archaeology on the one hand, and with the developing national identity and autonomy of the nations in Yugoslavia. The first such section had already formed in Slovenia in the late 1950s and soon, statutory still fully defined, became recognised as one of the Yugoslav Society's sections. The Slovene section was diligent in organising symposia, publishing books and coordinating some research projects, especially the Archaeological Map of Slovenia. In most of its projects, the section collaborated with the Yugoslav Society. A similar story goes for the Serbian section. This was established in 1964 and was considered as a renewal of the Serbian Archaeological Society, which had ceased to exist during the Second World War. In its initial years, this section was less active than the Slovene one. Since the Serbian section's elected leadership also occupied important positions in the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia, it took some time to develop a distinctive programme and shape.

The situation was much different concerning the Croatian section, which was also formed in 1964. In contrast with the Slovene and Serbian sections, the relationships between the Croatian section and Yugoslav Society were much tenser and caused a considerable crisis. In 1967, the Croatian section decided to transform itself into the Croatian Archaeological Society[687] and

687 The first Croatian Archaeological Society was prohibited with the Yugoslav King dictatorship's proclamation in 1929, which explicitly banned national organisations.

immediately proposed that the Yugoslav Society should be substantially reformed into a looser *association* of national (republican) societies. Otherwise, the Croats would not accept any obligations towards the united Society and also no common programme. Duje Rendić-Miočević, the president of the newly established Croatian Archaeological Society, stepped down from his office in the Yugoslav Society. The Croatians also welcomed the formation of other national archaeological societies in Yugoslavia.

The Croatian move did not cause but rather accelerated the crisis of the Yugoslav Archaeological Society. Since Yugoslavia in the late 1960s was moving towards considerable federalisation of many central (federal) organisations in science and culture, the Yugoslav Archaeological Society had no way out, and its leadership had realised that continuing the all-state organisation of archaeologists required the transformation of the central scholarly society into the association of autonomous republican societies. The transformation process took some three to four years and officially ended at the congress in Zadar in 1972 when the Association of Yugoslav Archaeological Societies was formally established.

The change was indeed considerable. In the first statute of the Association, it was defined that its members were republican archaeological societies and not individuals (as before). The individuals could become members of the Association only by being members of one of the republican societies. The Association had much less authority than the previous Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia. It was limited to being a representative body *vis-a-vis* the federal government, had no right to intervene in the republican affairs and could only issue recommendations. The Association's presidency was elected for four years, and its seat rotated – every four years in a different republic. The presidency was composed of the President and Secretary of the Association, one member from each republican society, presidents of the archaeological sections, and the Publishing Board President. The Association's major tasks remained organising congresses every four years, supporting the archaeological sections (prehistoric, ancient and medieval) and a joint publication programme. The Association's main body was an assembly to which delegates from each republican society were appointed. The Association could not charge individual membership fees anymore, but was financed by annual 'fees' paid by individual republican societies based on their number of members, and another other source of income was from the sale of publications. Republican societies were also granted a right to exit from the Association.

This reform required the formal establishment of all republican societies. Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia already had their national sections in the 1960s, but Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and N. Macedonia had to make their societies anew. This process was not without problems, because the number of archaeologists in these republics was rather low. It took a lot of effort to comply with the legislation that regulated voluntary societies. At literally the last moment all the required societies were established to complete the Association at the Congress in Zadar.[688] The President of the Association became Boško Babić from N. Macedonia, who was probably the most neutral candidate, and thus a compromise choice.

In the 1970s, the situation with the Association was gradually consolidated. The rotation of its seat went well, and regular congresses were organised in Prilep (1976), Mostar (1980), Novi Sad (1984) and Bled (1988). They were all mostly scientific meetings. The management of the Association also went rather smoothly, with a few statutory changes needed to round out its structure and functioning. Business issues were mostly limited to regular management of the Association in the circumstances of increasingly weaker finances. The Association's most important activity was publishing, and most efforts were dedicated to securing regular issues of

688 The Archaeological Society of Montenegro was, in fact, founded a year later.

journals and monographs. An important novelty was proposed in the Prilep congress – launching a new journal, *Balcanoslavica* – to publish research papers on early medieval archaeology in Yugoslavia.

The congress in Novi Sad is remembered for its round table about the nature of Yugoslav archaeology. As I have already noted, the roundtable arrived at the conclusion that Yugoslav archaeology did not exist, and that it was, at best, a mosaic of national archaeologies and traditions (see Rapanić 1986 and accompanying discussion). While not all archaeologists completely shared this opinion, it was clear that the 'old' type of Yugoslav archaeology, as coordinated by the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia, had ended. Still, not all were ready to accept that there were no integrating issues around which a 'new' system of cooperation could be established.

To understand the reasons for such a conclusion, one should look more precisely at the 1980s in Yugoslavia. In these years, many common issues were at stake. The country suffered a grave economic crisis and another one of leadership after Tito's death in 1980. The politics of the republican governments were less and less harmonised with the federal government, and a growing number of people called for full democratisation of the country. Moreover, national problems started to rise again. In such a situation, it was increasingly hard to find compromises and more widely accepted alternatives. The political atmosphere became increasingly charged in the late 1980s when the first explicit claims for independent national states emerged. From this point of view, the claim that Yugoslav archaeology did not exist anymore seems logical. As long as archaeology is considered a 'national' science, there can hardly be any different opinion. But is such a stance inevitable and sustainable? I will deal with this question at the end of this chapter.

The Slovene presidency of the Archaeological Association (1984–1988) attempted to revive and consolidate the group, whose activities became much less intensive after 1980. The most important move was the transfer of the Association's publishing office to Ljubljana. Before that, the publishing office had been in Belgrade for decades where Jovan Todorović very competently directed it, although it faced many problems after his death in the early 1980s.[689] In Ljubljana, the new publishing board's first move was a substantial modernisation of the journals *Arheološki pregled* and *Archaeologia Iugoslavica*. As it happened, the Association's congress in Bled (1988) turned out to be the last congress of the Yugoslav archaeologists. The congress could not escape the politically very charged atmosphere in the country. In his inaugural address, Matjaž Kmecl, writer and high-level Slovene politician, surprised the archaeological audience by openly attacking other Yugoslav republics' politics.[690]

Another problem that threatened the Association was the hesitation of the Montenegrin archaeologists to host the Association presidency for the next four years. Due to their small number and limited capacities, they finally agreed to take over the presidency but not the publishing activity, which stayed in Ljubljana. After the formal transfer of the Association's presidency to Montenegro in 1988, no particular activities were recorded for the Association. Two major tasks were approaching, the 6th International Congress on Slavic Archaeology in Prilep planned for 1990 and the 13th International Congress of Early Christian Archaeology in Split in 1994. The Prilep Congress was cancelled since neither the local organiser nor the Association were at that time capable of organising such a large event. On the other hand, the Split Congress was organised in a new country under the patronage of the Croatian President Franjo Tuđman.

The Association of Yugoslav Archaeological Societies *de facto* ceased to exist in 1991, with the

689 The a stock of more than 20,000 unsold volumes of publications was also transferred to Ljubljana.

690 According to some oral reports from the participants, some republican delegations threatened to leave the congress because of the Kmecl's address.

end of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, although the only society which officially left from the Yugoslav Association was the Croatian Archaeological Society, which informed all the other societies about its decision. The archive of the Yugoslav Association and its predecessor, the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia, remained in Ljubljana along with thousands of volumes of its publications.[691]

But congresses only partially reveal the real situation. Yugoslav archaeologists were more directly involved in the work of three sections (prehistoric, ancient and medieval) which became the most important instrument of the Association. All these sections organised their own scholarly and business meetings and publications. They also experienced ups and downs in their work, but, nevertheless, the sections organised more than fifteen various symposia and meetings between 1972 and 1988. It is also worth noting that the sections had their own programmes, directly cooperating with international organisations, and organised various international events in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav archaeology 'beyond' the Yugoslav Archaeological Society

Observing the Yugoslav perspectives by focusing only on the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia and its successor, the Association of Yugoslav Archaeological Societies does not give a full picture of the situation. These two organisations' history shows their great achievements in renewing Yugoslav archaeology in the first two post-war decades, followed by a gradual decline of their significance since the late 1960s. But, this cannot be generalised for the whole of archaeology in Yugoslavia, and nor for the 'Yugoslav' perspective. Quite the opposite, the scale and intensity of the archaeological work increased substantially in the 1970s and 1980s all over the country, but mostly without direct coordination or steering by the federal Archaeological Society. Individual republics and numerous archaeological institutions became very much autonomous in their programmes and projects, but this does not mean that Yugoslav archaeological cooperation faded away, instead it simply found other ways and forms, not necessarily contrary to the central society's initiatives. Such cooperation, indeed, frequently used the society's networks and infrastructure but acted somewhat more independently and spontaneously. In this way, it changed the federal society without directly referring to its programme. One could say that this made federal society more inclusive and less 'prescriptive' in its nature.

One such way was a grouping of scholars around common research topics or institutions whose programmes included such topics or some renowned scholars who directed such initiatives. The best such case is Alojz Benac and his Centre for Balkanological Research at the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since the 1960s, this institution evolved under his leadership into the major centre of prehistoric research in Yugoslavia, especially for the Bronze and Iron Ages (Illyrians!). Benac was the undisputed authority in archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and he also occupied very high political positions in this republic. He carried great charisma as one of the founders of post-war archaeology in Yugoslavia, as a leader in the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia and a representative of Yugoslav archaeology abroad. In many respects, he epitomised the new Yugoslav archaeology.[692]

691 In autumn 1991, the Slovene Archaeological Society divided the stock and shipped it to other societies.

692 Benac was a Croat from Bosnia, who graduated from the University of Belgrade and worked in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina before the war. Though he was mobilised into the army of the marionette Independent State of Croatia during the war, he secretly collaborated with Tito's National Liberation Movement and, after two years, deserted from the Croatian army to join the Partisans. After the war, he first worked in Bosnia and Herzegovina's government but soon moved to the Provincial Museum, where he became its Director. He received several high decorations for his achievements

Benac was powerful and competent enough to develop further some projects or ideas which the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia planned but turned out to be too demanding for it to realise. For example, such projects were the Illyrian colloquia organised by his Centre for Balkanological Research, which joined a very respectful group of archaeologists, historians, and linguists from Yugoslavia. These colloquia were not organised outside of the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia's general programme, but the initiative and implementation were that of A. Benac and his Centre.

At the UISPP Congress in Belgrade in 1971, the initiative for a very comprehensive synthesis of Yugoslavia's prehistory was put forward. Benac (1970, 10) was the principal advocate of this project and succeeded in putting it in the plan of the Prehistoric Section of the Yugoslav Archaeological Society. Since the project exceeded the Society's organisational capacities and funds, Benac's Centre for Balkanological Research took it over. Benac was also elected editor-in-chief of what would become the most monumental publication in Yugoslav archaeology – *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja* ('Prehistory of the Yugoslav Lands').[693]

The five volumes of *Praistorija* presented the state-of-the-art of prehistoric archaeology in Yugoslavia. They were published in 1979 (I – Palaeolithic and Mesolithic; II – Neolithic; III – Eneolithic), 1983 (IV – Bronze Age) and 1987 (V – Iron Age). All five volumes combined had about 3,400 pages of texts with a literature overview and site index (in total with more than 120 papers by 28 authors), and about 400 plates with drawings of artefacts, archaeological maps and plans of sites. *Praistorija* instantly became the main reference publication and was also highly rated in international professional circles. After the edition in the Serbo-Croatian language, preparations started for a sixth volume, synthesising all five volumes in the English language. The preparation of this volume continued until the end of 1991, when the war broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the sixth volume has remained unpublished.

The main authors in *Praistorija* belonged to the generation of scholars who modernised Yugoslav archaeology in the 1950s and 1960s and had a long history of mutual cooperation. Benac's authority was instrumental in creating the *Praistorija* circle of authors, solving their scholarly disputes, and providing the funds and technical support for the most expensive publication in Yugoslav archaeology. This publication's great success gave an incentive to prepare a similar works presenting classical archaeology in Yugoslavia, but this remained only an informal initiative.

In the 1970s and 1980s, with much greater autonomy of the individual institutions, the 'horizontal' (i.e. direct) cooperation between institutions from different republics grew without referring to the Yugoslav Society's general plans or any other coordinating scholarly body. The number of such projects is too high to list here. They varied from small-scale one-time field projects to multi-annual projects of large teams. Of the latter, I should mention here the project on Hvar Island from the late 1980s, led by the University of Ljubljana, Archaeological Museum in Split and the University of Bradford, on which participated archaeologists and other experts from dozens of other institutions from all Yugoslavia.

Since 1970, with the general liberalisation of the country and years of successful presentation of Yugoslav archaeology on an international scale, the presence of foreign researchers increased in virtually all domains of archaeology. Universities and Research Institutes from the USA, UK, Germany, France, Sweden, Austria, and Poland

in science and culture (for a biography of Benac, see Periša 2021b).

693 Other members of the editorial board were: Djuro Basler for the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, Milutin Garašanin for the Neolithic, Nikola Tasić for the Eneolithic, Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini for the Bronze Age, and Stane Gabrovec for the Iron Age (Benac 1979, 10).

cooperated with different institutions in virtually all Yugoslav republics.[694] If such cooperation was, in the 1950s and 1960s, still coordinated by the federal Archaeological Society, this was no longer the case.

The other infrastructural networks or domains of archaeological practice – museums and heritage protection institutes – were among the first to be 'freed' from the Yugoslav Archaeological Society. In the 1950s, the Archaeological Society paid great attention to developing these two services in all republics. Still, after their consolidation, the republic' agendas frequently diverged from the Society's plans. In most cases, archaeology was just one of their working domains, and their priority was not always academic archaeology to which the Society strongly leaned in the 1970s and 1980s.

The image of Yugoslav archaeology 'beyond' the Yugoslav Archaeological Society's activities is full of examples but more fragmented and less coherent at first sight. Dozens of initiatives and projects existed all across the country, but they differed very much in their nature and implementation. The motives were different, the intensity varied from *ad hoc* to long term, and the cooperation was inter-institutional but also between individual scholars. Of course, not all projects were intended as 'Yugoslav, but simply somehow became such, and in their own way, more spontaneously and less programmed, also contributed to Yugoslav archaeology.

One of the best examples of such a contribution and a good indicator of the development of archaeology in Yugoslavia is publishing. Between 1960 and 1990 the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia and Association of Archaeological Societies of Yugoslavia published 29 volumes of *Arheološki pregled*, with about 2,250 short excavation reports, 24 volumes of *Archaeologia Iugoslavica*, 26 monographs in the series *Dissertationes et monographiae*, 27 volumes of *Inventariae archaeologica*, 22 volumes of *Materijali* with proceedings from archaeological meetings in Yugoslavia, and about a dozen special editions or issues - a total of some 140 to 150 volumes in 30 years. These figures clearly reveal the significance of the joint Archaeological Society, but the overall amount of publishing was much greater if we include the publications of other institutions in all the Yugoslav republics.

Table 2 presents the number of published archaeological periodicals (monographs are not counted) produced between 1945 and 1990. It includes major archaeological journals published by the republics and journals of the main archaeological institutions. The sum of all journals is quite impressive – 653 volumes of 31 journals in 45 years. In contrast, only 13% of volumes were published by the Yugoslav Archaeological Society.

Naturally, not all of the journals exclusively published archaeological papers, nor were all authors domestic experts. Even so, if such an extent of published journals is set against a community composed of fewer than 550 professional archaeologists and other experts active in archaeology in the late 1980s, one can get quite a good picture of the size of the progress of the discipline in Yugoslavia after the Second World War.

694 For more on such projects, see the chapters on individual states.

Published volumes of the archaeological journals (specialised and non-specialised) between 1945 and 1990		
Slovenia	Arheološki vestnik	40
	Situla	28
	Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji	18
	Arheo	11
	Varstvo spomenikov	32
	Argo	30
Croatia	Opuscula archaeologica	14
	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu	23
	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku	31
	Diadora	12
	Histria archaeologica	19
	Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu	7
	Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora Hrvatske	39
	Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva	15
	Muzejski vjesnik	13
Serbia	Starinar	41
	Glasnik Srpskog arheološkog društva	6
	Zbornik Narodnog muzeja	13
	Rad vojvođanskih muzeja	32
	Saopštenja. (Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture)	22 23
	Građa za proučavanje spomenika kulture Vojvodine	15
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu	45
	Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja	28
North Macedonia	Macedoniae acta archaeologica	11
	Zbornik. The Archaeological Museum of Macedonia	11
	Lihnid	7
Kosovo	Glasnik Muzeja Kosova/Buletin i Muzeut të Kosovë	14
Yugoslavia	Arheološki pregled	29
	Archaeologia Iugoslavica	24
	Materijali	22
TOTAL		652

Fig. 212. Archaeological journals between 1945 and 1991.

	Museums		Heritage protection		Universities		Research institutes		Total	
	Institutions	Staff	Institutions	Staff	Institutions	Staff	Institutions	Staff	Institutions	Staff
Bosnia and Herzegovina	13	27	4	7	1	2	1	1	19	37
Montenegro	11	16	2	3	0	0	0	0	13	19
Croatia	54	103	10	22	2	19	2	15	68	159
Kosovo	2	6	2	5	1	1	1	2	6	14
N. Macedonia	9M + 5MH	21	2H	3	1	6	1	13	18	68
Slovenia	17	32	8	14	1	12	1	12	27	70
Serbia (proper)	30	76	6	11	1	24	2	25	40	137
Vojvodina	11	32	4	8	1	2	0	0	16	42
Yugoslavia	152	305	43	77	8	66	8	68	207	546

*Fig. 213 The number of professional archaeologists in Yugoslavia (data for 1981). *M – museum; MH – museum and heritage protection service; H – heritage protection service)*

Employed archaeologists	Total	Population 1991	Area (km2)	Area (km2)/ archaeologist	Population / archaeologist
Slovenia	70	1,962,606	20,246	289	28,037
N. Macedonia	68	2,033,964	25,720	378	29,911
Croatia	159	4,760,344	56,524	355	29,939
Montenegro	19	615,267	13,810	727	32,382
Serbia (proper)	137	5,824,211	56,169	410	42,512
Yugoslavia	546	23,527,957	255,790	468	43,091
Vojvodina	42	2,012,517	21,506	512	47.917
Bosnia and Herzegovina	37	4,364.574	51.129	1.382	117.961
Kosovo	14	1,954.474	10.686	763	139.605

Fig. 214 The number of employed archaeologists in Yugoslavia (data for 1988), ranked per opulation/archaeologists ratio.

'Socialist' archaeology in Yugoslavia

A more comprehensive presentation of the ideology and ideological practices of the communist regime in Yugoslavia is beyond this study's scope and is thus not attempted here. Instead, my attention will focus on some aspects of ideology that had a greater impact on the archaeological discipline – the doctrines of modernisation of Yugoslavian society, 'brotherhood-and-unity' of Yugoslav nations, and Marxist doctrine, which operated in mutual harmony.

Before the Second World War, Yugoslavia was among the least-developed countries in Europe. On top of it, it suffered enormous damage in the war, heavily destroying the already fragile economic infrastructure and claimed a high death toll (the number of victims is estimated to be one million). The economy was primarily agricultural, whilst the industrial sector was poorly developed and limited to some regions. After the war, the Yugoslav communist authorities initiated a country-wide industrialisation campaign, followed by the nationalisation of land, production infrastructure and services. In the early phase, the Soviet-type centralised planning soon proved unsuccessful, and from the mid-1950s, elements of the free market economy were gradually introduced.

The doctrine of 'brotherhood-and-unity' was the ideological cornerstone of the Communist regime in Yugoslavia to maintain a political and economic balance between the nations in the country. But this doctrine had a dual, almost paradoxical, nature. It stemmed from the Marxist premise of prioritising class affiliation over nationality, but it also decidedly promoted individual nations' development. One should not ignore the fact that various Yugoslav nations fought in world wars on opposite sides. Hence, a careful approach to this problem was required to establish stable conditions for cohabitation.[695] In reality, the principle of brotherhood-and-unity could be considered as a kind of Marxist-Hegelian dialectical construct, which implied the development of national republics and a common state at the same time. That this was not an easy task was also clear to the ruling Communists in Yugoslavia. They predicted that with the strong development of the economy and well-being of the citizens (*'working people'*), they would gradually realize the benefits of the new society and

695 It should be noted here that the official doctrine of the Yugoslav Communist Party in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1941) perceived the country as a 'creation of the bourgeois'. It stated that the upcoming revolution should abolish Yugoslavia and allow the autonomous development of the nations. In the late 1930s and especially during the Second World War, this attitude changed to conform to the concept of a common federal state with greater autonomy for its constituent nations.

overcome national divides. In the meantime, it was important to maintain a balance between nations. The major warranty of this balance was seen in the figure of the country and Communist Party leader Tito with his enormous symbolic capital from the Second World War. The Communist ruling structures allowed such trends as long as they did not compromise the leading position of the Communist Party. However, the trends went in opposite directions. Together with the federalisation of the state also ran the process of 'federalisation' of the Communist Party. Power was gradually moving from the Yugoslav Central Committee into the hands of the republican Communist parties.

In the context of modernisation and 'brotherhood-and-unity', the republican (national) archaeologies were given an increasingly strong motivation for their individual advancement. Archaeology was, together with other historical disciplines, perceived as a powerful tool in the South Slavic nations' emancipation. It was also envisaged as one of the means by which the 'historical depth' of the Yugoslav nations could be presented in the European and global context. It was seen as an indicator of the new authorities' achievements in leading the state and society. The most obvious illustration of the 'brotherhood-and-unity' concept could be found in the resolutions and conclusions of Yugoslav archaeologists' first meeting in Niška Banja in 1950 (see Korošec 1950), where priority was given to research of the material culture of Yugoslav nations and *'processes of their formation from the time of the earliest communities up to the period of formation of hierarchical societies and the study of the relations with the neighbouring nations', ...' for the purpose of establishing brotherhood-and-unity and socialist patriotic awareness"*.

However, these and similar statements should be read carefully and contextualised to distinguish phrases that pertained to the standard protocol: formal expressions of the official ideology, standard, if not compulsory, practice in the early years of Socialist Yugoslavia, and genuine attempts to reflect 'brotherhood-and-unity' concept in archaeological interpretation. The 'protocolar' instance is not of much interest here, since these statements characterised the public proclamations such as "*developing fraternity and unity*", "*defending the achievements of the national liberation and revolution*" and "*building the society upon socialist and Marxist foundations*" that regularly occurred in most of the official texts, especially in the early post-war years, when the Communist regime was still making its ground. Announcements of this kind soon became void and stayed in use only as formal adherence to the leading ideology.

Of more interest here is the extent to which the 'brotherhood-and-unity' doctrine influenced the archaeological interpretations. There are no simple answers to this since the brotherhood-and-unity doctrine's impact should not be observed from a single perspective. This doctrine had several perspectives which may oppose each other. The 'unity' obviously pointed to the Yugoslav state's unity and strongness as re-established by the Communist Party and its ideology. But it was the 'brotherhood' that contained thesis and antithesis (in Hegelian-Marxist terms); the brotherhood as inter-national solidarity and emancipatory aspect for each nation. The expected synthesis was future Yugoslav 'multi-national nation'.

The truth is that most nations were very dissatisfied with the inter-national cohabitation during the 'First Yugoslavia' (1918–1941), when not even all nations were constitutionally recognised. Even those that were recognised (i.e. Slovenes, Croats and Serbs) were ultimately considered '*tribes of one nation*'. Learning hard lessons from the past (integralist dictatorship and war), the brotherhood-and-unity doctrine meant a much softer concept of the Yugoslav melting pot. The emancipatory effects were clear, Montenegrins, Macedonians and Muslims (after 1991 Bosniaks) were for the first time recognised as constitutive nations and were given grounds for developing their national infrastructures and identities.

Many national minorities were also recognised for the first time (e.g. Albanians, Hungarians, Italians, Romanians) along with being granted a certain level of autonomy. But, above all, it was the modernisation in which all nations experienced considerable economic and social growth in a very short time, which made brotherhood-and-unity a highly positive alternative to past experiences. In archaeology, this growth was evident in the unprecedented increase in the number of archaeological institutions, research projects, museums and archaeological posts in a very short time.

In harmony with the brotherhood-and-unity doctrine, some fields of archaeology were seen as a priority, especially the archaeology of South Slavs, which, except in Croatia, almost did not exist in Yugoslavia before the Second World War. From the ideological point of view, the investment in Slavic archaeology had two major goals – further national emancipation of the Yugoslav nations and the search for the historical basis of brotherhood-and-unity. With every ideology, it is essential to present and legitimise its worldview as natural and historically grounded. Searching for past brotherhood-and-unity in the early Slavic period tended to present the South Slavs as a much more homogeneous group (see, for example, Garašanin M. and Kovačević 1950) compared to the heavily fragmented image of the Slavs in the pre-war period. The teleological character of these new, brotherhood-and-unity influenced views was most evident in the synthetic works on the South Slavs in Yugoslavia's territory. These texts usually dealt with Slavs in individual republics, which then jointly created a mosaic of the Balkans' early Slavic tribes giving a self-evident impression of their connectedness.

While Slavs served as a textbook case of direct transfer of brotherhood-and unity into the past and archaeological interpretations, other cases were more 'elliptical' – somewhere between analogy and metaphor, but sometimes also taken more seriously. This was the case with Illyrians. In the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods, numerous texts labelled Slavic inhabitants as Illyrians (or descendants of the ancient Illyrians), after the ancient Roman province of Illyricum, which extended over most of Yugoslavia's territory.[696] Moreover, the pan-Slavic political movement in Croatia and parts of Slovenia in the 1830s, which campaigned for greater autonomy of the Slavic population in the Austrian Monarchy, was named after the Illyrians and flirted with autochthonic ideas of the origin of the Slavs. Nevertheless, in the second half of the 19th century international and local historiography finally divided Illyrians and Slavs. Still, some effects of the earlier theories remained alive and occasionally also surfaced in modern archaeology. In the context of the brotherhood-and-unity doctrine, the Illyrians were not used as predecessors of Slavs but as an example or model of a common prehistoric past and heritage. In the archaeological texts of the 1950s and 1960s, the Illyrians were present in all republics. As an all-Yugoslav archaeological phenomenon, they provided an excellent example of the common topic for integrating Yugoslav archaeology.[697] The Illyrians, indeed, became one of the central archaeological topics in prehistoric and early ancient archaeology in Yugoslavia, and some of the most important scientific meetings were dedicated to this topic. Alojz Benac from Sarajevo was the major *spiritus movens* of *Illyriology*. There are analogous examples in the neighbouring countries with the Thracians in Bulgaria, Dacians in Romania, and Illyrians in Albania.

Brotherhood-and-unity worked relatively well as

696 See the text of Vinko Pribojević on the origin and history of the Slavs from 1532..

697 A good illustration connecting Illyrians and Yugoslavia could be found in the study about double-loop bow type fibulae (Gabrovec 1970). The author draws the westernmost boundary of the distribution of this fibula type (labelled as Illyrian) exactly along the western border of Yugoslavia and Italy. Whether this was intentional or not is not of much importance here. What is significant is how the understanding of archaeological evidence was accommodated to the 'Yugoslav' Illyrian framework. Later on, Gabrovec abandoned the theory of the Illyrians being the Iron Age inhabitants of Slovenia.

long as its major symbol – Tito – had undisputed control over the republics and the federal army, considered a foundry of the doctrine. However, constant pressures for the country's federalisation also diminished its cohesive power. Federalisation also opened the doors to gradual democratisation. Culture and science were no longer the domains of federal authorities but ultimately became a matter of the individual republics, which were much more focused on their 'internal' affairs.

This tendency can also be traced in the archaeological texts. Comparing the themes and papers from the 1950s and 1960s with those from the 1980s, one can see several revealing differences. The picture of a common past, created in the first post-war decades, gradually gave way to a sort of mosaic of several different and loosely connected pasts, differently interpreted by national archaeology schools, and the 'Yugoslav' frame of reference was much less as relevant than before. Different forms of 'geography' came to the fore, more regional (Adriatic, Dinaric, Pannonian, Central Balkan) and, ultimately, 'republican'.[698] This trend became particularly evident after Yugoslavia's break-up when archaeologies re-established geographical and cultural reference frameworks in the new states. This process was a clear indicator of the weakening influence of the 'brotherhood-and-unity' doctrine in archaeology from the 1970s onwards.

Waiting for Marx

It may be surprising that there are almost no texts or studies promoting Marxism in Yugoslav archaeology. Some very rare attempts by local authors appeared only in the 1980s (e.g. Slapšak 1983), and even the quoted bibliographic reference is more a critique of some simplified and naive considerations about the social role of archaeology. On the other hand, foreign authors labelled archaeology in Socialist Yugoslavia Marxist (e.g. Kaiser 1995).

But, just like in the case of the brotherhood-and-unity doctrine, a distinction must be made between the 'protocolar' and 'epistemological' Marxism. Concerning the former, the situation is quite clear. In the first programmatic texts on new Yugoslav archaeology, there are explicit statements about the Marxist orientation. The conclusions from the first meeting of the Yugoslav archaeologists in Niška Banja (Korošec 1950) explicitly state that "*archaeology, as a social-historical discipline, should entirely be directed towards the investigations of material and spiritual culture based on the scientific knowledge of historical materialism.*" The terms dialectical or historical materialism were taken from Marx's philosophy of history.[699] Similar statements often appeared in pamphlets or documents distributed on occasions of some celebrations such as, for example, important anniversaries of professional associations and institutions. In that sense, archaeology did not differ from other disciplines in former Yugoslavia, which often marked their achievements as proof of positive development within the new social order. Having said that, it would be wrong to claim that protocolar Marxism exerted no influence on archaeological activities, the status of archaeology as a socially engaged discipline, on certain aspects of the organisation of archaeological work, and even on some elements of archaeological interpretation. But one should be cautious here; in practice protocolar Marxism was primarily used for the formal expression of adherence to Communism.

The distinction between 'protocolar and 'epistemological' Marxisms might not always be clear

698 This phenomenon was evident in the region-based approach used for archaeological interpretations of certain periods of the past, which became problematic. Staša Babić (2011) warned of this problem using as an example the publication *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja* where, practically, in each of the five volumes (I. Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, II. Neolithic, III. Eneolithic, IV. Bronze Age, V. Iron Age), different principles in defining the regions were used.

699 In the same vein, this document presents the claims that, in archaeology, the research on social relationships between ancient communities should have priority, which is a typical (but not exclusively) Marxist topic.

to foreign scholars, although scholars working in other socialist countries were fully aware of this (Babić and Tomović 1994: 117–118, Slapšak and Novaković 1996, 287, Novaković 2002, 340–343; 2002, 314; for the former German Democratic Republic see Coblenz 2002, 334–336). This could also be seen in Albania, which had one of the most rigid 'Marxist' dictatorships in Europe during Enver Hoxha's rule. M. Gallatay and C. Watkinson (2006), in their paper on archaeological practice in conditions of dictatorships, included part of an interview with Muzafer Korkuti, one of the leading archaeologists under the E. Hoxha's regime, who was able to retain his status also after the democratisation of the country. Korkuti often mentioned the requests of the political authorities to prove the Illyrian origin of the Albanians. Still, he never mentioned requests for Marxist ideology or historical materialism.

The truth is that Marxism (or its derivatives – dialectical and historical materialism) was the official ideology of the communist regimes and that largely pervaded all societal domains the society in former socialist countries, which led some scholars to conclude the existence of Marxism in archaeology as well (e.g. Kaiser 1995, 109–113). On the other hand, the foreign scholars who spent a considerable part of their careers in the socialist countries were aware of the distinction between protocolar and epistemological Marxisms.[700]

To assess Marxism's influence in Yugoslavian archaeology, one should look first at the forms of Marxist archaeology in circulation in Europe. Before the Second World War, Marxist archaeology emerged in the Soviet Union and was considered 'history of material culture'; the Soviet ideologists saw the term 'archaeology' as too bourgeois, which exaggerated aesthetics, antiquarianism and fetishism, and obscured the more appropriate study of the development of social relations.[701] Thus, already in 1919 the Imperial Archaeological Commission was renamed the State Academy for the History of Material Culture. But it was not until the end of the 1920s that historical materialism became the dominant theory in Soviet archaeology. The main difference compared to the culture-historical approach in Central European archaeology of the time was the shift from studying the 'history of culture' (and archaeological cultures) to the study of the history of socio-economic developmental stages as they were defined in the Marxist philosophy of history (for more details, see Bulkin *et al.* 1982; Novaković 2012). This led to a very simplified or vulgarised application of Marxist theory. Prehistory was, for example, understood more as a developmental sequence of the socio-economic formations and relationships and less a period characterised by the development of particular cultures and ethnic entities. Such a concept of historical-materialist doctrine in Soviet archaeology culminated with Marrism, an archaeological doctrine named after Nikolay Marr, a linguist and the Director of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture. Marr was the main advocate of the theory of developmental stages. In this, all socio-cultural changes, even the ethnic and linguistic ones, result from revolutionary shifts in the economic sphere, especially in the domain of production. Marrism was the main doctrine in Soviet archaeology from the 1930s, but it was made defunct in

700 See, for example, Anthony Harding (1983, 12), who spent a considerable part of his career doing research in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans. Similar conclusions were also arrived at by Douglass Bailey (2002), who carried out research in Bulgaria.

701 Bulkin, Klejn, and Lebedev (1982, 274): "*First of all, they condemned the 'creeping empiricism' of the majority of previous archaeological studies and the preoccupation of the old generation with formal studies of artefacts, which came to be labelled 'goloye veshchevedeniye' ('naked artefactology' or, literally, 'naked things- knowledge'). The Montelian typological method was abandoned as a product of bourgeois evolutionism, which made fetishes of artefacts and improperly interpreted history in biological terms. Doubts were cast on the traditional subject matter of archaeology and even on the name of the discipline. It was suggested that they restricted the possibilities for the scientific use of archaeological evidence, separated antiquities from the present time, and concealed information about economics and the production of goods as the factors determining historical development. To circumvent these limitations, archaeology was transformed and renamed 'the history of material culture'.*"

1950 by Stalin's political action. However, some of this approach's elements were preserved in the restored Soviet archaeology after the 1950s. In the West, the most renowned scholar who accepted some ideas from Soviet archaeology and the Marxist philosophy of history was Gordon Childe. His shift from the diffusionist archaeology of cultures to research into past societies' social structures has to be associated with his visit to the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, Soviet archaeology after the 1950s increasingly developed non-Marrist concepts and programmes, including a much stronger emphasis on ethno-genetic studies, but did not abandon some Marxist concepts. However, the initial problem with Marxism remained – the simplified and direct transfer of Marx's theory into archaeological conceptual apparatus. Klejn (1981, 13) wrote that Marxist philosophy (and its Soviet interpretations) took over the role of the dominant theory in archaeology instead of stimulating the general theoretical development of archaeology. Only later, in the 1960s and 1970s in the Soviet Union, Poland and East Germany, were attempts made towards integrating Marxist views in archaeological theory instead of Marxist ideology in archaeology. The new, better contextualised approach in studying production and technology brought Soviet archaeology closer to some early processual archaeology ideas in the West, much before the Central European cultural-historical archaeology.

In Yugoslavia, there were no signs of real Marrism. The Yugoslav archaeologists knew Marr but were very cautious about his approach (Milosavljević 2015, 259–267; 2020, 141, 145). The principal reason was that classical Marrism opposed the ethnogenetic studies that were seen as a priority in post-war Yugoslav archaeology. As such, it could not provide a viable alternative for the new Yugoslav archaeology. The focus on social development and relations was not an exclusive characteristic of Marxist archaeology. It was shared by numerous archaeological schools and archaeologies in the West, which strived to move away from pre-war archaeology's strictly cultural-historical direction.

The leading Yugoslav archaeologists in the 1950s were all educated before 1941 in the 'bourgeois' systems and simply could not develop a more operative epistemology of archaeology based on historical materialism. The elements of such epistemology could tentatively be detected in the programmatic texts from Niška Banja. Perhaps the best example was the much more frequent use of the term 'material culture' and references to the history of material culture (e.g. in the second conclusion from Niška Banja). This could be understood as a reflection of the new terminology introduced by Soviet archaeology but without noteworthy theoretical or practical implications.

Yugoslavia experimented with Marxism in many fields whilst trying to avoid the rigid Soviet Leninism. However, it was not easy to introduce Marxism in such a short period of time (or simply by decree) into conceptually and structurally unsuitable domains for it. Often what was adopted was a mere Marxist façade, but not epistemology. The truth is that some disciplines (e.g. history, sociology, philosophy, economics) certainly found it more difficult to avoid the ideological and practical interventions of the Communist Party, especially in the first decades after the Second World War. Still, in archaeology none of the operational elements of the Marxist paradigm were introduced. Marrism was unsuitable from the start, and although Soviet archaeology later developed a more refined form of a Marxist approach, by then it was too late, as the Yugoslav archaeologists were already deeply immersed in the Central European cultural-historical idea of archaeology. In fact, the same can be said for most of the archaeology in former socialist countries in Europe, and apart from in the Soviet Union, different Marxist concepts in archaeology were more often discussed in the West.[702]

702 For a review of Marxist trends in American and European archaeology, see McGuire (1993).

But the Soviet (though not Marxist) influence was visible in archaeology's institutional organisation, not only in Yugoslavia but also in most Eastern European countries. At the top of the discipline's pyramid were research institutes at the national academies of arts and sciences. These were given power and responsibility for the strategic development of their respective national archaeologies. It was their responsibility to design and implement long-term plans for the whole discipline, conduct the largest and most costly research projects, publish national archaeological journals, and so on. These institutes were equipped with the best archaeological libraries and laboratories in the country, and could hire the best experts. In the early post-war years, the archaeologists from these institutes most frequently got grants to pursue specialisations abroad or participate in international conferences. The institutes were considered centres of excellence with a strong internal hierarchy, junior researchers ('assistants') at the bottom, semi-independent researchers in the middle, and senior scientists and executive directors at the top. Concerning the number of staff, the institutes were usually significantly larger than any other archaeological institutions in their countries.[703]

Universities and national museums were generally a level below in such a hierarchy. Due to the small size of the countries and the relatively short-term archaeological tradition, the only universities with curricula in archaeology were normally those located in the national capitals (e.g. in the capitals of Slovenia, Serbia, Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, and N. Macedonia). Only relatively recently, after 1991, have new universities with programmes of studies in archaeology been founded in some other cities. At the bottom of the structural pyramid were regional and local institutions (mostly museums) that could act independently only at the regional and local levels. In case of some large discoveries or threats to important sites, the central institutions frequently took over the research since the local institutions were not well equipped (in terms of staff and infrastructure). They served as 'assisting' institutions.

In such a division of labour, the heritage protection service was generally perceived as secondary to academic (research-oriented) archaeology. It combined the mandatory administrative protection of the heritage and protective projects. For Yugoslavia, and all its republics, the heritage protection service constantly remained understaffed and underequipped and had to seek the help of larger national institutions in case of large protection projects (e.g. construction of hydro-electric plants in the Iron Gorge of Serbia) or, even more frequently, regional and local museums. In the 1960s, the Service for the Protection of Cultural Heritage had to be reformed. An adequate legal and organisational framework was needed for coping with the increasing amount of protection projects. From the 1970s onwards, however, the service grew stronger. The republics' institutes for protecting cultural heritage established relatively independent regional networks of their units, increasing the number of archaeology personnel.

In the context of the low number of employed archaeologists, this organisation of institutional network and tasks allocation proved to be quite efficient. It greatly contributed to the stabilisation of the institutional infrastructure. In all the Yugoslav republics, archaeological work was organised similarly, making cooperation between institutions and individuals significantly easier. In the first two decades after the war, the Yugoslav Archaeological Society played an important role in coordinating major archaeological works, supervising the various republics' archaeologies, and establishing modern infrastructure in the

703 The most extreme was the situation in Slovakia, where the Academy of Sciences employed about 30% of the entire archaeological staff; in Slovenia, this figure was 10% (Pintarič and Novaković 2008) and in Hungary much lower – only 5% (Discovering the Archaeologists of Hungary (2008)). These figures were different in the years before the 1990s, when there were no private archaeological companies or services and when the number of research-oriented excavations exceeded the number of preventive excavations.

less-developed parts of the country. However, the increase in the number of archaeologists and new institutions, above all local museums, made the situation increasingly complex, leading to the greater autonomy of among the archaeologies.

Short note on women in archaeology in Yugoslavia

The history of women in Yugoslav archaeology is still to be studied and written. I have included this topic because women's emancipation was also closely connected with the socialist/communist ideology in Yugoslavia. A brief survey of archaeological institutions and activities in Yugoslav lands demonstrate that women as professionals (e.g. museum curators, researchers, university professors) appeared only after the Second World War. The only exception I found was Paola Korošec, who became a curator in the Provincial Museum of Sarajevo in 1939 or 1940. Prior to that period a smaller number of women worked in much less visible posts as technicians, research assistants and record keepers. In 1944 two women archaeologists started their careers: Irma Čremošnik (1916–1990) at the Municipal Institute for the Protection of Antiquities in Belgrade and as curator of the classical antiquities at the Prince Paul Museum in Belgrade (in 1947, she was appointed curator for medieval archaeology at the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo), and Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini (1919–1995) at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, where she stayed all of her career.

The situation changed radically soon after 1945 when there was a great demand for archaeologists in enlarged or newly established institutions. The earliest employment records of women archaeologists reveal that they were mostly very young (between 25 and 35 years old). Some of them were appointed to positions of directors of institutions or heads of departments. Such cases included Dušanka Vučković Todorović (1912–1998), who was in 1946 Director of the Ancient Department at the National Museum in Belgrade and in 1949 Director of the Archaeological Museum in Skopje; Draga Garašanin (1921–1997), who was employed as Director of the Municipal Museum in Belgrade in the late 1940s. Also, the positions of museum curators were highly esteemed: Blaga Aleksova became a curator at the Municipal Museum in Skopje in 1948, Nada Miletić and Ružica Drechsler Bižić in the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo in 1950 and 1952, respectively, and Milica Kosorić in the Museum of Požarevac, Serbia in 1955. In the mid-1950s, there were also the first women employed at the universities, such as Tatjana Bregant (1932–2002) in Ljubljana and Aleksandrina Cermanović Kuzmanović (1928–2001) in Belgrade. Although it is difficult to obtain figures for active archaeologists in Yugoslavia in the 1950s, I estimate that at least 20% or some 60 to 80 archaeologists in the country were women.

But there are much more exact figures for the year 1980 (published in the journal *Arheo* 1, 1981) when among 404 listed archaeologists in Yugoslavia, 165 were women (40%). In the next ten years, the ratio between male and female archaeologists became even more balanced (54% to 46%, and the total number of archaeologists was 535, see *Arheo* 8, 1989). To obtain a more correct image, these figures should be compared with other countries and the differences between the jobs should be taken into account. Nevertheless, in 1940, only one female archaeologist was employed in the country, while fifty years later, there were nearly 250. Of course, many factors contributed to the gender-balanced structure in Yugoslav archaeology. Still, one cannot ignore the effects of the emancipatory social environment. However, if the gender structure was relatively balanced when looking at local and regional institutions, this was not so much the case when speaking about the leading positions in national institutions or high officials of the national/republican archaeological societies. In the 40 years of history of the Yugoslav Archaeological Society, the only female president was Olivera Žižić at the very end of this organisation's existence (1988–1991).

It should be stressed that gender issues were not present in the discourse in Yugoslav archaeology before 1991. The gender perspective in archaeology was only at its beginnings in the 1980s in the USA and Europe, and it was simply too early for it to appear in Yugoslavia. That not everything was fine can be seen in the critical studies which started to appear after 2000 in the post-Yugoslav countries.

Post-'Yugoslav' developments

The developments in individual national archaeologies after the end of Yugoslavia are presented in their respective chapters. Here I would like to share some thoughts on the recent collaborations among them.

During the wars between 1991 and 1995, almost all institutional cooperation in culture and science between the former republics was broken, and largely also the personal collaborations. Since contrasting interpretations of the past were in the focus of nationalist discourse in all of the newly established countries, a significant portion of their heritage was deliberately destroyed to reject others' identity and presence. The role of archaeology and archaeological heritage in the wars in the former Yugoslavia between 1991 and 1995 is yet to be explored in more detail. Several domestic and foreign papers have tried to reflect on this issue (e.g. Chapman 1994; Novaković 2007b; Babić 2002; Carlton 1994), but these were mainly brief observations and nothing like comprehensive analyses.[704]

Only from 2000 onwards, when the distinctly nationalist regimes, especially in Croatia and Serbia, were no longer in power, was the restoration of ties and cooperation made possible. These early initiatives largely derived from the positive experiences and personal contacts from pre-war times, but it was still not easy to re-establish communication. New grounds needed to be developed in new political circumstances. To put it somewhat ironically, if the new archaeologists after the Second World War had to develop cooperation in archaeology to fit the common state, in the 2000s the issue was (and still is) to create new concepts of cooperation beyond the state(s). One might say that the former inter-republican cooperation would simply become an international one, but it is not that straightforward. What actually emerged has been more features of regional cooperation, halfway to wider international cooperation. A history of joint achievements in working in the one-country system, sharing a common archaeological heritage and research topics, and linguistic and cultural closeness could not be easily ignored and forgotten. That this was the case can be seen in the numerous bilateral and multilateral projects and initiatives among the states that have emerged after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. This cooperation has also developed as part of larger international aid projects, projects related to joining the European Union and other initiatives to establish a more cooperative and stable social and economic climate in the Balkans. The first attempts were very modest and mostly stemming from personal contacts, and the collaborations among institutions commenced somewhat later.

The initiatives for renewing cooperation first emerged in Slovenia, which maintained relatively good relations with all the newly formed countries. Thanks to its favourable economic circumstances and its status as an EU-country over the last fifteen years, the Slovene institutions have launched a series of initiatives and smaller-scale projects with Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and N. Macedonia. In the last ten years, there have been more than twenty such projects. The most active in this field were the universities in Ljubljana and Koper, which worked with partners in all the new states. Two large multilateral projects in university education need to be accentuated here – the ARHEOPED student exchange

704 Not listed here are the papers by specialists, i.e. conservators describing the war damage and listing the destroyed or damaged monuments. There were many such reports, and they provided a more comprehensive image of the impact of war on the archaeological heritage.

network and the BIHERIT. The ARHEOPED network was established in 2006 and coordinated by the Department of Archaeology, University of Ljubljana.[705] Through this network, which until today has received more than 700 months of exchange grants, thirteen archaeology departments from Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, N. Macedonia, Slovakia, Poland, Romania and Albania have been exchanging students and teachers. The effects have been highly positive, above all for students from non-EU countries and outside the ERASMUS programme. For many years ARHEOPED was virtually their only possibility of acquiring or upgrading their knowledge and gaining experience outside their own countries. The network also proved to be a real hub for many other initiatives and joint projects. And last but not least, the ARHEOPED network also contributed to improving the relationships between archaeological institutions and universities in general in times still burdened by the war. The situation in 2006, when the network was established, was still very much 'post-war'.

The BIHERIT project (2012–2014) was of a different kind. The project resulted from the initiative of archaeologists from the Universities of Sarajevo and Ljubljana to modernise and infrastructurally equip the archaeological and heritage-related curricula in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where there were no university curricula in archaeology, ethnology or art history until the late 2000s. The initial teaching level was very modest due to the great lack of local experts and material infrastructure. An international consortium was created for implementing an extensive programme of aid archaeology and heritage sciences in Bosnian and Herzegovinian universities.[706] Within the project, more than 300 classes of archaeology and heritage science were held, three field schools were organised for the students from Bosnia and Herzegovina, equipment necessary for teaching and archaeological fieldwork was purchased, and the archaeological libraries at the universities of Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Tuzla were significantly enriched. Moreover, some of the key textbooks and teaching materials were published. Finally, some younger local scholars gained their PhDs at partner universities. Assistance in developing the archaeological curricula at the University of Sarajevo also continued after 2014, with teachers from the Universities of Zagreb and Ljubljana. In 2019, another project united partners from Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Cambridge was launched, namely HERISTEM (STEM in Heritage Sciences), in a strategic partnership programme of ERASMUS +.

An important aspect of all the projects mentioned above and also many other initiatives was the consideration that in the current distribution of wealth and power in the European world of academia, the possibilities for development are much better and more sustainable if archaeological institutions from the more marginalised parts (SE Europe in general) jointly organise their initiatives. In this way, they also have greater chances to overcome their still marginalised status within their countries and increase their competitiveness in the European and global contexts. Despite the great crisis that the world is presently facing, one can look at this challenge with optimism which is rooted in the historical experience of the development of archaeology in the post-Yugoslav countries over the last century. Nearly all the national archaeologies were in a marginal position in relation to top centres of knowledge in Europe; they survived radical political and social changes, which numerous European archaeological schools were spared

705 The network was established in 2006 within CEEPUS (the Central European Exchange Programme for University Studies).

706 Project BIHERIT ('Curricular reform of heritage sciences in Bosnia and Herzegovina') was funded by the EU TEMPUS program. The 'providing' partners were the universities from Ljubljana, Primorska, Koper, Vienna, Cambridge and Berlin (the Free University). The 'receiving' partners were the Bosnian-Herzegovinian institutions, the University of Sarajevo, the University of Banja Luka and the University of Tuzla, the Museum of Kozara in Prijedor, the Regional Museum of Travnik and the Commission to Preserve the National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The budget of this project was quite considerable (ca. 600,000 euros).

from, and were forced many times to build the scientific system almost from the ground up. And yet they managed to reach a level comparable to other archaeologies in the international context in relatively short periods. This vitality of archaeology and the rich pool of experience gained through the evolution of this discipline in the countries in question provide the new generation of archaeologists with a firm basis to face this challenge. The challenge is now even greater because archaeology today is no longer the same as a generation ago, along with the new knowledge acquired in the last decades; the conditions that determine archaeology's social status, role and priorities of archaeological thinking and practice are different.

By rule of thumb, archaeologists and archaeological institutions' regional cooperation is presently at a level similar to that in the 1980s, if not higher, in terms of the number of projects and initiatives and people involved. However, we should consider that digital technology has enormously increased communication *per se* and enabled new contents and practices. There are more local, regional and international conferences, and there are also more resources for various kinds of mobility. The number of publications has also increased considerably. In short, the conditions for cooperation have never been so favourable in science.

In this process new issues emerge, challenging some traditional views and concepts of science, such as a 'national' concept of archaeology or archaeological heritage. If, in the 1980s when the Yugoslav-programmed coordination was at its end and replaced by the 'mosaic of autonomous national archaeologies', the challenge now is not how to secure or maintain 'national' identities of archaeology but how to make archaeology national, regional, European and global at the same time. These are not different domains but simply different scales or wavelengths at which archaeology operates simultaneously. In other words, archaeology should not be international by virtue of researching outside its domicile country, but by contributing its authentic knowledge and experiences to the international community, and *vice versa*, accepting and respecting similar contributions of others.

Images

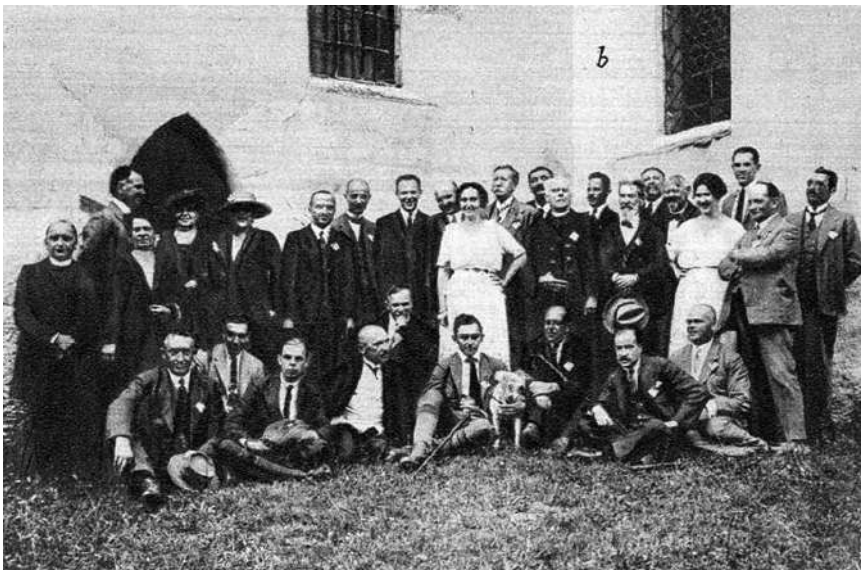


Fig. 215 Participants at the first meeting of Yugoslav archaeologists in Dobrna near Celje (1921). Ilustrovani list. 1922a. "Iz života našega društva". Ilustrovani list 38, 5–12. 11. 1922, 13.

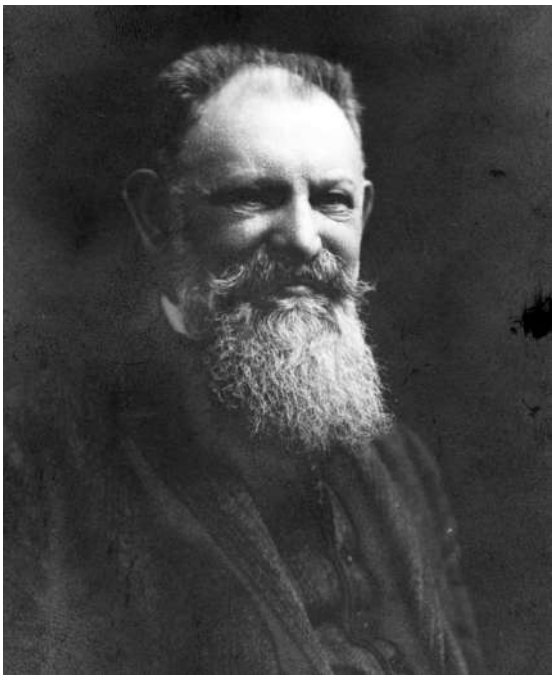


Fig. 216 Leon Ružička (1866–1931), Austrian-Hungarian (Jewish-Romanian) industrialist and numismatician, initiator and host of the first meeting of Yugoslav archaeologists in Dobrna in 1921.

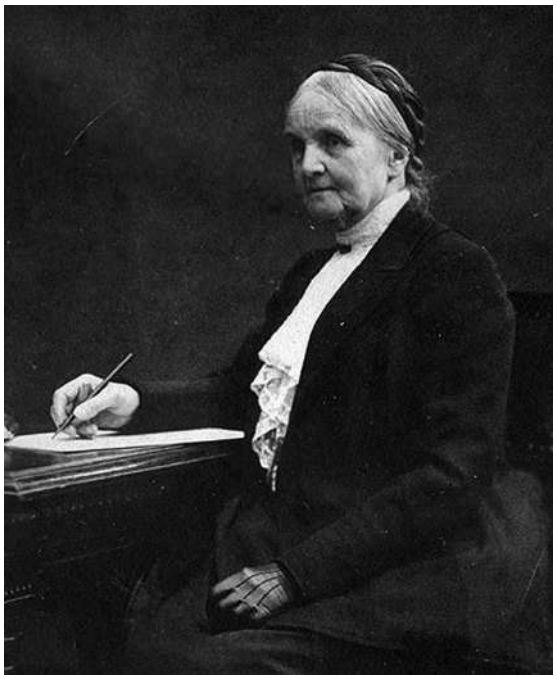


Fig. 217 Countess Praskovya Sergeevna Uvarova (1840–1924). Russian archaeologist, President of the Moscow Archaeological Society; after 1918 she emigrated to Yugoslavia and lived in Dobrna; participated in the meeting of archaeologists in 1921.

Fig. 218 Excursion of the participants at the second meeting of Yugoslav archaeologists in Belgrade (1922) to the monastery of Manasija. Ilustrovani list. 1922b. "Iz života našega društva". Ilustrovani list 45, 23–30. 11. 1922, 2.

Археолошки конгрес.

Излет у манастир Манасију.

(Уз наше слике на 2. страни)

Београд новембра 1922.

Археолошки конгрес сакупио је у Београду све археологе из наше државе. Били су присутни: Др. Ћира Трухелка из Сарајева, Др. Ј. Мантуани, Др. И. Цанкар, Др. В. Молс, Др. Н. Жупанић и Др. Ф. Стеле из Љубљане, Др. В. Хоффилер са госпођом, В. Ткалчић и Ђ. Ивековић из Загреба, Др. М. Абрамић и Др. Љ. Караман из Сплита, фра Л. Марун из Книна, Ф. Ковачић из Марибора, Др. Б. Сарија, Др. В. Травнер и В. Скрабар из Птуја, Др. Рад. Грујић и Др. С. Тројановић из Скопља и Др. Влад. Р. Петковић и Др. Никола Вулић из Београда.

Археолози су правили излет до манастира Манасије и сликали су се пред црквом са начелником окружним из Ћуприје и са старешином манастира игуманом Софронијем.

Шаљем Вам фотографију археолога, излетника испред цркве у Манасији и општи изглед манастира Манасије са градом и црквом унутра, да их у Вашем листу употребите.

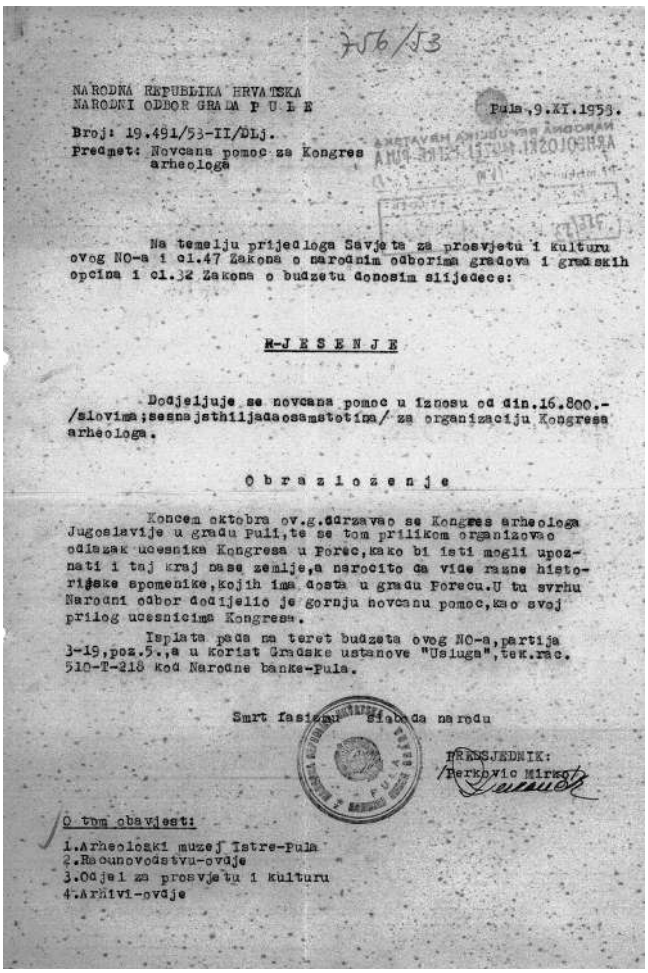
В.

Fig. 219 Participants at the first meeting of Yugoslav archaeologists in Dobrna near Celje (1921). Ilustrovani list. 1922a. "Iz života našega društva". Ilustrovani list 38, 5–12. 11. 1922, 13.

Fig. 220 First Meeting of the new organization of Yugoslav archaeologists (Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia) in Niška Banja, Serbia, 3rd–13th of May, 1950. (Photo Narodne novine 3. 5. 1950).

Fig. 221 Group of archaeologists in Niška Banja congress (1950): Draga and Milutin Garašanin (top row), Josip Klemenc, Ruža Drechsler Bižić and Paola Korošec (middle row), Josip Korošec (bottom row). Legacy of Ruža Drechsler Bižić, courtesy of Darko Periša.

Fig. 222 Hotel Riviera in Pula which hosted the participants of the 2nd Congress of Yugoslav Archaeologists in 1953.



756/53

NARODNA REPUBLIKA HRVATSKA
NARODNI ODBOR GRADA P U L E

Pula, 9.XI.1953.

Broj: 19.491/53-II/Dlj.
Predmet: Novcana pomoc za Kongres arheologa

Na temelju prijedloga Savjeta za prosvjetu i kulturu ovog NO-a i cl.47 Zakona o narodnim odborima gradova i gradskih opcina i cl.32 Zakona o budzetu donosim slijedece:

R-J E S E N J E

Dodjeljuje se novcana pomoc u iznosu od din.16.800.- /slovima;sesnaestihiljadaosamstotina/ za organizaciju Kongresa arheologa.

O b r a z l o z e n j e

Koncem oktobra ov.g.drzavao se Kongres arheologa Jugoslavije u gradu Puli,te se tom prilikom organizovao odlazak ucesnika Kongresa u Porec,kako bi isti mogli upoznati i taj kraj nase zemlje,a narocito da vide razne historijske spomenike,kojih ima dosta u gradu Porecu.U tu svrhu Narodni odbor dodijelio je gornju novcanu pomoc,kao svoj prilog ucesnicima Kongresa.

Isplata pada na teret budzeta ovog NO-a,partija 3-19,poz.5.,a u korist Gradske ustanove "Usluga",tek.rac. 510-T-218 kod Narodne banke-Pula.

Smrt fasizmu - Sloboda narodu

PREDSJEDNIK:
Perkovic Mirko

O tom obavjesti:
1.Arheoloski muzej Istre-Pula
2.Racunovodstvu-ovdje
3.Odjel za prosvjetu i kulturu
4.Arhivi-ovdje

Fig. 223 Decision of the Pula Municipality to finance the exursion to Poreč during the 2nd Congress in Pula. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Istria.

»SLOBODNA DALMACIJA« 26. OŽUJKA 1956.

KROZ SPLIT

Godišnja skupština Društva arheologa Jugoslavije

Što prije podignuti zgradu za Muzej hrvatskih starina

U prostorijama DIT-a, u subotu je održana glavna godišnja skupština Društva arheologa Jugoslavije, kojoj je prisustvovalo oko 80 predstavnika pojedinih podružnica iz čitave zemlje. Predsjednik društva, dr. Alojz Benac, otvorio je skupštinu i pozdravio sve prisutne. Skupštinu je zatim pozdravio i zaželio plodan rad dr. Branko Gabričević, koji je istakao, da je Splitu ukazana osobita čast održavanjem skupštine i istakao, da je pred 65 godina u Solinu održan kongres svjetskih arheologa.

Predsjedavajući dr. Benac izvijestio je o posljednjem sastanku, koji je održan u Puli 1953. godine i prikazao rad društva otad do danas, te je istakao, da je rad mnogo proširen, napose da se arheološka nauka usmjerila više u općem razvoju historijskih nauka metodskom i teoretskom, kao i u idejnom pogledu. Zatim je izvijestio o posljednjem sastanku upravnog odbora o zamjeni stručnjaka s inozemstvom, o časopisu »Arheologia jugoslavica«, o prijedlogu za izmjenu društvenog pravilnika, te o potrebi osnivanja centralnog arheološkog instituta.

U tajničkom izvještaju o radu društva, koje je podnio Ljubiša Popović, ističe se rad na izdavanju publikacija, koje je društvo izdalo ili pokrenulo preko ustanova, prvenstveno časopisa »Arheologica jugoslavica«. Naglašeno je, da je društvo počelo planski usmjeravati razmjenu stručnih kadrova s inozemstvom i u tom smislu uspostavilo veze s Njemačkom, Austrijom, Francuskom i Velikom Britanijom, a u vidu je uspostavljanje veza s Italijom i istočnim zemljama. Društvo je nadalje usklađivalo rad između pojedinih republika i ustanova u svim republikama. Članovi Uprave su obišli neke republike da bi upoznali stanje i probleme arheološke nauke u tim republikama. Osobitu pažnju je posvećena stručnim sekcijama, u kojima se raspravljaju konkretni stručni zadaci pojedinih arheoloških disciplina. Bavilo se pitanjem arheološke terminologije i preko svojih predstavnika se uključilo u međunarodnu organizaciju »Conseil de sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques.«

U vrlo živoj diskusiji o izvještaju, naročito je tretiran odnos Uprave društva i članova. Istaknuto je šire aktiviranje članova u pojedinim republikama, te potreba donošenja zakona za koji je postavljen prijedlog, kojim bi se reguliralo vrlo važno pitanje arheoloških iskopavanja i osiguralo da ta iskopavanja vrše odgovorna, stručna lica sa svim potrebnim tehničkim sredstvima.

Skupština je ukazala naročito na potrebu prvoga reda, što skorije podizanje zgrade za smještaj Muzeja hrvatskih starina u Splitu, s obzirom na političku i historijsku važnost materijala, koji se u njemu nalaze.

U novu upravu društva izabrano je 12 članova iz raznih republika, na čelu sa predsjednikom dr. Grgom Novakom, akademikom i profesorom Zagrebačkog sveučilišta.

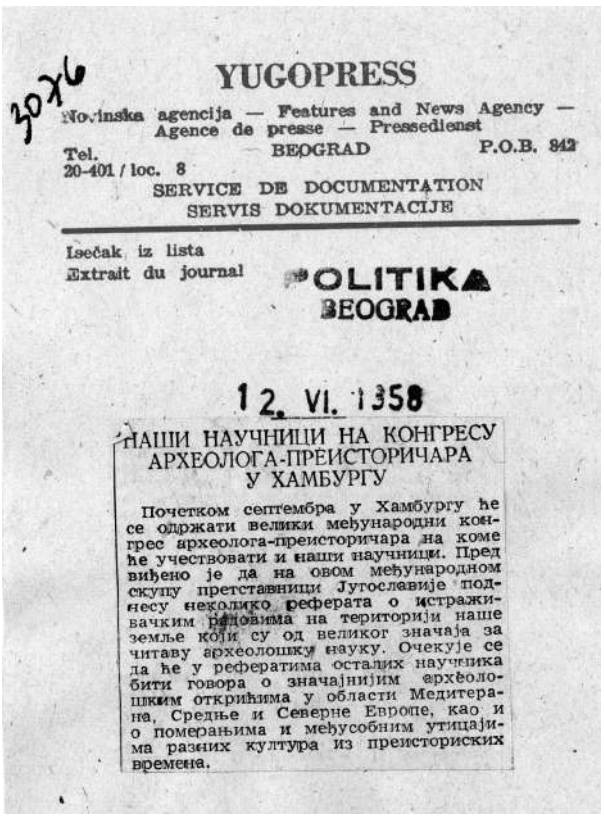
Zaključeno je da se idući skupština društva održi 195[illegible] godine u Sarajevu. — bz

KONCERT MUZIKE STARIH MAJSTORA

U nedjelju, 25. ovog mjeseca, u 11 sati, Koncertna poslovnica Splitske filharmonije priredila je matineju — koncert muzike starih majstora, uz sudjelovanje članova UMUH-a: Marije Gašin, alta i Duška Kukovca, bas - baritona. Umjetnici su, uz klavirsku pratnju Ene Ivete-Grisogono, interpretirali djela Carissima, Scarlatta, Cavalli, Caccini, Montverdia, Stradella, Händela, Glücka i drugih majstora, koji su djelovali i stvarali u periodu između XVI. i XVIII. stoljeća. Ovom prilikom je nastupila i naša poznata klaviristica Katja Perunović - Pavičić sa nekoliko klavirskih kompozicija.

Koliko smo obaviješteni, nakon ovog prvog koncerta, uslijedit će i drugi koncert.

Fig. 224 Press clip from Slobodna Dalmacija (Split, 26. 3. 1956) about the 3rd Congress of the Yugoslav Archaeological Society.



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12. VI. 1358

НАШИ НАУЧНИЦИ НА КОНГРЕСУ АРХЕОЛОГА-ПРЕИСТОРИЧАРА У ХАМБУРГУ

Почетком септембра у Хамбургу ће се одржати велики међународни конгрес археолога-преисторичара на коме ће учествовати и наши научници. Предвиђено је да на овом међународном скупу претставници Југославије поднесу неколико реферата о истраживачким радовима на територији наше земље који су од великог значаја за читаву археолошку науку. Очекује се да ће у рефератима осталих научника бити говора о значајнијим археолошким открићима у области Медитерана, Средње и Северне Европе, као и о померањима и међусобним утицајима разних култура из преисторијских времена.

Fig. 225 Press clip from Politika (12. 6.1558) reporting about the participation of Yugoslav archaeologists at the 5th UISPP Congress in Hamburg (1958).

U Sarajevu počelo savjetovanje jugoslovenskih arheologa

Oko osamdeset najistaknutijih arheologa iz čitave zemlje doputovalo je u Sarajevo, gdje će u toku trodnevnog boravka uzeti učešća na savjetovanju jugoslovenskih arheologa i skupštini Arheološkog društva Jugoslavije.

Savjetovanje arheologa počelo je jutros, pozdravnom riječi d-r Milutina Garašanina, sekretara Arheološkog društva Jugoslavije. U ime domaćina skup jugoslovenskih arheologa je pozdravio d-r Alojz Benac, upravnik Zemaljskog muzeja.

Poslije uvodnog dijela jutrošnjeg sastanka, učesnici su prihvatili program rada za naredna tri dana. Prema užim stručnim specijalnostima danas je savjetovanje nastavljeno u tri sekcije — sekciji za preistoriju, za antiku i za srednji vijek. Prema unaprijed utvrđenom programu u sekciji za praistoriju osnovne teme izmjene mišljenja bile su neolitsko naselje u Danilu kod Šibenika i način sahranjivanja na Glasincu. U sekciji za antiku diskutovalo se o problemima antičke topografije u Bosni i Hercegovini. U sekciji za srednji vijek izmijenjana su mišljenja o arheološkim nalazima VII vijeka u Jugoslaviji.

U toku sutrašnjeg dana arheolozi će posjetiti nekoliko značajnih istoriskih spomenika starog dijela grada Sarajeva i Zemaljski muzej u Sarajevu.

Godišnja skupština Arheološkog društva Jugoslavije održaće se prekosutra, 15 maja.

V. S.

Razmatrano pitanje osnivanja instituta za arheologiju

Održana treća skupština Arheološkog društva Jugoslavije

Poslije razmjene mišljenja u sekcijama za praistoriju, antiku i srednji vijek jutros je oko osamdeset istaknutih arheologa iz čitave zemlje uzelo učešća na trećoj skupštini Arheološkog društva Jugoslavije.

Više naučnih radnika, doktora i profesora arheologije javilo se za diskusiju pošto je sekretar Društva jugoslovenskih arheologa d-r Milutin Garašanin podnio skupštini iscrpan izvještaj o radu Društva. Dosta vremena posvećeno je pitanjima unutarnje organizacije i idejnosti naučnog rada Društva. Između ostalog, profesor d-r Josip Korošec i profesor d-r Duje Rendić govorili su i o pojavama izvjesnog diletantizma koji šteti velikom ugledu koji su jugoslovenski arheolozi, svojim ozbiljnim naučnim prilozima, stekli i van granica naše zemlje. Odobravanjem je pozdravljeno i jednoglasno prihvaćeno mišljenje da u bliskoj budućnosti treba razmotriti mogućnosti sazivanja Kongresa arheologa Jugoslavije, koji bi prije svega trebalo da bude smotra naučnih dostignuća na ovom polju.

Na skupštini je posebno istaknuto da arheolozi u ovom času posebnu pažnju treba da posvete arheološkim objektima na takozvanim ugroženim područjima, kao što su trasa kanala Dunav—Tisa—Dunav i radovi u Đerdapskoj klisuri. Na ovim mjestima preduzeti su vanredni radovi na iskopavanjima i očuvanju arheoloških vrijednosti.

Razmatrano je i pitanje otvaranja Saveznog arheološkog instituta, ustanove koja bi objedinjavala i usklađivala cjelokupni arheološki rad u zemlji. V. S.

Fig. 226 Two press clips from Oslobodjenje (Sarajevo 13. 5. 1958 (left) and 16. 5. 1958 (right)) about the 4th Congress of the Yugoslav Archaeological Society.

Fig. 227 8th Congress of Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia in Bor (28. 9.–2. 10. 1969). Newspaper Kolektiv, 3. 10. 1969.

Predsednik Saveznog izvršnog veća
Džemal Bijedić
moli BOŠKOVIĆ ĐURĐE
da izvoli prisustvovati prijemu koji daje u četvrtak 9. septembra
1971. godine u 18,00 časova u svečanim prostorijama
Saveznog izvršnog veća
u čast
Učesnika VIII Međunarodnog kongresa
za praistoriske i protoistoriske nauke
Ulaz kod fontane
L'Ambassadeur de France
prie Monsieur et Madame
Djurdje BOŠKOVIĆ
de lui faire l'honneur de venir
à la réception qu'il donnera à l'Ambassade
le mardi 14 septembre à 19 00 h
Povodom održavanja VIII Međunarodnog kongresa
za praistorijske i protoistorijske nauke
Predsednik Skupštine grada Beograda
Branko Pešić
moli Vas da prisustvujete koktelu koji će se održati
u sredu, 15. septembra 1971 godine od 19.30. do 21.00. časova
u prostorijama Skupštine grada Beograda.
Ulaz iz Pionirskog parka

Fig. 228 Invitations to the organizers of the 8th UISPP Congress in Belgrade (1971) to the receptions hosted by the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia (top), French Ambassador (middle) and Mayor of Belgrade (bottom). Courtey of the Archaeological Institute Belgrade.

Fig. 229 Visit to Gomolava tell-site during the 8th UISPP Congress in Belgrade (1971).

U ZADRU POČEO KONGRES ARHEOLOGA JUGOSLAVIJE

OD PRAHISTORIJE DO SREDNJEG VIJEKA

ZADAR, 24. X – Pozdravnim govorima predsjednika Arheološkog društva Jugoslavije dra Petra Petetua, predsjednika Arheološkog društva Hrvatske dra Šime Batovića i predsjednika Općinske skupštine Zadra dra Julijana Padelina jutros je u zadarskom hotelu „Barbara" počeo rad IX kongres arheologa Jugoslavije. U radu kongresa sudjeluje oko 130 arheologa iz cijele zemlje i gostiju iz inozemstva. Kongres radi u tri sekcije: za prahistorijsku, antičku i srednjovjekovnu arheologiju.

U odsjeku za prahistorijsku arheologiju danas su referirali dr Mirko Malez o problemima paleolitika na istočnoj obali Jadrana i dr Vladimir Mirosavljević o mezolitiku na sjevernom Jadranu, dok je dr Šime Batović dao pregled neolitika na našoj obali Jadrana. Govoreći o materijalu iz nalazišta Kriva ća u Bribirskim Mostinama, dr Paola Korošec ustvrdila je da se radi o keramici koja predstavlja zatvorenu kulturnu cjelinu, to jest da pripada danilskoj kulturi, ali da ipak neki elementi pokazuju određene analogije što ukazuju na veze s vinčanskim kulturnim krugom.

Ivan Marović je govorio o sistematskom istraživanju kamenih gomila na području sela Cetine i zaseoka Citluka, zaključivši – na temelju bronČanih nalaza i stratigrafskog sljeda u pećini Škarin Samograd – da nalazi pripadaju periodu bronČanog doba. Kako je područje Cetine bilo prvo nalazište na kojemu su se očitovali ovi po svom karakteru novi nalazi, to je autor ovu kulturnu grupu nazvao cetinskom kulturom ranog bronČanog doba srednje Dalmacije. Dr Maja Parović-Pešikan referirala je o iskopavanju velikog zemljanog tumula Mala Gruda u Tivatskom polju, posebno se osvrćući na probleme ilirskih i predilirskih veza s Egejom.

U sekciji za antičku arheologiju. Mladen Nikolanci govorio je o istočnojadranskim Grcima kao periferiji helenskog svijeta, dok je dr Mate Suić u svojem referatu o ekonomsko-socijalnim komponentama urbanizacije naselja na istočnoj obali Jadrana zaključio da pogled na povijesnu kartu Histrije i Liburnije u antici upućuje na zaključak da je Liburnija bila znatno bolje urbanizirana od Istre.

– U pomanjkanju epigrafskih nalaza za sada još ne možemo sa sigurnošću odrediti i ime rimskog naselja na Murteru, no oslanjajući se na Plinijev navod, mogli bismo ovdje locirati i sam Colentum, kako pretpostavlja već nekoliko ranijih autora na temelju izvora – zaključuje dr Aleksandar Faber u referatu o antičkom naselju u Murteru. Nakon referata Borisa Ilakovca o antičkim vodovodima u sjevernoj Dalmaciji, govorio je Stefan Mlakar o rimskim vilama u Istri. Umjesto koreferata dra Tomislava Marasovića o novim istraživanjima Dioklecijanove palače, referirao je dr Ivan Mikulčić o jednom peaefectus castrorum legionis rodom iz Flanone, a dr Ljudmila Plesničar o starokršćanskoj Emoni i njezinim odnosima sa sjevernim Jadranom.

U sekciji za srednjovjekovnu arheologiju u govorio je Branko Marušić o arheološkim problemima na prijelazu iz antike u srednji vijek na području sjevernog Jadrana, a Maja Šimatović o novim nalazima iz VI stoljeća u Dalmaciji. Referat dra Nade Klaić prati život Hrvata od doseljenja u VII stoljeću do početka XII stoljeća, nastojeći da utvrdi njegove osnovne karakteristike. Autorica smatra da su već kod doseljenja Hrvati imali bolji položaj od drugih Južnih Slavena, jer je ratnička skupina Hrvata, koja se spustila na Jadran, imala snage da u borbi s Avarima pobijedi i osnuje vlastitu državu, gradeći je na antičkoj i avarskoj baštini. Međutim za izgradnju kneževske i kasnije kraljevske vlasti nije bilo dovoljno pogodnih uvjeta. Zato Hrvatska ostaje tokom čitava srednjeg vijeka zemlja slobodnih seljaka, između kojih se izdvaja samo tanak sloj plemstva. Autorica je dalje naglasila da je za politički razvitak Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku vrlo važno da nijednoj velesili ne polazi za rukom da zadrži trajnu prevlast nad njima, da bi na kraju zaključila da nijedna politička snaga u susjedstvu Hrvata nije bitno utjecala na razvitak Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku, zbog čega je politički život tekao bez velikih promjena i preokreta.

Referatom mr. Janka Belošević o materijalnoj kulturi Hrvata na jadranskoj obali od doseljenja do IX stoljeća završen je prvi dan rada IX kongresa arheologa Jugoslavije.

A. SEFEROVIĆ

ZAVRŠENO SAVJETOVANJE »SUVREMENI MARKSIZAM U ŠKOLI« U SPLITU

Klasni pristup

SPLIT, 24. X – Završeno je dvodnevno savjetovanje o suvremenom marksizmu i školi, koje je organizirao splitski Marksistički centar. Sva predavanja i diskusije nakon autorizacije bit će publicirani u posebnoj knjizi ili u jednom od brojeva splitskog časopisa „Pogledi"

Prof. Leonard Karli s Pravnog fakulteta u Splitu u svom predavanju pod naslovom „Fiskalna politika i prirodna stabilnost" upozorio je da se pitanje nestabilnosti, koja je već dugo u nas prisutna, nalazi u žiži Pisma druga Tita. Potrebno je naći hitna rješenja, ali na dugoročnoj stazi. On je upozorio na idejni aspekt teme jer treba

ktura vlasti naše države uklanjajući elemente građanskog društva i ideologije etatizma. Novim ustavnim promjenama samoupravni društveni sistem postat će dominantan. Nove ustavne promjene onemogućit će razvoj stvaralačkih snaga radničke klase.

„Marksizam i suvremena pe-

se formiraju kao kritična ličnost prema svijetu oko sebe.

Kao posljednji predavač na savjetovanju nastupio je kompozitor Silvije Bombardelli s temom „Socijalizam i kultura". Budući da je to preopširna tema, on se ograničio na neke elemente koji karakteriziraju našu situaciju. Njegovo je izlaganje bilo uglavnom praktično-

Fig. 230 Press clip from Slobodna Dalmacija (Split, 25. 10. 1972) about the 9th Congress of the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia.

Fig. 231 10th Congress of Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia in Prilep (19.–23. 10.1976). Newspaper Naroden glas (22. 10. 1976).

Fig. 232 Bronze Age charriot from Dupljaja, Serbia, inspiration for the official logo of the Archaeological Society ofYugoslavia. Courtesy of the National Museum Belgrade.

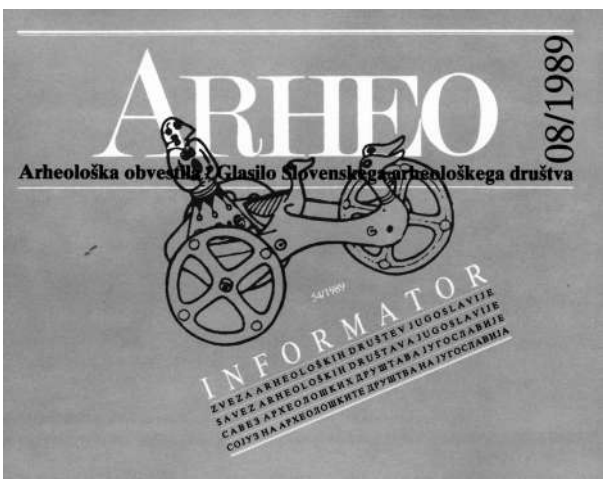

Fig. 233 Informator, newsletter of the Archaeological Society of Yugoslavia and (later) Association of Archaeological Societies of Yugoslavia. Photo: Informator in a joint issue with Arheo (Journal of the Slovene Archaeologiocal Society).

Fig. 234 Group of archaeologists at 11th Congress of the Association of Archaeological Societies of Yugoslavia in Mostar (1980). Courtesy of Darko Periša.

Fig. 235 Archaeologists at the 13th Congress of the Association of Archaeological Societies of Yugoslavia at Bled 1988. Archive of the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

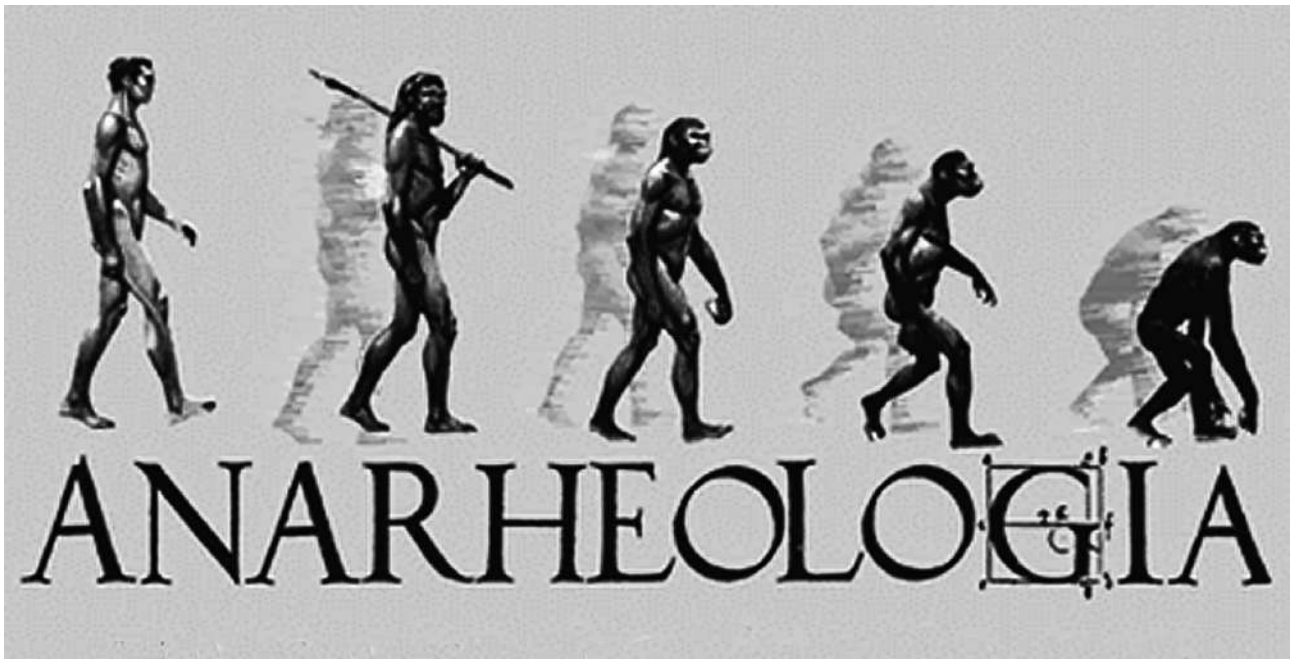

Fig. 236 ANARHEOLOGIA – Logo of the meeting of students of archaeology from the universities of Ljubljana, Belgrade, Zagreb, Zadar and Skopje in Petnica, Serbia; the last 'Yugoslav' event, July 1990. Courtesy of the Petnica Science Center.

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